

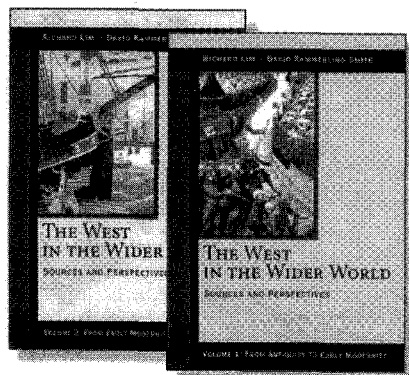
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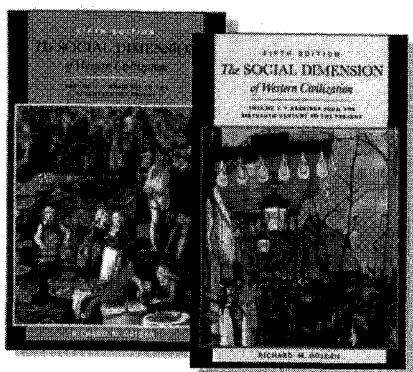
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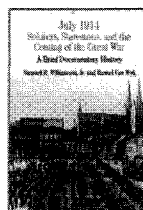


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In This Issue

This issue contains four articles and a review essay. The articles examine the use of social-science methods in historical analysis, urbanization in Eastern and Western Europe, transatlantic scientific innovation, and diplomatic maneuvers at the end of a war. The review essay uses an assessment of recent trends in Russian history to probe the utility and significance of an emerging Eurasian approach to historical analysis. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Sheilagh Ogilvie explores the increasingly influential concept of “social capital” through an analysis of women’s position in early modern Germany. Social capital is formed when a closely knit group invests in multi-stranded internal relationships, thereby fostering shared norms, information flow, effective sanctions, and collective action in ways thought to benefit the entire society. Two historical institutions—the guild and the community—are widely viewed as prime examples of social capital at work. Using detailed evidence on gender-specific economic activities for a region of Germany between 1600 and 1800, Ogilvie examines precisely how guilds and communities affected females and other vulnerable groups. She demonstrates, for example, that male members of these powerful social networks used their social capital to sustain their norms and privileges by reducing and restricting women’s contribution to the wider economy and indeed harming their very well-being. Ogilvie also explains why “social capital” has important implications for the historical analyses of gender by showing particular features of social institutions like guilds that were used to discriminate against women. At the same time, she makes it clear why gender also has important implications for analyses of social capital. For instance, she points out how a gendered analysis of social capital illuminates the revealing role of network “closure,” the harm social capital inflicts on outsiders, and its costs for society. As a result, Ogilvie concludes that historical analyses like hers

suggest why social scientists and policymakers should scrutinize social capital with caution. Her article demonstrates the mutual benefits that can be derived from subjecting social-science concepts to historical analysis.

Balázs Szelényi challenges the traditional view that locates the divergence of Eastern from Western European development in the subjugation of towns by nobles in the early modern period. Using the case study of urbanization in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Hungary, he shows that no logical connection exists between the rise of the manorial reaction and urban decline. The occidental city, he argues, was not an island of liberty, progress, and modernity, surrounded by a backward, traditional, feudal countryside. Instead, under feudalism in both Eastern and Western Europe, towns and lords lived within a system of shared values and norms. The logic of the feudal political economy did not exclude but, at critical junctures, promoted urbanization. It is true that the first stage of second serfdom was an unstable social system, and led to a weakening of royal authority as well as contested sovereignty. Yet it was precisely in this atmosphere of contested authority that towns made a comeback. Szelényi concludes by emphasizing the need to reevaluate those theories that claim the weakness of nineteenth-century Eastern European middle-class development to be a natural consequence of the manorial reaction. In their place, he proposes a new theory and narrative to explain the dynamics of urban development in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Hungary. In doing so, Szelényi makes a significant contribution to debates about the nature and sources of urbanization.

Julia Rodriguez adds a new dimension to the study of the transatlantic exchange of ideas. Historians have much to gain, she argues, by looking at science as a multidirectional force that shaped the organization of modern states. Through an examination of turn-of-the-century Argentina, she explores the development and precocious adoption of fingerprint technology for both forensic and identification purposes. In Argentina, an unusual combination of economic prosperity, rapid immigration, and an infatuation with proto-scientific solutions from Social Darwinism created a hothouse environment in which the development of fingerprinting flourished. As Rodriguez shows, this story illuminates the dynamics of state expansion of disciplinary institutions during a key period of liberal state-building. She sheds light on the process of state formation common to all Atlantic societies that rested on appropriation of scientific innovations. Rodriguez thus contributes to our understanding of the efficiency and legitimacy of modern states' ability to track, control, and confine their criminals and their citizens. And in the process she compels us to reexamine our understanding of the mechanisms of state-building.

Yukiko Koshiro examines the origin of today's East Asian order by analyzing what she contends was Japan's calculated delay in surrender during World War II. She does so by placing the decision within a complex web of international politics, recently revealed by a cache of surviving documents. In the last phase of the war, she argues, Japanese policymakers concluded that the United States and the Soviet Union were going to compete for hegemonic leadership in postwar East Asia and, therefore, that the best time for the Japanese continental empire to collapse would be upon Soviet entry into the war against Japan. Japanese policymakers, Koshiro maintains, hoped that a Soviet presence in postwar East Asia would create a new balance of power and thus prevent the United States from dominating East Asia and postwar Japan. Indeed, she points out, events sustained these assumptions. The massive Soviet attack on Japan's continental empire, in August 1945, for example, aided the Chinese Communist Party in its fight against Chiang Kai-shek's regime and also contributed to the partition of Korea. Thus, in a divided postwar East Asia, defeated Japan secured the top status in the U.S. security system, withdrew into a niche in the Cold War, and concentrated on its own recovery. In positing a new narrative for the era, Koshiro explains the nature and origin of postwar Japan's "successful" recovery, while bringing to light Japan's responsibility for spatial and temporal dimensions of the Cold War in East Asia. Ultimately, she concludes, a new look at Japan's delay in surrender should challenge the conventional understanding of the American use of the atomic bomb. Koshiro's essay thus raises some provocative questions about our sources for understanding the construction of a post-World War II world order.

Review Essay

Mark von Hagen surveys several recent key trends in the writing of the history of the former Soviet-dominated region and situates that writing within broader developments in the historical discipline. He notes that many scholarly journals and other research organizations have adopted the term "Eurasia," a designation laden with some past and present political controversy. How do the scholars who adhere to the new use of this term understand it? The author sees it not as a new paradigm but, if anything, an anti-paradigm in several senses. First, Eurasia is meant to engage polemically with two major paradigms in the field, the essentializing and static Russia/Orient of the high Cold War and the more dynamic but shorter-termed perspective of Soviet Union/modernization. Second, today's historians who adopt the Eurasia designation contest the anti-modernist, illiberal, and often imperialist geopolitical programs that

characterized both classic interwar émigré Eurasianist thought and its contemporary legatees in the region. Much of the new historical writing shares commonalities with socio-cultural anthropology and postcolonial or transnational cultural studies but is also positioning itself in the debates in world and global history. Von Hagen's essay thus reveals how this new body of scholarship addresses critical issues of direct concern to specialists and nonspecialists alike.



FIGURE 1: Women work alongside men as agricultural laborers mowing with sickles. Francisci Philippi Florini, *Œconomus prudens et legalis, oder allgemeiner klug- und rechts-verständige Haus-Vatter* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1702), 515. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany.

How Does Social Capital Affect Women? Guilds and Communities in Early Modern Germany

SHEILAGH OGILVIE

IN 1626, AN INDEPENDENT UNMARRIED “LASS” in the tiny Black Forest town of Wildberg left service, took independent lodgings, and began to earn her bread by “spinning perpetually at the wheel,” attracting complaints at the community assembly.¹ In 1663, the widowed Anna Barbara Haugin in the nearby village of Gültlingen supported her young family by cultivating crops and selling calves, despite attempts by the community to “deny her the village privileges.”² In 1697, Georg Ernst’s widow in Gültlingen lived from her baking, despite being fined by the guild when she “sold a 4-pound loaf for 2½ *Kreuzer* even though the legal price was 3 *Kreuzer*.”³ In 1734, Michel Kuch’s wife in the proto-industrial village of Ebhausen sought to maximize her profits from yarn selling by attending nocturnal spinning bees “to cover her lighting costs,” in the teeth of penalties from the community church court.⁴ In 1742, the maidservant Christina Gauß was dismissed from her job at the Ebhausen mill when her mistress suspected her of fornicating with her master, got temporary work as a harvest cutter but then failed to find another job, could not go home to her father in Rohrdorf “because he himself has nothing,” was ordered out of Ebhausen several times, but repeated dully to the community court that “she knew of nowhere to go.”⁵ In 1745, a Wildberg maidservant was fined by the local weavers’ guild because she engaged in wool combing, “as though she were a journeyman, contrary to the guild ordinance.”⁶ In 1764, a village woman known as “die Schmalzin” (“the lard-woman”) was “buying up grain here and there, and

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¹ Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (hereafter, HSAS), A573 Bü. 86, fol. 58r, October 30, 1626: “spinne Immertz am radt.”

² Pfarrarchiv Wildberg, Kirchenkonventsprotokolle (hereafter, PAW KKP), Vol. 3, p. 299, February 18, 1670: “Fleckhens privilegia laße man Sie nicht genießen.”

³ HSAS, A573 Bü. 981 (1697–98), unpag.: “den vier pfündigen laib brodt umb 2½ da er doch 3 x gegolten, verkauft.”

⁴ Pfarrarchiv Ebhausen, Kirchenkonventsprotokolle (hereafter, PAE KKP), Vol. 3, fol. 178r, February 28, 1734.

⁵ PAE KKP, Vol. 4, fols. 4v–5r, October 8, 1742: “weil er selber nichts hab” (fol. 5r); “Sie hab nirgend hin gewußt” (fol. 4v).

⁶ HSAS, A573 Bü. 896 (1744–45), unpag., rubric “Strafen”: “um willen Er seine Magd der Ordnung zuwider gesellenweiß kammern laßen.”

selling it again at a higher price on offer to the citizens, through which *commercium* she harms the bakers here," provoking a member of the Wildberg bakers' guild to report her to the community assembly, which forbade her to trade.⁷ In 1796, the forty-five-year-old spinster Friderika Mohlin moved into lodgings as an independent seamstress but was compelled to "betake herself back into her father's house," by community order.⁸

Such women—daughters, maidservants, wives, widows, and independent spinsters—appear again and again in local documents working independently even when they had the opportunity to be, or actually were, members of male-headed households. Such women worked not just at housework but, as these cases illustrate, at commercial spinning, farming, traditional crafts, agricultural labor, proto-industrial wool combing, petty commerce, and seamstressing. They operated not just in the family economy but within a much more complex framework of social institutions—the market, the community, the guild, the church, the state—whose relative impact on women's well-being continues to evoke lively debate. Initially, many historians were strongly attracted by a "pessimist" school of thought, which regarded women's economic position as being systematically damaged by the growth of the market.⁹ Subsequent empirical findings, however, have given rise to a more differentiated approach, which emphasizes the role of the state,¹⁰ the church,¹¹ the guild,¹² and the community,¹³ as social institutions that imposed at least equal constraints on preindustrial women. Still others contend that "patriarchy" is so strong and universal that women's situation is historically invariant with respect to the prevailing institutional structure.¹⁴ The impact of different social and

⁷ HSAS, A573 Bü. 95, fol. 28v, December 17, 1764: "hin und wider fruchten auf, verkauffe solche wider in einem höhern Pretio auf beutt an die hiesige burgere und verursache durch dises Commercium ... denen hiesigen becken einem Schaden."

⁸ HSAS, A573 Bü. 62, fol. 24r-v, January 18, 1796: "Sich wider in ihres vatters Hauße zu begeben."

⁹ For a classic expression of this view, see, for instance, Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, 2d edn. (London, 1982), 13, 43–63, 92, 150–52, 183, 196–97, 234–35, 300–01. For recent surveys, see Janet Thomas, "Women and Capitalism: Oppression or Emancipation? A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1988): 534–49, here esp. 534–37; and Sheilagh Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2003), 12–13, 326–29, 334–38.

¹⁰ Renate Dürr, *Mägde in der Stadt: das Beispiel Schwäbisch Hall in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1995), esp. 266–73; Isabel Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), esp. 53–106.

¹¹ Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford, 1989), esp. 3, 15; Hull, *Sexuality*, 10–28; Ulinka Rublack, *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 1999), 4, 7–8, 29–33, 38–39, 74, 218, 234.

¹² Jean H. Quataert, "The Shaping of Women's Work in Manufacturing: Guilds, Households, and the State in Central Europe, 1648–1870," *AHR* 90 (December 1985): 1122–48; Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Women and Proto-Industrialisation in a Corporate Society: Württemberg Woollen Weaving 1590–1760," in P. Hudson and W. R. Lee, eds., *Women's Work and the Family Economy in Historical Perspective* (Manchester, 1990), 76–103.

¹³ Claudia Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete: Macht, Geschlecht und Religion in einer ländlichen Gesellschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1999), esp. 35, 138, 306; Sheilagh Ogilvie, *State Corporatism and Proto-Industry: The Württemberg Black Forest, 1580–1797* (Cambridge, 1997), 63–64; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 20, 134–38, 249–58, 309–17, 332–34.

¹⁴ See Olwen H. Hufton, "Women, Work and Marriage in Eighteenth-Century France," in R. B. Outhwaite, ed., *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (London, 1981), 186–203; Judith M. Bennett, "'History That Stands Still': Women's Work in the European Past," *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988): 269–83, here 271, 274, 277–79; Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague* (Oxford, 1987), 4–9, 177–98; Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A

institutional arrangements on women's economic position is thus still an open question, and one aim of this article is to investigate whether the concept of "social capital" can help shed new light on it.¹⁵

This is the more urgent because the recent explosion of interest in "social capital" has caused social scientists to seek historical examples of its benefits, directing particularly eager attention to preindustrial European social institutions. "Social capital" is the name given to a store of value generated when a group of individuals invests resources in fostering a body of relationships with each other (a "social network").¹⁶ These relationships, it is argued, create trust by fostering shared norms, improve contract enforcement by easing information flows, and enhance sanctions against deviant behavior by facilitating collective action. This is held to benefit the entire society.¹⁷ Policymakers in organizations such as the World Bank have begun advocating investment in social capital and social networks to solve problems of social exclusion and regional disparities in the rich West, economic transition in Eastern Europe, and development challenges in the Third World.¹⁸ From the beginning, social capital theorists have sought to mobilize history in support of their views, portraying past societies as having possessed more and better social capital than modern ones, and mining them for examples of the closely knit and multi-stranded social networks thought to generate especially rich stocks of social capital. In particular, social scientists have focused on two historical institutions as exemplars of social capital at work: the guild and the local community.¹⁹ Yet, while many social science studies mention historical examples of social capital and social networks in passing, few subject them to rigorous analysis, or investigate their net effect on the whole society in which they were embedded.

This article seeks to address the concerns of both historians and social scientists by bringing together gender and the theory of social capital. Social capital, it will

Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1053–75, here 1059–60; Sandy Bardsley, "Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England," *Past and Present*, no. 165 (1999): 3–29, here 3–5, 29.

¹⁵ For recent surveys of this debate, see Thomas, "Women and Capitalism," 542–43, 545–47; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 7–15, 326–38.

¹⁶ For the basic propositions behind the theory of social capital, see James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1989): S95–S120; Robert D. Putnam, with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, 2000); Putnam and Lewis M. Feldstein, with Don Cohen, *Better Together: Restoring the American Community* (New York, 2003). For a representative selection of recent work making use of the concept, see Partha Dasgupta and Ismail Serageldin, eds., *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective* (Washington, D.C., 2000).

¹⁷ See Coleman, "Social Capital," esp. S101–S102; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work*; Francis Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York, 1995); Partha Dasgupta, "Economic Progress and the Idea of Social Capital," in Dasgupta and Serageldin, *Social Capital*, 325–424; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*; Putnam, Feldstein, and Cohen, *Better Together*.

¹⁸ On the rich West, see Coleman, "Social Capital"; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work*; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*. On "transition economies," see Martin Raiser, "Informal Institutions, Social Capital and Economic Transition," in Giovanni Andrea Cornia and Vladimir Popov, eds., *Transition and Institutions: The Experience of Gradual and Late Reformers* (Oxford, 2001), 218–39. On modern developing economies, see the essays in Dasgupta and Serageldin, *Social Capital*.

¹⁹ Coleman, "Social Capital," S117–S119; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work*, 163–85; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, for example 292; Fukuyama, *Trust*, 1–57, 345–53; Dasgupta, "Economic Progress," 327–28, 332, 337–38, 351–52, 380.

argue, has important implications for thinking about gender—but gender also has important implications for thinking about social capital. Social capital can help us think about gender because it provides a conceptual framework for analyzing the precise characteristics of certain institutions that, it will be argued, facilitate gender discrimination. Patriarchal attitudes were universal in preindustrial Europe, but they were put into effect to a widely differing extent in different European societies. Analyzing gender discrimination in terms of social capital, I will argue, can help us understand why.²⁰

Conversely, taking account of gender can help social scientists think more clearly about social capital. This is because gender compels us to examine the effects of any social network not just on members of that network but on network outsiders and the whole society. It forces us to ask whether the economically vulnerable and socially marginal can enjoy the benefits of social capital. As we shall see, they often cannot, and there are systematic reasons why this is the case.

HARD AND DETAILED EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE is essential for dealing with such general issues as gender and social capital. To obtain such evidence, this study selected a particular preindustrial society—early modern Germany—and compiled a detailed data set on gender-specific economic activities within a region of that society—the Württemberg Black Forest—over a period of two centuries (1600–1800). The data set included statistical sources such as tax lists, parish registers, censuses, and “soul-tables,” which yielded information on women’s household headship, wealth, demographic behavior, schooling, and sources of livelihood. But the vast mass of females—particularly those who did not head households or pay taxes—is invisible to such statistical documents. So the data set also included narrative sources such as court records, petitions, and account books, which describe the kinds of work women did and the legal and practical constraints on it. Narrative sources, however, cannot show what is typical or enable systematic comparisons by gender or other social categories. To transcend the limitations of both statistical and narrative sources, this study adopted the exceptionally labor-intensive and time-consuming research strategy of selecting a particularly detailed and systematic set of sources—the extraordinary church-court minutes kept by Württemberg communities from 1646 on—and extracting all references to observed work by women and men in two communities over a period of 150 years, generating out of a qualitative source a quantitative database containing 2,828 separate observations of working activity, broken down according to the worker’s gender and other characteristics. Taken together, these sources provide a rich and detailed empirical basis for analyzing the economic position of women in a preindustrial society and the relative impact on it of different social institutions.²¹

The southwest German territory of Württemberg is well suited for exploring

²⁰ For detailed examples of how particular patriarchal attitudes (for example, disapproval of independent residence and work by unmarried women and of participation in guilded activities by females) were enforced under some institutional regimes in early modern Europe but less so (or not at all) in others, see, for instance, Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 11, 290–93, 319, 338–40.

²¹ For a detailed description of this data set, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, esp. 22–36, 320–22.

theories about how women's economic position is affected by different social institutions. By 1600, it possessed a variegated economy, with farms productive enough to feed growing groups of land-poor and landless people, lively textile proto-industries in the Black Forest and Swabian Jura, and specialized retailers and merchants supplying both domestic and export markets.²² In all these sectors, women were active participants, not just working with male relatives within the family economy but—as we have seen—producing independently as farmers, craft mistresses, spinners, seamstresses, grain sellers, wool combers, and at an almost numberless array of other livelihoods.²³ But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Württemberg was slow in adopting many of the new forms of agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce that were transforming the more dynamic Atlantic economies. By 1800, its economy was stagnating relative to the Low Countries, England, France, Switzerland, and even some parts of Germany. Denied access to livelihoods at home, Württembergers were emigrating en masse to America and Eastern Europe. To some extent at least, this was due to a system of social institutions that, as this article will show, prevented important groups of the country's inhabitants—among them women—from making a full contribution to its economy.²⁴

A first institutional feature that circumscribed both the development of the Württemberg economy and the opportunities of women within it was the state, which began in the later sixteenth century to expand taxation, warfare, bureaucracy, and its capacity to regulate local economic and social life.²⁵ Württemberg was a "German territory of the second rank"—the sort in which the vast majority of early modern Germans lived—and this gave its state three key features.²⁶ First, German territories experienced the growth of the early modern state in a particularly extreme form, partly because of the competition between territorial and imperial levels of sovereignty, and partly because of the nearly constant warfare—notably the Thirty Years' War—to which this competition greatly contributed.²⁷ Second, however, second-rank German territorial states could only expand taxation and conscription by granting privileges to local corporative elites and institutions: rulers allied with local communities and guilds to impose an intense regulation of

²² For detailed micro-studies documenting these characteristics of the early modern Württemberg economy, see David Sabean, *Property, Production and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1990); Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*; Hans Medick, *Weben und Überleben in Laichingen, 1650–1900* (Göttingen, 1996).

²³ For detailed evidence on the activities of women throughout the early modern Württemberg economy, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 115–27, 141–46, 207–17, 272–79.

²⁴ On the relative stagnation of many German economies between 1600 and 1800, and the institutional reasons for it, see Heide Wunder, "Agriculture and Agrarian Society," in Sheilagh Ogilvie, ed., *Germany: A New Social and Economic History*, Vol. 2: 1630–1800 (London, 1996), 63–99, here esp. 84–91; Peter Kriedte, "Trade," in Ogilvie, *Germany*, 100–33, here esp. 107–10, 123–25; and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "The Beginnings of Industrialization," in Ogilvie, *Germany*, 263–308, here esp. 281–97.

²⁵ See J. A. Vann, *The Making of a State: Württemberg, 1593–1793* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984); Peter H. Wilson, *War, State and Society in Württemberg, 1677–1793* (Cambridge, 1995), 5, 12–13, 26–73; Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 79–85; Sheilagh Ogilvie, "The German State: A Non-Prussian View," in John Brewer and Eckhart Hellmuth, eds., *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1998), 167–202, here esp. 174–75, 182–99.

²⁶ Vann, *Making of a State*, 36; on the typicality of such second-rank states in Germany, see Ogilvie, "German State," 169–73.

²⁷ Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Germany and the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," *Historical Journal* 35 (1992): 417–41, here 429–31.

individual economic, social, and demographic behavior, which was seen as beneficial by respectable male citizens and guild masters but which weighed particularly heavily on females.²⁸ Such intensity of regulation was not observed in societies—such as England and the Low Countries—where the state was secure enough largely to dispense with pandering to local interest groups.²⁹ The third characteristic of Württemberg, in which it resembled many other German territories, was that its state did not become strong enough to free itself from symbiotic reliance on corporative local interest groups until well into the nineteenth century. This gave rise to a sort of legal and institutional paralysis during which most of the sexual and economic legislation affecting women remained virtually unchanged, in both letter and execution, until after 1800.³⁰

One of the most important of the corporative local interest groups that enjoyed state support was the guild. In Württemberg, as in many other parts of early modern Central and Southern Europe, guilds were not restricted to urban crafts but governed rural workshops as well.³¹ They regulated not just traditional handicrafts but export-oriented proto-industries, primary-sector activities such as fishing and wine growing, and a wide array of service-sector activities such as shopkeeping and merchant trading.³² In addition, guild-like merchant associations monopolized most sectors of commerce and manufacturing, including the important worsted proto-industry of the Black Forest and the linen proto-industry of the Swabian Jura.³³ As late as 1793, one north German traveler through Württemberg remarked disapprovingly that “the greatest share of trade and manufactures is in the hands of closed and for the most part privileged associations.”³⁴ Guilds regulated who could set up a workshop, who could be employed, how much they could be paid, what techniques could be used, and what products could be made in many sectors of the Württemberg economy well into the nineteenth century. It was 1864 before the Württemberg state felt secure in abolishing guilds.³⁵

A second corporative interest group that regulated the Württemberg economy and women’s participation in it was the local community. In Württemberg, as in many other parts of early modern Germany, people held citizenship (*Bürgerrecht*)

²⁸ Hull, *Sexuality*, 10, 29–30, 36–52; Ogilvie, “German State,” 182–99; A. Maisch, *Notdürftiger Unterhalt und gehörige Schranken: Lebensbedingungen und Lebensstile in württembergischen Dörfern der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1992), 68–75.

²⁹ Ogilvie, “German State,” 167–73, 199–202; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London, 1989), 3–24, 64–73; Jan De Vries and Ad Van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997), 81–158; Hull, *Sexuality*, 107–53; Merry E. Wiesner, “Guilds, Male Bonding and Women’s Work in Early Modern Germany,” in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *La donna nell’economia secc. XIII–XVIII* (Prato, 1990), 655–69, here 667–68.

³⁰ On this, see Hull, *Sexuality*, for example 41, 128.

³¹ On the prevalence of such rural and regional guilds in Europe, see Sheilagh Ogilvie, “Social Institutions and Proto-Industrialization,” in Ogilvie and Markus Cerman, eds., *European Proto-Industrialization* (Cambridge, 1996), 23–37, here 30–33.

³² See Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 72–79.

³³ Walter Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompanie und ihre Arbeiter* (Jena, 1897); Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 77–79, 106–11; Medick, *Weben*, esp. 65–140.

³⁴ Christoph Meiners, “Bemerkungen auf einer Herbstreise nach Schwaben: Geschrieben im November 1793,” in Meiners, ed., *Kleiner Länder- und Reisebeschreibungen*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1794), 2: 235–380, here 292: “Handel und Fabriken sind dem größten Teil noch in Händen von geschlossenen, und meistens privilegierten Gesellschaften.”

³⁵ Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 72–79, 419–37; Hull, *Sexuality*, 41–42.

or settlement rights (*Beisitzrecht*) in their community first and foremost, and in the nation only by virtue of their community membership.³⁶ The villages and tiny towns of rural Württemberg operated their own autonomous community courts, appointed a myriad of community officials (about one-fifth of male household heads held some communal office), and met in regular face-to-face community assemblies. Local studies reveal that communities exercised intense surveillance and control over crop choice, farming techniques, agricultural and industrial markets, citizenship, settlement, marriage, mobility, inheritance, residential arrangements, sexuality, education, diligence, leisure, and consumption.³⁷ This gave rise to a dense network of multi-stranded interactions among community members. Communities, too, remained strong in Württemberg well into the nineteenth century, and helped underpin many of the regulations that affected women's economic position, particularly the notorious political restriction of marriage permits (*politische Ehekonsens*) and the persistent exclusion of females from many economic activities.³⁸

Early modern Württemberg was thus characterized by a very stable, interlocking system of social institutions—state, guild, and local community—that can be observed in operation, manifesting only the most glacial change, over a period of centuries. This equilibrium only began to break down in the nineteenth century, after the period under analysis in this article—and even then very slowly. Consequently, Württemberg is not well suited to analyzing great legal and institutional transformations such as the transition from “absolutism” to “civil society,” at least not until long after 1800.³⁹ It is ideally suited, however, by virtue

³⁶ The meanings contemporaries attached to these concepts are illustrated in the Württemberg citizenship law of 1833, which stated, “The communities are the foundation of the state. Every citizen of the state must, insofar as this law . . . does not justify an exception for him, belong to a community as *Bürger* or *Beisitzer* . . . No citizen of the state . . . can marry, hold public office, practice any occupation on his own account or with his own household, or even keep an independent dwelling, before he possesses the right of citizenship or *Beisitz* in a community.” “Revidirtes Gesetz über das Gemeinde- Bürger- und Beisitzrecht” (December 4, 1833), in A. L. Reyscher, ed., *Vollständige, historisch und kritisch bearbeitete Sammlung der württembergische Gesetze*, 19 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828–51), vol. 15.2: 1064–90, here 1064. For a detailed analysis of how *Bürgerrecht* and *Beisitzrecht* worked in practice, see Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 45–57.

³⁷ Sheilagh Ogilvie, “Coming of Age in a Corporate Society: Capitalism, Pietism and Family Authority in Rural Württemberg 1590–1740,” *Continuity and Change* 1 (1986): 279–331; Ogilvie, “German State,” 193–99; Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 42–72; Sabeian, *Property*, 106, 109, 148, 160–61; Paul Warde, “Law, the ‘Commune,’ and the Distribution of Resources in Early Modern German State Formation,” *Continuity and Change* 17 (2002): 1–28, esp. 22.

³⁸ The political control of marriages became state law in the early nineteenth century but had already been being enforced by local communities in many German territories for centuries. See Josef Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur und ökonomischer Wandel: England und Mitteleuropa in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus* (Göttingen, 1991); Rainer Beck, “Frauen in Krise: Eheleben und Ehescheidung in der ländlichen Gesellschaft Bayerns während des Ancien Régime,” in Richard Van Dülmen, ed., *Dynamik der Tradition: Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 137–212, here 210–11 and n. 196; John E. Knodel, “Law, Marriage and Illegitimacy in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *Population Studies* 20 (1967): 279–94, here 279–80; Elizabeth Mantl, *Heirat als Privileg: Obrigkeitliche Heiratsbeschränkungen in Tirol und Vorarlberg 1820 bis 1920* (Vienna, 1997); Hull, *Sexuality*, 30–31; Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 61–63.

³⁹ Even in the more “advanced” German territories, this transition was very gradual and hardly visible except among the literate, urban bourgeoisie until the very late eighteenth century, and in many German territories of the second rank, including Württemberg, there was little observable change in legal or institutional treatment of women before 1800. On this, see, for example, Hull, *Sexuality*, 6, 9, 128, 357, 408–09.

of its particularly strong and cohesive social networks, to assessing the impact of a very stable and long-lived historical equilibrium in which social capital played a major role.

LET US START BY LOOKING AT what light a social capital approach to Württemberg's rural-urban guilds sheds on women's position—and what light guilds' treatment of women sheds on social capital. As already mentioned, social capital theorists explicitly adduce preindustrial European guilds as exemplars of social networks generating beneficial social capital. Thus Robert Putnam holds that northern Italy's strong guilds created a social capital of information transmission, norm enforcement, and collective action that benefited the entire economy and society; by contrast, lack of this strong guild framework is supposed to be what led to governmental and economic failure in the Italian south.⁴⁰ Francis Fukuyama argues that present-day Germany manifests unusually high levels of trust and social capital, as a result of its historical heritage, in which guilds played an important role.⁴¹ Likewise, economists working on present-day developing and transition economies adduce the preindustrial European guild as an example of a social network generating a beneficial social capital for society at large.⁴² In a recent speech, for instance, the chief economist of the World Bank listed "guilds" among those institutions that, by generating social capital, could "support entrepreneurial efforts" in East European transition economies.⁴³

Early modern German guilds certainly manifested the two features that social capital theorists have identified as helping social networks generate social capital—"closure" and "multiplex relationships." "Closure" means that network membership is clearly and finitely defined, increasing the density of interactions between members and thereby intensifying the quality and reliability of the information sharing and third-party monitoring needed to enforce cooperation.⁴⁴ Guilds in Württemberg, as in most of preindustrial Europe, clearly defined membership through limiting admission to apprenticeship, journeymanhood, and mastership, and monitoring who was allowed to participate in activities reserved for guild members.⁴⁵ As we shall see, "closure" did help guilds generate social capital that benefited their members, but it also helped them generate social capital that harmed outsiders—such as women—with damaging repercussions on the entire economy and society.

Guilds were also characterized by "multiplex relationships," the other key

⁴⁰ Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work*, 125–37, 162, 229 n. 20.

⁴¹ Fukuyama, *Trust*, 345–53, 336.

⁴² Dasgupta, "Economic Progress," 351–52; Raiser, "Informal Institutions," 231.

⁴³ Joseph Stiglitz, "New Bridges across the Chasm: Institutional Strategies for the Transition Economies" (speech delivered to the World Bank, December 8, 1999), <http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/eca/eca.nsf/0/0ac8adc7b03aca0885256847004e2b82?OpenDocument>.

⁴⁴ For the original insight, see Coleman, "Social Capital," S104–S110. For a more rigorous development, see Joel Sobel, "Can We Trust Social Capital?" *Journal of Economic Literature* 40 (2002): 139–54, here esp. 151.

⁴⁵ Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 72–79, 127–80; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 21–22, 329–31; Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Guilds, Efficiency, and Social Capital: Evidence from German Proto-Industry," *CESifo Working Papers*, no. 820 (2002): 23–24; Hull, *Sexuality*, 42–43.



FIGURE 2: Master baker and wife do core guild tasks while unmarried female carries burdens. Florini, *Economus prudens et legalis*, 1191. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

feature theorists view as helping to create social capital. Interacting in multiple spheres—economic, religious, social, political—ensures that members of a social network have multiple means of getting information about, punishing deviance in, and urging collective action on one another.⁴⁶ Guilds in Württemberg, as in other parts of early modern Europe, were indeed characterized by such multi-stranded internal ties. Members of the worsted weavers' guild in the Württemberg district of

⁴⁶ Coleman, "Social Capital," S104–S110.

Wildberg, for instance, transacted in the same markets, socialized over wine at their regular tavern, held frequent face-to-face assemblies of the entire membership, collaborated on petitions to the government, marched to Stuttgart to hold political demonstrations, and attended each other's weddings and funerals.⁴⁷

Early modern German guilds therefore possessed the closure and multiplex relationships generally regarded as helping networks create social capital. But how did this social capital affect women, and what does it tell us about the broader impact of social capital on vulnerable groups and society as a whole? Guilds directly influenced the economic position of women in four main ways. First, they controlled vocational training. Second, they defined which households could engage in certain occupations and which household members could do certain tasks. Third, guilds regulated the transmission of professional licenses from male masters to their widows. Finally, guilds influenced the wages paid within the economic sectors they controlled.

Throughout Europe, guilds were central to vocational training, and in Württemberg they monopolized it: non-guild apprenticeships were not permitted.⁴⁸ Wholly female guilds were extremely rare in Europe (only five are recorded for German-speaking Central Europe and none for England); they were found only in large cities (four of the German ones were in Cologne); and they were restricted to certain sectors (especially seamstressing, gold working, and silk making).⁴⁹ In the majority of guilds, female apprentices and hence female masters (other than masters' widows) were an extremely unusual phenomenon: they are observed in a handful of medieval European societies, and in England, Scotland, and France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even in these exceptionally liberal guilds, females generally formed a tiny minority.⁵⁰ In most parts of Europe, including

⁴⁷ Ogilvie, "Guilds," 23–24.

⁴⁸ Unlike in England, where they were quite widespread in the eighteenth century; see K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1985), 228–29, 278, 312–13.

⁴⁹ Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham, N.C., 2001); Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago, 1986), esp. 124–27; Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), 170; Roper, *Holy Household*, 47; Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993), 83–84, 102–03; Michael Mitterauer, "'Als Adam grub und Eva spann ...' Geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung in vorindustrieller Zeit," in Birgit Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller and Mitterauer, eds., *Frauen-Arbeitswelten* (Vienna, 1993), 17–42, here 33–34; Quataert, "Shaping," 1132–33.

⁵⁰ Crowston, *Fabricating*; Cynthia Truant, "La maîtrise d'une identité? Corporations féminines à Paris aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," *Clio* 3 (1996), <http://clio.revues.org/document462.html>, 1–19, here 3, 6–7; Judith M. Bennett, "Medieval Women, Modern Women: Across the Great Divide," in David Aers, ed., *Culture and History 1350–1600* (Hemel Hempstead, 1992), 147–76, here 160; Andrea Kammeier-Nebel, "Frauenbildung im Kaufmannsmilieu spätmittelalterlicher Städte," in Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz, eds., *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, Vol. 1: *Vom Mittelalter bis zur Aufklärung* (Frankfurt, 1996), 78–90, here 85; Erika Uitz, "Zur wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Situation von Frauen in ausgewählten spätmittelalterlichen Hansestädten," in Barbara Vogel and Ulrike Weckel, eds., *Frauen in der Ständegesellschaft* (Hamburg, 1991), 89–116; Daryl M. Hafter, "Women in the Underground Business of Eighteenth-Century Lyon," *Enterprise and Society* 2 (2001): 11–40, here 48; Howell, *Women*, 74, 168; Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 95, 103; Katharina Simon-Muscheid, "Frauenarbeit und Männerlehre: der Geschlechterdiskurs im Handwerk," in Simon-Muscheid, ed., *Was nützt die Schusterin dem Schmied?* *Frauen und Handwerk vor der Industrialisierung* (Frankfurt, 1998), 13–34, here 31 with n. 36; Liliane Mottu-Weber, "L'évolution des activités professionnelles des femmes à Genève du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle," in Cavaciocchi, *La donna*, 345–57, here 349–50; E. William Monter, "Women in Calvinist Geneva," *Signs* 6 (1980): 189–209, here 200,

Württemberg, girls could not be apprentices even to this limited extent. As the Jena jurist Adrian Beier put it in 1685, "Masculine sex is one of the indispensable basic preconditions for admission to a guild. The entire social order . . . is based upon each sex taking on those tasks which are most fitting to its nature."⁵¹ Or, as Johann Friderich Christoph Weisser wrote in his 1783 treatise on Württemberg industrial legislation, "Anyone who wants to learn a craft has to possess particular qualities, which are necessary because without them no one can be accepted as an apprentice and registered with a guild. Among these qualities is . . . masculine sex, since no female may properly practice a craft, even if she understands it just as well as a male person."⁵²

Local documentary sources show that these regulations were sedulously enforced. Guilds in Württemberg penalized anyone who sought to learn or practice a craft or proto-industry without being formally apprenticed to it, and carefully registered all incoming and outgoing apprentices by name. Of the 1,258 apprentices admitted by the proto-industrial worsted weavers' guild in the ten communities of the district of Wildberg between 1598 and 1760, none was female.⁵³ The same was true of other rural-urban guilds whose records survive, such as woollen broadcloth weavers, butchers, and bakers.⁵⁴ Of the fifty pauper apprenticeships arranged by the church courts of Ebhausen and Wildberg between 1646 and 1800, none was for a girl.⁵⁵ Guilds thus effectively excluded girls from the main form of formal vocational training in the Württemberg economy.

It might be argued, as some economic historians have recently sought to do, that guilds' exclusion of females simply reflected the natural order. It was natural and understandable that guilds should exclude females: "women were mostly restricted to activities learned informally at home" and hence had no demand for guild training.⁵⁶ This echoes arguments used by guild masters at the time, concerned to defend their privileges against female competition.⁵⁷

Empirical findings cast doubt on such arguments. First, in Württemberg as in

202–04; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Feminist Studies* 8 (Spring 1982): 47–80, here 50; Maxine Berg, "Women's Work, Mechanisation and the Early Phase of Industrialisation in England," in Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge, 1987), 64–98, here 73–75; Snell, *Annals*, 279–94, 310; E. C. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (Basingstoke, 1996), 12–13; Hafter, "Women in the Underground," 14–15.

⁵¹ Adrian Beier, *Der Lehrjunge*, 5th edn. (Jena, 1717), 35.

⁵² Johann Fridrich Christoph Weisser, *Das Recht der Handwerker nach allgemeinen Grundsätzen und insbesondere nach dem herzoglichen Wirtembergischen Gesezen entworfen* (Stuttgart, 1780), 99–100: "Von einem Jeden, der ein Handwerk erlernen will, werden gewisse Eigenschaften erfordert, welche insgesamt dergestalten notwendig sind, daß ohne sie keiner zum Lehrjungen angenommen, und bei der Zunft eingeschrieben wird. Unter diese Eigenschaften gehört . . . Das männliche Geschlecht; denn ordentlicher Weise darf kein Weibsbild ein Handwerk treiben, ob sie es gleich eben so gut, als eine Mansperson, verstünde."

⁵³ HSAS, A573 Bü. 777–911 (1598–1762); for the details of the quantitative analysis, see Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 139–79.

⁵⁴ HSAS, A573 Bü. 912–48 (woollen broadcloth weavers), Bü. 949–1018 (bakers), Bü. 1019 (butchers).

⁵⁵ PAW KKP, Vols. 1–8 (1646–1800); PAE KKP, Vols. 1–8 (1674–1800); and Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 99.

⁵⁶ S. R. Epstein, "Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Preindustrial Europe," *Journal of Economic History* 58 (1998): 684–713, here 687 n. 10.

⁵⁷ Roper, *Holy Household*, 46; Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2000), 214; Hafter, "Women in the Underground,"

many other Western European societies, women married in their late twenties, 15–20 percent of them never married at all, and at any one time more than half of all females of prime working age were not married. These demographic realities gave women a strong incentive to learn vocational skills.⁵⁸ Second, the wives and widows of masters were permitted to do guilded work, under a husband's guild license. Thus between 1641 and 1760, 11–14 percent of active worsted weavers in the ten communities of the district of Wildberg were masters' widows, practicing under their husbands' guild licenses. In the database described earlier, consisting of 2,828 cases of observed work extracted from church-court records, 6 percent of the observed work of married women and 8 percent of the observed work of widows was in guilded activities.⁵⁹ Such women, too, had a demand for vocational training.⁶⁰ Finally, as we shall see, unmarried females were regarded as dangerous competitors by male journeymen and masters, and were persecuted when they encroached on tasks (such as wool combing or cloth weaving) reserved for male guild members. That is, women were not mostly restricted to domestic activities but had the desire and ability to work in guilded sectors.⁶¹ By excluding girls from apprenticeship, therefore, guilds were not simply reflecting the natural order but were deliberately enforcing what modern economists term "pre-market" gender discrimination in the labor market.⁶²

A second way guilds affected women's position was by defining and enforcing occupational demarcations. No one could legitimately work at a particular guilded activity without being a member of a master's household, and even within masters' households guilds reserved certain tasks for males. It might be thought that this was natural and reasonable, since all production took place within the household, and women could work under the guild licenses of their husbands, fathers, or masters. But the evidence shows that not all production took place within households, and not all women desirous of doing craft work enjoyed kinship ties to men with the appropriate guild licenses. These guild rules prevented women of all marital statuses from making a full contribution to the economy.

Thus, for instance, guild privileges prevented a married woman from practicing a different occupation from her husband, as in 1711, when the Bottwar shopkeepers' guild demanded that a village widow's shop be closed and her wares confiscated

esp. 16–18, 30–32; John Rule, "The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture," in Joyce, *Historical Meanings*, 99–118, here 107.

⁵⁸ Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 40–49, 127–28; Maryanne Kowaleski, "Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Demographic Perspective," in Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, eds., *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia, 1999), 38–81, 325–44, here esp. 325–44; Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, "Singular Past," in Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen*, 1–37, here 2, 4–5.

⁵⁹ Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 153–59, 230–36.

⁶⁰ See also Howell, *Women*, 2–4, 10, 74; Hafter, "Women in the Underground," 16.

⁶¹ Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 130–34, 296–98, 305–08; Howell, *Women*, 2; Mottu-Weber, "L'évolution," 347–48; Hafter, "Women in the Underground," esp. 16–18, 30–32.

⁶² See the evidence presented in Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 130–34, 295–98. On England, John Hatcher, "Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England," *Past and Present*, no. 173 (2001): 191–98, here 195–96, 198; and Joyce Burnette, "An Investigation of the Female-Male Wage Gap during the Industrial Revolution in Britain," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 50 (1997): 257–81, here 261–62, 272–73.



FIGURE 3: Married woman engages in guilded basketmaking alongside husband while unmarried female does housework. Florini, *Æconomus prudens et legalis*, 528. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

because she had married a dyer,⁶³ or in 1742, when an Effringen soldier's wife was jailed after a nailsmith reported her to the community assembly for encroaching on his guild privileges.⁶⁴ This might not seem to matter, until we recognize that many women were married to men who were economically incapable or abusive.⁶⁵ A database of 313 marital conflict cases in two Württemberg communities between 1646 and 1800 reveals that one-quarter involved economic failings on the part of the husband, one-quarter involved regular drunkenness by the husband, nearly half involved physical abuse by the husband, and more than one-tenth involved the husband depriving the wife of food.⁶⁶ Guild demarcations meant that an abused or deprived wife could not conduct a craft, proto-industry, or small shop of her own, but rather was forced, like one Wildberg weaver's battered wife in 1661, to "earn her food bitterly with spinning."⁶⁷

Guild demarcations also prevented widows from moving into occupations that better suited their capacities after their husbands died. Widows who did so were reported by guild members and punished by the guild, as in 1636, when a woollen weaver's widow was fined more than a week's average earnings by the worsted weavers' guild because "she took it upon herself to practice the craft, even though her deceased husband had never been apprenticed to worsted-making,"⁶⁸ or in 1764, when a village widow was punished for violating the bakers' guild privileges by trading in grain.⁶⁹ Catharina Fuchs, a poor day laborer's widow, was only granted a princely dispensation to open a tiny shop in 1652 on the grounds that she and her crippled son "will be able to sell nothing other than the ribbons they themselves make, matches, and such poor things, so [the shopkeepers' guild] will suffer no injury or encroachment."⁷⁰

But guild demarcations weighed most heavily on never-married women, who made up 40 percent of all females of prime working age (fifteen to sixty-four years), but were only allowed to do guilded work under the guild licenses of fathers or masters, and even then were excluded from many tasks. The proto-industrial worsted weavers, for instance, outlawed the numerous unmarried female weft-makers in 1611, ordering that "such daughters be kept to other and necessary domestic tasks and business, or caused to enter into honorable service."⁷¹ From

⁶³ HSAS, A228 Bü. 713, no. 7, fol. 4r, September 29, 1711.

⁶⁴ HSAS, A573 Bü. 95, fol. 6v, January 25, 1742.

⁶⁵ On the inadequacies and dangers of a "unitary" approach to the household that assumes the interests of wives to be faithfully represented by the decisions of husbands, see the stimulating historical analysis in Martha Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1550* (Chicago, 1998), esp. 233–37; and the economic arguments in Nancy Birdsall, "Analytical Approaches to Population Growth," in H. Chenery and T. N. Srinivasan, eds., *Handbook of Development Economics*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1988), 1: 477–542, here 511–12; Debraj Ray, *Development Economics* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 279–88; and Partha Dasgupta, *An Inquiry into Well-Being and Destitution* (Oxford, 1993), 333–36.

⁶⁶ For a detailed analysis of this database, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 179–94, esp. tables 4.8–4.10.

⁶⁷ PAW KKP, Vol. 2, fol. 43v, October 25, 1661: "Ihrer speiß [die] Sie mit spinnen Saur v.diennen."

⁶⁸ HSAS, A573 Bü. 810 (1635–36), unpag., rubric "Strafen": "hatt sich vnderstanden daß handtwerckh zutreiben, angesehen doch ihr mann see: daß engelsait machen nie erlehrt."

⁶⁹ HSAS, A573 Bü. 95, fol. 28v, December 17, 1764.

⁷⁰ HSAS, A573 Bü. 1149, fol. 32v–33v, July 16, 1652: "Sintenmahlen Sie nichts Alß selbstmachende bündlen schwevelhölzlen vnd derogleich. schlechte Sach faihl zue haben v.mag, Kein schad [od.] eingriff gethan würde."

⁷¹ "Engelsattweberordnung in A. 1608 [actually 1611] vfgerichtet," rpt. in Troeltsch, *Die Calwer*

then onward, the guild fined any master who employed an unmarried woman to do anything other than spin or run errands, as in 1669, when Hannß Schrotter was fined three weeks' average earnings for "setting his servant girl behind the loom and having her weave"—a strong deterrent to others thinking of letting unmarried women do prohibited guild work.⁷² Unmarried women who wished to weave cloth, make wefts, or comb wool were forced into the black market, where they risked heavy fines, as in 1754, when Juliana Schweickertin, a fifty-year-old independent unmarried woman, was fined nearly a third of a maidservant's annual wage for "weaving and combing, counter to the guild ordinance."⁷³ Even without perfect enforcement, the level of fines imposed cannot but have deterred the marginal black-market worker. This is borne out by the church-court database of 2,828 cases of observed work that has already been mentioned: it records many other illegal work activities but only three cases of black-market guilded work by unmarried females.⁷⁴ This contrasts with the situation in more dynamic early modern economies, where by the eighteenth century many guilds had either already largely given up the struggle to exclude female workers (as in England and the Low Countries) or were in the process of doing so (as in Scotland or France).⁷⁵

Guilds' use of their social capital of shared norms, information, and collective sanctions to enforce their monopoly undoubtedly benefited guild masters. But it forced many women into marginal activities such as spinning, begging, and the exploitive black-market "informal sector." Thus in a 1736 "soul-table" for ten Württemberg communities, 86 percent of never-married females depended wholly or partly on spinning for a livelihood, and 18 percent wholly or partly on charity. Even widows depended 60 percent on spinning and 12 percent on charity. The equivalent figures for men were 1 percent dependent on spinning, 2 percent on charity.⁷⁶ Furthermore, by excluding women from *guilded* sectors, guilds increased the supply of female workers in *unguilded* sectors, thereby lowering their wages—a form of "pre-market" labor discrimination that economists term "occupational crowding."⁷⁷

Guilds also affected women in a third way, by regulating widows' rights to continue family workshops. Some, such as the guild-like merchant-dyers' association that enjoyed a legal monopoly over dyeing and exporting Württemberg worsteds, simply prohibited any widow from continuing to trade after her husband's

Zeughandlungskompagnie, 435–53, here article 20, 446: "dergleichen Töchtern zue andern vnd nohtwendigen hauss Arbaiten vnd geschäftten Anzuehalten, oder sich In Ehrliche Dienst einzuelassen verursacht werden."

⁷² HSAS, A573 Bü. 92, fol. 5v, November 1, 1669: "Sein dienst mägdtiln . . . hindern Stuehl zue sez. vnd weeben zuelaß."

⁷³ HSAS, A573 Bü. 904 (1752–53), unpag., rubric "Strafen": "wider die Ordnung weeben und kämnen."

⁷⁴ For a detailed discussion of the compilation, representativeness, and reliability of this database, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 22–36.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Berg, "Women's Work," 73–75; Snell, *Annals*, 279–94, 310; Howell, *Women*, 124–27; Sanderson, *Women and Work*, 12–13; Hafter, "Women in the Underground," 14–15.

⁷⁶ HSAS, A573 Bü. 6967 (1736); for a detailed breakdown of women's livelihood sources as revealed in this source, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, esp. 214–15 (table 5.4).

⁷⁷ On this, see Joyce Burnette, "Testing for Occupational Crowding in Eighteenth-Century British Agriculture," *Explorations in Economic History* 33 (1996): 319–45.

death.⁷⁸ But most guild members wanted to make some provision for their own widows in the future, without permitting too much competition against themselves now. So most guilds allowed a master's widow to continue the workshop but imposed restrictions that limited her viability as a competitor.

Their main strategy was to make it hard for widows to replace lost spousal labor. Thus guilds cancelled widows' (but not widowers') guild licenses if they remarried,⁷⁹ as in 1711, when the Stammheim shopkeepers' guild demanded that a widow close her small shop when she remarried, "in order to maintain us by our just rights."⁸⁰ Guilds forbade the use of daughters for many guilded tasks, yet demographic realities meant that half of all widows lacked resident sons of any age.⁸¹ This left widows dependent on hired labor, but here guild rules were strict. Even for male masters, guilds prohibited hiring cheap female labor and limited the number of (relatively costly) apprentices and journeymen each master could employ. For widows, guild rules were much stricter and increased their costs above those of male guild members.⁸² The cheapest guilded labor was an apprentice, but nearly all guilds prohibited widows from employing one. Many deprived a widow even of existing apprentices, transferring them immediately to other (male) employers. Others let a widow keep existing apprentices, but imposed conditions: the apprentice must be the widow's own son, or nearly finished with his contract, or supervised by a (costly) journeyman. Many guilds only let widows practice at all if they employed journeymen, who were so expensive that few masters of either sex could afford them, especially in rural areas.⁸³ Others limited the kinds of work widows could do, even with journeymen, as in 1598, when Michel Zeller's widow was heavily fined for employing a journeyman to comb wool in her attic—although no guild article forbade this.⁸⁴ Quantitative analysis of local censuses, account books, and guild registers show that these regulations were strictly implemented: guilds carefully regulated how often a master could take on an apprentice, the number and background of boys admitted to apprenticeship (and thus ultimately journeymanship), the length of journeymanship, and the hiring of non-guild (especially female) labor.⁸⁵ As a result, no widows kept apprentices, few kept journeymen, and many were forced to give up the workshop altogether, faced with the discriminatory costs the guilds imposed on them.⁸⁶

Guilds also discriminated against widows in other ways. Many made a widow's

⁷⁸ Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*, 67.

⁷⁹ Weissner, *Recht*, 184; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 258–63.

⁸⁰ HSAS, A228 Bü. 713, no. 7, fol. 4r, September 29, 1711: "Unß bey gleichem recht zu manutieniren."

⁸¹ HSAS, A573 Bü. 6965 (1717); A573 Bü. 6966 (1722); A573 Bü. 6967 (1736); A572 Bü. 68 (1736); Stadtarchiv Bietigheim, A1952 (1736).

⁸² For a detailed analysis of the guild legislation underlying this discussion, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 258–63.

⁸³ On this, see Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*, 209–10; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 260–61; Claus-Peter Clasen, *Die Augsburger Weber: Leistungen und Krisen des Textilgewerbes um 1600* (Augsburg, 1981), 23, 59; Annemarie Steidl, "Probleme und Möglichkeiten über Frauenarbeit im ländlichen Handwerk zu sprechen," in Simon-Muscheid, *Was nützt*, 117–30, here 119.

⁸⁴ HSAS, A573 Bü. 777 (1598–99), unpag., heading "Strafen."

⁸⁵ Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 127–80.

⁸⁶ Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 258–63.

license to practice conditional on her behaving “honorably,” a catchall discretionary clause blatantly open to abuse by local guild officials and male masters concerned to limit competition, here as elsewhere in preindustrial Europe.⁸⁷ No guild permitted widows any say in the collective decisionmaking of the guild, the election of guild officers, or the formulation of guild regulations.⁸⁸ And Württemberg guilds were not even the most restrictive: in many other European societies, guilds altogether denied a widow the right to continue the workshop, restricted her to indoor work only, limited the time period for which she could practice after her husband’s death, made it conditional on her having a son to take over, limited the size of her workshop, permitted her to make only certain products, or assigned her a lower rate of pay than male masters.⁸⁹ Guilds thus used their social capital of common norms, shared information, and collective action to protect their male members from competition even by fellow members’ widows.

A fourth and final way in which guilds affected women was by legally capping their earnings in the few tasks they were allowed to do. The tailors’ guilds, for example, permitted women to work as seamstresses but restricted them to certain tasks,⁹⁰ and artificially capped the day-wage of an experienced seamstress at a level lower than that of an apprentice lad, less than half that of a journeyman, and less than a third that of a master.⁹¹ Likewise, the weavers’ guilds permitted unmarried women to spin but imposed piece-rate ceilings lower than the market rate, as in 1654, when they secured a charter stating that “spinning a pound [of yarn] shall be paid at as high a wage as the [weavers’] guild agrees among its members, the dyers as well as the worsted weavers shall support this in all ways, and each master shall then infallibly stick to the agreed wage.”⁹²

Local court records show that guild members who offered higher rates to spinners suffered formal and informal sanctions, as in 1623, when Hans Pfeiffer was suspected of having paid “Röbelin’s wife” 10 *Kreuzer* above the guild rate ceiling: he immediately found his fellow guild masters “spreading rumors about him,” interrogating the spinner, and “seeking to bring him to punishment before the

⁸⁷ Weisser, *Recht*, 184; Erika Uitz, “Frauenarbeit im Handwerk: Methodenfragen und inhaltlichen Probleme,” in Simon-Muschel, *Was nützt*, 89–116, here 89; Elfe-Marita Eibl, “Frauen als ‘Karriermittel’ im Zunft Handwerk der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte und Landeskunde* 20 (1995–96): 51–70, here 65; Wiesner, *Working Women*, 152–53, 158; Elizabeth Musgrave, “Women and the Craft Guilds in Eighteenth-Century Nantes,” in G. Crossick, ed., *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500–1900* (Aldershot, 1997), 151–71, here 157.

⁸⁸ This was the case even in the comparatively liberal French guilds, as shown in Truant, “La maîtrise,” 1, 5–7. For additional German examples, see Weisser, *Recht*, 183; Roper, *Holy Household*, 40, 49.

⁸⁹ For an array of examples, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 262–63, esp. n. 324; Howell, *Women*, 133; Wiesner, *Working Women*, 195; Roper, *Holy Household*, 50–53.

⁹⁰ On Württemberg, see HSAS, A573 Bü. 4383 (1635–44), booklet no. 2, fol. 13v; HSAS, A573 Bü. 4396, booklet no. 1 (1636–44), unpag.; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 307. On other parts of Europe, see Howell, *Women*, 134; Wiesner, *Working Women*, 178–80; Quataert, “Shaping,” 1135–38; Roper, *Holy Household*, 48–49; Crowston, *Fabricating*.

⁹¹ HSAS, A573 Bü. 5279 (1642); A573 Bü. 5280 (1654); A573 Bü. 5281 (1669).

⁹² Emendations dated 1654 to “Engelsattweberordnung in A. 1608 [actually 1611] vferichtet,” rpt. in Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*, 435–53, here article 21 (446 n. 2): “solle vom Pfundt . . . Zuespinnen, so vihl alss sich ein handwerckh mit einander vergleichen würdt zuelohn geraicht werden, vnd die Färber sowohl allss die Knapen hiezue alle guete befürderung erweisen, bey welchem vereinbarten Lohn alssdann Ein Jeder Maister . . . würdt ohnfehlbar verpleiben solle.”

guild"; ultimately, Pfeiffer went to court "to rescue his honor."⁹³ Guilds actively enforced the piece-rate ceilings, fining individual weavers who dishonorably betrayed their fellow guild masters by paying spinners "too much," and confiscating raw wool and spun yarn from village spinners working for "outsiders" willing to pay them a market rate.⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, some spinners earned a little more by black-market work, but the regulations still harmed them: evading rules cost time, penalties were substantial, and breaking the law laid spinners open to confiscation, exploitation, and blackmail. There were also wider effects: the piece-rate ceilings created disincentives for spinners to produce the finer wool and adopt the technological innovations required to increase yarn—and hence cloth—quality.⁹⁵ By using their social capital to create a shared norm that paying spinners a market wage was "dishonorable," to publicize information about violations of this norm, and to ensure that violators were punished, guilds harmed not just the female spinners but the wider economy. One must surely ask whether the cost of this social capital, which was disproportionately paid by women, did not outweigh any benefits enjoyed by guild members.

It might be argued that guilds did not matter, since the women they excluded simply worked illegally in the black market or "informal sector." This argument has recently been adduced by economic historians concerned to rehabilitate guilds from criticisms that they inflicted harm on non-members whom they prevented from earning a living.⁹⁶ But, as studies of the "informal sector" in modern poor economies show, forcing people to work on the black market instead of in open and regulated formal markets not only reduces contract enforcement and worker protection (thereby harming the weakest economic agents) but also increases costs and risks and distorts incentives (thereby inflicting deadweight losses on the whole economy). Formal-sector social networks such as guilds, by using their social capital to force non-members into the "informal sector," harm not just the outsiders who are prevented from earning a legal living but also the economy as a whole.⁹⁷ Those early modern European societies that ceased to force women (and other excluded groups) into the informal sector were also, and not coincidentally, those whose economies flourished.⁹⁸

⁹³ HSAS, A573 Bü. 15, fol. 618r, February 20, 1623: "hette ihn . . . gleich verschreien"; "hette ihn vor dem handtwerckh, begehren in ein straff zupringen"; "zu rettung seiner ehren."

⁹⁴ For a detailed discussion of these regulations and their impact on the industry, see Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*, 125–31; Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 353–55; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 307–08.

⁹⁵ Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*, 125–31; Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 352–60; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 307–08.

⁹⁶ See, for example, Charles R. Hickson and Earl A. Thompson, "A New Theory of Guilds and European Economic Development," *Explorations in Economic History* 28 (1991): 127–68, here 128–31; Reinhold Reith, "Technische Innovation im Handwerk der frühen Neuzeit? Traditionen, Probleme und Perspektiven der Forschung," in Karl Heinrich Kaufhold and Wilfried Reininghaus, eds., *Stadt und Handwerk in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2000), 21–60, here 45–49; Epstein, "Craft Guilds," 689–91.

⁹⁷ On the effects of the "informal sector" in modern developing societies, see Ray, *Development Economics*, 261, 346–48, 395–96; on the risks and penalties it involved in a preindustrial European context, see Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 71, 399, 415, 420, 435–37, 444–45, 449; Hafter, "Women in the Underground," 12, 19, 31–32. For a detailed discussion of the wider economic repercussions of forcing women into the informal sector, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 347–48.

⁹⁸ For additional evidence and arguments to this effect, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 344–52.

IT MIGHT NOT SEEM SURPRISING THAT the social capital generated by guilds was used in ways that harmed women. Most historians of women's work have in recent years come to a clear-sighted recognition that there was no "pre-capitalist" golden age within the guild framework, although economic historians are taking much longer to face up to the same empirical findings.⁹⁹ But the effect of *community* institutions on women has hitherto hardly been examined, and there is still a very widespread tendency to accept communitarian rhetoric at face value.¹⁰⁰ Only gradually are historians bringing into the light of day what communities actually did to women and incorporating these findings into our understanding of what "community" means in practice.¹⁰¹

The acceptance of communitarian rhetoric at face value is exemplified in much of the social capital literature, which explicitly adduces preindustrial European communities as exemplars of social networks generating a social capital that benefited the entire society.¹⁰² Thus Robert Putnam has argued that the strong urban communities of medieval and early modern northern Italy facilitated social capital in ways denied to southern Italy, where communities were weaker.¹⁰³ James Coleman and many others have argued that closely knit village communities such as those of preindustrial Switzerland generated social capital that improved the efficiency of resource management and contract enforcement, thereby benefiting the entire society.¹⁰⁴

Certainly, it seems justified to view preindustrial communities as examples of social capital in action. For one thing, they satisfy in full measure social capital

⁹⁹ On the constraints placed on females by early modern guilds, see, for example, Howell, *Women*, 70–94, 124–58, 167; Roper, *Holy Household*, 48–49; Judith C. Brown, "A Woman's Place Was in the Home: Women's Work in Renaissance Tuscany," in Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers, eds., *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1986), 206–24, here 212–13; Clasen, *Die Augsburger*, 130–33, 323–25; Musgrave, "Women and the Craft Guilds," 167; Helga Schultz, "Handwerkerrecht und Zünfte auf dem Land im Spätmittelalter," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 7 (1983): 326–50, here 330; Wiesner, *Working Women*, 150–51; Monter, "Women in Calvinist Geneva," 202–03; Rudolf Michel Dekker, "Women in Revolt: Collective Protest and Its Social Basis in Holland," *Theory and Society* 16 (1987): 337–62, here 347; Quataert, "Shaping," 1126–27, 1147–48.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Blickle, *Kommunalismus: Skizzen einer gesellschaftlichen Organisationsform* (Munich, 2000); Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (Oxford, 1990), 1–4, 27–28; Barbara Alpern Engel, *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work, and Family in Russia, 1861–1914* (Cambridge, 1996), 239, 241; Christine Worobec, *Peasant Russia: Family and Community in the Post-Emancipation Period* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 13, 145, 204; Jane McDermid, "Women in Urban Employment and the Shaping of the Russian Working Class," in Hudson and Lee, *Women's Work*, 204–19, here 205–07, 212–15.

¹⁰¹ For outstanding recent examples, see the sensitive and innovative study of Jewish and Catholic women in a confessionally mixed community in eighteenth-century Lorraine by Ulbrich, *Shulamit*, esp. 35, 138, 306; and the wide-ranging survey of sexual regulation in eighteenth-century Germany by Hull, *Sexuality*, 36–41. On the concepts of community, fraternity, and citizenship as fundamentally and inevitably male-dominated, see Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. 33, 41, 49–50.

¹⁰² Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work*, 121–48, 163–85; Coleman, "Social Capital," S101–S103; Dasgupta, "Economic Progress," 337–38; Narayan and Pritchett, "Social Capital," 283–84.

¹⁰³ Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work*, 123–37, 162.

¹⁰⁴ Coleman, "Social Capital," S101–S103; Dasgupta, "Economic Progress," 337–38; Narayan and Pritchett, "Social Capital," 283–84; Robert Wade, "Why Some Indian Villages Cooperate," *Economic and Political Weekly* 33 (1988): 773–76; M. McKean, "Success on the Commons: A Comparative Examination of Institutions for Common Property Resource Management," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 4 (1992): 247–81.

theorists' two criteria of "closure" and "multiplex relationships."¹⁰⁵ Thus in Württemberg, as in Switzerland and other societies characterized by strong communities, villages and small towns achieved "closure" by regulating citizenship, settlement, migration, marriage, and household formation.¹⁰⁶ Until well into the nineteenth century, many German communities regulated precisely which inhabitants could become full community members, by deliberately granting marriage permits only to "economically and morally strong persons," thereby ensuring "closure" for themselves as social networks.¹⁰⁷

Preindustrial communities also manifested a high density of "multiplex relationships." Members of Württemberg communities transacted with one another in the marketplace, attended the same church (non-Lutherans were generally denied citizenship, and church attendance was closely monitored), and met regularly in face-to-face community assemblies where each citizen was asked if he had anything to report.¹⁰⁸ These multi-stranded relationships among community members allowed "the resources of one relationship to be appropriated for use in others," making it more possible to generate a social capital of common norms, shared information, and collective sanctions.¹⁰⁹

But how did this social capital actually work? In particular, pursuing our theme, how did it affect the position of weaker economic agents such as females? The local community was so central to Württemberg society that it influenced the position of women in a wide variety of ways. Here I single out six for special attention. First, communities decided whether an individual could live locally at all. Second, they administered the system of gender tutelage governing who was regarded as a legal adult. Third, they regulated the sale, exchange, and inheritance of land. Fourth, they regulated the wages that could be paid in labor markets. Fifth, they controlled access to common resources. And finally, they regulated consumption.

The first thing to understand is that communities did not recognize females as full members.¹¹⁰ The son of an existing community citizen automatically inherited full citizenship rights, including the right to bring in a wife from outside. But a citizen's daughter was only endowed with right of residence until she married. She could not endow her husband with citizenship, and if she failed to marry (as 15–20 percent of Württemberg women did), even her residence was conditional on good behavior.¹¹¹

It might be argued that such regulations were both necessary and natural—

¹⁰⁵ Coleman, "Social Capital," S104–S110; Sobel, "Can We Trust," 151.

¹⁰⁶ Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 45–57.

¹⁰⁷ Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten*; Beck, "Frauen in Krise," 210–11 and n. 196; Knodel, "Law, Marriage," 279–80; Mantl, *Heirat*; Hull, *Sexuality*, 30–31, 37–38; Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 61–63.

¹⁰⁸ Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 57–72; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 20, 332–34.

¹⁰⁹ Coleman, "Social Capital," S104–S110 (quotation); Hull, *Sexuality*, 37; C. J. Calhoun, "Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization for Comparative Research," *Social History* 5 (1980): 105–26, here esp. 120.

¹¹⁰ Hull, *Sexuality*, 31, 37; Thomas Robisheaux, *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. 106–07; John Theibault, "Community and Herrschaft in the Seventeenth-Century German Village," *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992): 1–21, here esp. 12.

¹¹¹ On women's lack of full community membership in other parts of preindustrial Germany and Europe, see Merry E. Wiesner, "Nuns, Wives, and Mothers: Women and the Reformation in Germany," in Sherrin Marshall, ed., *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), 8–28, here 19; Hull, *Sexuality*, 31; Maria Bogucka, "Women and Economic Life in the Polish Cities during the 16th–17th Centuries," in Cavaciocchi, *La donna*, 185–94, here 186; P. J. P.

necessary because otherwise communities could not achieve the “closure” required to generate social capital, and natural because females enjoyed community membership by being the daughters or wives of citizens. But the empirical findings show otherwise. Local women whose husbands lacked community citizenship were hindered from making a living, as in 1793, when inhabitants of Gültlingen were ordered to deny further shelter to a non-citizen’s wife who was “roaming around under the pretext of collecting rags, equipped with a slip of paper from [the paper-miller], but without any official permit.”¹¹² Community councils routinely ordered citizens’ unmarried daughters to leave the community, for allegedly causing conflict, being idle, arousing neighbors’ complaints, or threatening imprudent marriages, as in 1767, when a Wildberg widow’s daughter was “warned in the highest terms against her intended marriage with the night watchman and instructed that instead of hurling herself into misfortune she shall immediately betake herself into service elsewhere.”¹¹³ Communities ejected maidservants who allegedly caused conflict in households, created sexual temptations for local men, were reported as promiscuous, absconded from abusive masters, tried to set up in business independently, or even simply brought poor reputations from other communities, as in 1718, when Josua Reulin’s Catholic maidservant was thrown out of Pfrondorf on the grounds that she had already been “ordered away by other localities in the neighborhood.”¹¹⁴

Above all, unmarried women living in lodgings independently rather than as members of households were pejoratively labeled *Eigenbrötlerinnen* (“own-breaders”) and continually harassed by community councils, even though they made up nearly 10 percent of the female population and headed 6 percent of those units regarded as responsible for earning their own livelihoods.¹¹⁵ A complaint by a male citizen was usually enough to ensure that an *Eigenbrötlerin* was ejected, as in 1717, when the Ebhausen council responded to citizen complaints by ordering three local *Eigenbrötlerinnen* to “move away within eight days,”¹¹⁶ in 1752, when Barbara Kleiner was reported by her Wildberg landlord and promptly ordered “to refrain from *Eigenbröten*, and instead enter into a proper job as a servant, otherwise she shall be driven out of town by order of the authorities,”¹¹⁷ or in 1787, when a

Goldberg, “Female Labour, Service and Marriage in the Late Medieval Urban North,” *Northern History* 22 (1986): 18–38, here 32.

¹¹² HSAS, A573 Bü. 100, fol. 28r–v, 1793: “und das Weib durchstreife mit einem Zettel von Rivinius versehen, jedoch ohn Patent, unter dem Vorwand des Lumpensammelns.”

¹¹³ For the latter example, see PAW KKP, Vol. 6, fol. 124r–v, March 18, 1763: “ire vorhabende Mariage mit dem Nachwächter Günthner äußerstens abgerath. und die weisung gegeben worden, daß sie, statt sich in ein Unglück zu stürzen, sich nechstens in einen aus wärtigen dienst begeben.” For further examples of ejection of citizens’ daughters, and more detailed analysis, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 135–36.

¹¹⁴ For the latter example, see PAE KKP, Vol. 3, p. 52, May 8, 1718: “an andern orten in der nachbarschafft weggebotten worden ist.” For additional examples of ejections of maidservants, and more detailed analysis, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 309–17.

¹¹⁵ Proportions calculated from HSAS, A573 Bü. 6965 (1717), 6966 (1722), and 6967 (1736). On high proportions of independent unmarried “singlewomen” in other preindustrial European societies, see Kowaleski, “Singlewomen,” 325–44; Truant, “La maîtrise,” 8–9; Merry E. Wiesner, “Having Her Own Smoke: Employment and Independence for Singlewomen in Germany, 1400–1750,” in Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen*, 192–216, here esp. 192–94.

¹¹⁶ PAE KKP, Vol. 3, p. 16, April 16, 1717: “innerhalb 8 tagen wegZiehen.”

¹¹⁷ HSAS, A573 Bü. 95, fol. 31v, December 14, 1752: “sich deß Eigebrötlens zu bemüßigen,

Pfrondorf weaver was ordered “not to anger the community by giving any further shelter” to the independent spinster Magdalena Braun.¹¹⁸

These attitudes toward independent females can be observed in most parts of preindustrial Europe.¹¹⁹ But they were effectively enforced in some societies—notably in German-speaking Central Europe—and much less thoroughly in others.¹²⁰ What made the difference was the availability of institutional mechanisms to put them into action—or, to put it in the terms of modern social scientists, the existence of social networks able to generate and sustain a social capital of shared norms about such women, efficient information transfer about their activities, and collective sanctions against them. Substantial male citizens naturally welcomed the existence of community social capital that enabled them to eject any female who threatened their interests. But many women’s revealed preferences suggest that it was not best for the women themselves. Nor is it clear that it was most productive for the economy at large.

Communities affected women’s position in a second way by subjecting those females who *were* permitted to dwell in the community to a system of gender tutelage (*Geschlechtsvormundschaft*) under which they were not legal adults. Gender tutelage was imposed on Württemberg women in the 1555 national law code, but local court records suggest that it was widely ignored until around 1600, when community councils began to enforce it.¹²¹ From then on, women were increasingly denied access to justice and contract enforcement unless accompanied by male guardians—an unmarried woman had to be supported by her *Pfleger*, a wife or widow by her *Kriegsvogt*.

Some have portrayed gender tutelage as a beneficent arrangement that protected women from exploitation by their husbands.¹²² However, careful examination of local-level documentary sources tells a rather different tale. *Pfleger* and *Kriegsvögte* were appointed by community councils, were often themselves council members, and—in Württemberg as in other parts of Europe—were used by communities to exercise surveillance and control over women, particularly spinsters or widows.¹²³ Community councils imposed guardians on women accused of conflictual or sexually suspicious behavior, forbade women to litigate without guardians, permitted male transaction partners to refuse to deal with women

hingegen in einer ordenlichen dinst zugehen, widerigen falls sie aus der Stadt von obrigkeits wegen getriben werden solle.”

¹¹⁸ PAE KKP, Vol. 7, fol. 65r, August 15, 1787.

¹¹⁹ See, for instance, the censorious attitudes toward “singlewomen” discussed in Bennett and Froide, “Singular Past,” esp. 14–15.

¹²⁰ Wiesner, “Having,” esp. 194–97; Rublack, *Crimes*, 139, 149, 152–58, 162–63, 256.

¹²¹ Antonie Kraut, *Die Stellung der Frau im württembergischen Privatrecht: Eine Untersuchung über Geschlechtsvormundschaft und Interzessionsfrage* (Tübingen, 1934); “Erstes Landrecht” (May 6, 1555), in Reyscher, *Vollständige Sammlung*, 4: 95, referring to “Zweites Landrecht” (July 1, 1567), 171–420, where differences between the 1555 and the 1567 version are recorded in the footnotes, here esp. 231; David Sabeau, “Allianzen und Listen: Die Geschlechtsvormundschaft im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,” in Ute Gerhard, ed., *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts: Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1997), 460–79; Sabeau, *Property*, 208–14; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 249–52.

¹²² Sabeau, “Allianzen,” 461.

¹²³ Annamarie Ryter, “Die Geschlechtsvormundschaft in der Schweiz: das Beispiel der Kanton Basel-Landschaft und Basel-Stadt,” in Ute Gerhard, ed., *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts: von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1997), 494–506, here 498–502.

without guardians present, compelled women to involve guardians in economic transactions, and pressed women to submit to unwelcome economic decisions taken by guardians, as in 1621, when a deserted wife in Oberjettingen was pressed by her *Kriegsvogt* to sell her property against her will.¹²⁴ There even appears to have been an expectation that a widow obtain the consent of her guardians before remarrying, as in 1674, when an Altbulach widow became betrothed to a man on condition that “he become a community citizen and her *Kriegsvogt* give his agreement.”¹²⁵ Unmarried women found it hard to rid themselves of careless or abusive guardians. Thus in 1784, the Wildberg council only permitted the forty-eight-year-old Maria Barbara Wildeisin to wrest her small inheritance from two negligent, community-appointed guardians because she was “known to be mature enough to do this at her present age and to be of an economical way of life,” and because another male citizen had “offered to supervise her, as guardian.”¹²⁶

In Württemberg, as in other parts of Europe, gender tutelage enabled communities to prevent women from making decisions of which they disapproved. But men, though equally likely to threaten communal welfare, were subjected to no such tutelage. Furthermore, gender tutelage laid a woman open to abuse by negligent or fraudulent guardians, and prevented her from making decisions of which her guardian disapproved, even when—as with remarrying or disposing of her property—she saw it as her best choice.¹²⁷

A third way in which communities affected women was through the discretion community councils enjoyed in regulating local property markets.¹²⁸ Court records show that Württemberg community councils frequently used this discretion to transfer property from the hands of widows (whom they regarded as unreliable) into those of adult males. Thus in 1592, Georg Lodholz’s widow in Ebhausen complained that her married son had simply taken possession of one of her fields, but her son prevailed on a large number of village council members to testify in his favor, and she lost the field.¹²⁹ In 1624, Jauß Roller’s widow in Liebelsberg complained that her offspring had “got together behind her back and sold [her] meadow to the village bailiff, without her knowledge and against her will”; challenged, the bailiff admitted that “yes, he had bought it and paid for it, whereupon she asked why she hadn’t been informed, to which he responded, what harm would it do if such an old animal [as she] should die of hunger?”¹³⁰ In 1664,

¹²⁴ For the latter example, see HSAS, A573 Bü. 15, fol. 545v, August 25, 1621. For all other examples, and analogous cases from other parts of early modern Europe, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 249–52.

¹²⁵ PAW KKP, Vol. 3, p. 624, February 16, 1674: “wann Er burger werde vnd . . . Ihr Kriegsvogt Seinen willen darein gebe.”

¹²⁶ HSAS, A573 Bü. 49, fol. 112r–v, June 10, 1784: “weil bekant, daß Sie zumal bey ihrem gegenwärtigen Alter hierzu selbst gewachsen und eine haushälterische Lebens-Art habe”; “erbotten, daß er als Curator über dieselbe Aufsicht haben.”

¹²⁷ For a detailed discussion, see Ryter, “Geschlechtsvormundschaft,” 498–502; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 249–52.

¹²⁸ For examples of this pattern in other parts of German-speaking Central Europe, see Robisheaux, *Rural Society*, 106–07; Theibault, “Community,” 12; Sheilagh Ogilvie and Jeremy Edwards, “Women and the ‘Second Serfdom’: Evidence from Early Modern Bohemia,” *Journal of Economic History* 60 (2000): 961–94.

¹²⁹ HSAS, A573 Bü. 12, fol. 46v, March 9, 1592; A573 Bü. 12, fol. 55v–57v, March 13, 1592.

¹³⁰ HSAS, A573 Bü. 16, fol. 64r–v, June 3, 1624: “hetten hinderrucks ihren solch mad, gegen dem schulltheüssen . . . v.kaufft, welches also, ohn ihr wissen vndt willen, gefertigt worden”; “ja, er habs

the widowed Anna Stenglin in Liebelsberg complained that her sons-in-law had sold off her property against her will, and that the village council had ratified the sale in the teeth of her written objections because "all the members of the community council who were at the ratification were close kin of the purchaser and therefore looked to his utility."¹³¹ Community councils preferred to transfer land to married men, whom they explicitly regarded as more important citizens than widows: as the bailiff put it, who would care if such old animals should die of hunger?

Communities acted similarly with industrial enterprises. In 1668, for instance, the Wildberg community council dispossessed the widowed miller Ursula Haaf in favor of her son-in-law Hannß Jacob Bueb on the grounds that Ursula was "nearly 80 years old" (in fact she was sixty-seven) and owed tax arrears. But other local documents reveal not only that the community council exaggerated Ursula's age to justify its action but that all local mills were facing economic difficulties, and dispossessing the widow did not solve the underlying problem. Quite the opposite: over the next three years, Hannß Jacob battered and starved his mother-in-law and children, abused the servants until they quit their jobs, operated the mill without diligence or expertise, defrauded the customers, failed to pay rents or taxes, and ultimately bankrupted the whole enterprise. As one customer trenchantly remarked, "Bueb simply doesn't understand a thing about milling, and nevertheless wants to be a miller." This case illustrates the basic flaw in community decision-making: what was needed to manage this complex craft was not male gender, physical strength, or youth but the ability to retain employees, satisfy customers, husband resources, and "understand . . . about milling." These were all qualities a female might possess in greater abundance than a male, as shown by the many local mills operated for long periods by widows: in 1736, for instance, no fewer than 20 percent of all mills in the Württemberg district of Wildberg were being operated by widows.¹³²

The preference of community councils for transferring property from females to males, therefore, did not necessarily benefit either the individual agricultural or industrial enterprise or the wider economy. But it did benefit male citizens, who gained preferential access to basic economic inputs.

Communities affected the position of some of their most vulnerable female inhabitants in a fourth way, by regulating markets in another basic economic input, labor. Wage ceilings for servants and laborers were legislated in state ordinances but specified and enforced by community councils—that is, by social networks of male employers.¹³³ The explicit purpose was to ensure that "no one shall entice or improperly tempt away another person's servant, whether male or female, either in the towns or in the countryside, nor pay a higher wage than set down in this wage

kaufft, undt auch bezallt, darüber sie vermeldt, warumb mans ihro nicht auch gesagt, schulltheuß außgeschlagen, waß es schaden sollt, wann schon ein solch alltz thier, hunger stirb."

¹³¹ HSAS, A573 Bü. 129c, fol. 25r–v, May 14, 1664: "die sambtliche richtere so bej der vörrtigung geweßen, dem käuffer nahe verwandt und also vff seinen nutzen gesehen."

¹³² PAW KKP, Vol. 3, p. 190, January 24, 1668; p. 278, December 11, 1669; pp. 312–14, March 19, 1670; pp. 340–49, October 28, 1670: "daß Er bueb sich eben vmb daß mühl weeßen nichts v.stehe vnd doch ein Müller sein wolle"; also pp. 396–99, July 7, 1671.

¹³³ On community influence over wage regulations, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 111–15, 134–35, 287–93.

ordinance, on pain of jailing or a money fine.”¹³⁴ It is sometimes argued that wage ordinances were widely evaded. But a 1631 list of actual servants’ wages in the district of Wildberg shows absolute wage levels and female-male wage ratios consistent with those laid down in the 1642 wage ordinance.¹³⁵ The social capital of dense and multi-stranded relationships that characterized Württemberg communities helped ensure that employers who deviated from the low-wage norm were penalized. Thus, for instance, in 1619, informal rumors within the community ultimately gave rise to a case before the community court in which Hans Drescher demanded that Burckhard Schlaiffer’s wife be punished because she “enticed away a servant whom Drescher had had at his place for several years.”¹³⁶ In the current state of research, we cannot say whether Württemberg communities capped female wages more strictly than male, but suggestive evidence is provided by the fact that the female-male wage ratio in these Württemberg communities lay around 0.3–0.4, considerably lower than the 0.6–0.7 common at the same period in England, where communities lacked cohesion, making it harder for male employers to collude.¹³⁷ We cannot exclude the possibility that, as other studies have found, females who violated the official wage ceilings were reported and punished more frequently than males.¹³⁸

Württemberg communities also helped enforce the legal piece-rate ceilings the male weavers’ guilds imposed on female spinners. In the 1670s, for instance, Wildberg community officials assisted guild officers in confiscating yarn from village spinners working at higher than legal rates.¹³⁹ As late as 1799, when the representative of a newly established cotton manufactory sought to recruit spinners in Wildberg at an attractive wage, the community council was only willing to let him hire paupers, on the grounds that “the persons here capable of [such work] can earn their livings from wool-spinning, which cannot be diminished without disadvantaging the worsted weavers’ guild.”¹⁴⁰ Informal rumor mechanisms within the community were backed up by formal penalties imposed by the community court on those

¹³⁴ HSAS, A573 Bü. 5279 (1642), handwritten insert for district of Wildberg, beside fol. 39: “solle keiner dem andern seine Ehehalten Knecht oder Mägd in den Stätten noch über Land abspannen vnd vngbüßlich abpracticieren noch über disem Tax ein mehrern Lohn geben bey befahrender Thurn: oder Geltstraff.” On wage ceilings as the central aim of such ordinances, see Renate Dürr, “Der Dienstbothe ist kein Tagelöhner . . . ‘ Zum Gesinderecht (16. bis 19. Jahrhundert),” in Gerhard, *Frauen*, 115–39, here 125–29.

¹³⁵ HSAS, A573 Bü. 5279 (1642); A573 Bü. 5597 (1631). For detailed discussion, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 111–15, 134–35, 287–93.

¹³⁶ HSAS, A573 Bü. 15, fol. 436r, December 2, 1619: “ain ehehalten, so er drescher . . . etlich jarlang bey sich gehabt, ein ehehalten entfiehrt.” For additional examples, see HSAS, A573 Bü. 17, fol. 404r–v, September 3, 1640; PAW KKP, Vol. 3, p. 524, September 13, 1672.

¹³⁷ See the arguments advanced for England in Hatcher, “Women’s Work Reconsidered,” 195–96; and Burnette, “Investigation,” 260–62, 267, 277–78. On early modern Europe more widely, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 111–15, 134–35, 287–93.

¹³⁸ Thus, for instance, Simon A. C. Penn, “Female Wage Earners in Late Fourteenth-Century England,” *Agricultural History Review* 35 (1987): 1–14, here 4–5, 7, 9, 13, suggests that enforcement of the English Statute of Labourers after the Black Death showed “anti-female prejudice.”

¹³⁹ HSAS, A573 Bü. 824 (1668–69), Zettel 9; Bü. 826 (1670–71), Zettel 15; Bü. 827 (1671–72), fol. 46, Zettel 1–2.

¹⁴⁰ PAW KKP, Vol. 8, fol. 106v, January 17, 1799: “hier die hiezu taugliche Personen sich [gstr. auch] durch Wollenspinnerey nähren können, welche ohne Nachteil der Zeugmacher Profeßion nicht eingeschränkt werden könnte.”

who behaved “dishonorably” by paying their spinners “too much.”¹⁴¹ The social capital of dense and multi-stranded relationships that characterized Württemberg communities created formal and informal enforcement mechanisms deterring individual employers from deviating from the norm that one did not pay one’s employees above the guild or community wage ceiling.¹⁴² Community institutions sustained norms, conveyed information, and took collective action that benefited its members, who were mainly male employers, at the expense of non-members such as servants, laborers, and spinners, among whom women and the poor were disproportionately represented.

A fifth way in which communities affected women was by regulating access to common resources such as pastures, woods, and waters, which were central to agricultural production in early modern Württemberg.¹⁴³ Women could not hold community office, sit on community councils, or speak at community assemblies.¹⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, such community institutions allocated common resources in ways that discriminated against females as a visible minority.

Unmarried women had no right to the commons, and even widows suffered discrimination by community councils. During the 1660s, for instance, Anna Barbara Haugin sought to continue operating the family farm in Gültlingen on the same basis as her deceased husband, who as a pastor had enjoyed freedom from *corvée*. Although this freedom was confirmed by a series of court decisions, the village council “forbade her meadow and water, excluded her from village pastures and the tithe, and also deprived her of two [common-land] cabbage fields.”¹⁴⁵ Ignoring a legal decision that ordered the community to “let her prosper and enjoy the conveniences and everything that the citizens are given to enjoy in common, equally with any other inhabitant,” the village council targeted her in its regulation of agricultural output markets by failing to inform her of relevant legislation,¹⁴⁶ manipulated community assemblies to deprive her of access to commons,¹⁴⁷ and continued to deny her “the village privileges.”¹⁴⁸

Other widows also had to struggle for their share of common resources against male citizens who calculated that females’ visible differences (and lack of voice in communal institutions) meant their entitlements could be challenged. In 1708, for instance, a Pfrondorf widow complained that “she was being denied her share of wild fruit on the pastures outside the village” through physical violence by several male citizens.¹⁴⁹ In 1787, a young male citizen complained at the Wildberg

¹⁴¹ See, for instance, the case recorded in HSAS, A573 Bü. 15, fol. 618r, February 20, 1623.

¹⁴² For a suggestive characterization of the impact of similar forms of social capital in the American South during the Jim Crow era, see Steven N. Durlauf, “The Case ‘Against’ Social Capital,” *Focus* 20 (1999): 1–6, here 2.

¹⁴³ Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 66–69; W. von Hippel, *Die Bauernbefreiung im Königreich Württemberg*, 2 vols. (Boppard am Rhein, 1977), 1: 66; Sabean, *Property*, 6; Warde, “Law,” esp. 22.

¹⁴⁴ Hull, *Sexuality*, 31, 37; Robisheaux, *Rural Society*, 106–07; Theibault, “Community,” 12.

¹⁴⁵ PAW KKP, Vol. 2, fol. 92r–v, December 11, 1663: “habe man Ihro waid vnd wasßer v.botten, So werden Sie auch von deß Fleckhen wisen, vnd dem Zehend. vßgeschlossen, auch seyen Ihro zwey Krauttländ. entzogen worden.”

¹⁴⁶ PAW KKP, Vol. 2, fol. 154v, October 20, 1665.

¹⁴⁷ PAW KKP, Vol. 3, p. 300, February 18, 1670.

¹⁴⁸ PAW KKP, Vol. 3, pp. 298–301, February 18, 1670: “Fleckhens privilegia” (299).

¹⁴⁹ PAE KKP, Vol. 2, fol. 48r, December 21, 1708: “daß man sie nicht habe zu einem theil holtz bühren habe kommen wollen lassen.”

community assembly that “there are citizens and widows here who are permitted to be free from the citizens’ tax on account of their poverty . . . and nevertheless they enjoy citizens’ commons; as an example he instances Gottfried Niemann’s widow who has already been in service for a long time in Sulz and probably does not pay citizen’s tax.” He then revealed his own personal interest: “he believes that the younger [male] citizens, who have all the burdens of citizens upon them and do not yet enjoy any common lands, would have a better right to the common lands than these persons.”¹⁵⁰ Although state officials initially defended the widows’ rights, by 1793 the community assembly—at which women had no voice—decided that a widow (but not a widower) who remarried should lose any commons plot.¹⁵¹

The village elite of landowning males used their dominance of community institutions to obstruct any threat to their own privileged position—whether adopting agricultural innovations or opening access to females and outsiders.¹⁵² Until long after 1800, Württemberg’s agricultural sector was thoroughly regulated by a social network that sought above all things to maintain the status quo, excluded females from decisionmaking, and discriminated against them in its decisions. This limited agricultural growth as well as women’s ability to contribute to it.

Communities affected women in a sixth way, by using communal social capital to regulate consumption behavior. Sumptuary legislation was promulgated by the state but interpreted and enforced mainly by local communities.¹⁵³ Communities appointed “censors” to monitor “the excessive sartorial display that has got out of hand,” and penalized individuals—most of them females—who purchased and wore proscribed garments.¹⁵⁴ One surviving register records 110 sumptuary offenses fined over a twelve-month period (1713–1714) in Wildberg, a community of only 300 households.¹⁵⁵ Of those fined, 91 percent were female, a pattern widely

¹⁵⁰ HSAS, A573 Bü. 99, fol. 30v–31r, probable date April 1787: “Es seyen burger und Wittfrauen hier, welche von der burgersteuer wegen ihrer Armuth frey gelassen . . . und dem ungeachtet burger-Allmanden geniesen. Als Ein beyspiel führe er des Gottfried Niemanns Wittib an welche schon lange in Sulz in diensten seye u. wahrscheinlich keinen burgersteuer reiche”; “Er glaubte, daß die jüngere bürger, welche alle burgerl.: Onera auf sich [gstr. hab laiden] [haben] und noch keine Allmanden genießen, ein vorzüglicheres Recht zu den Allmanden jener Personen hätten.”

¹⁵¹ HSAS, A573 Bü. 100, fol. 15r, 1793.

¹⁵² For examples of how Württemberg community institutions blocked the adoption of new crops and agricultural techniques, see, for example, Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 66–69.

¹⁵³ On the extent and limitations of such legislation, and its disproportionate enforcement against females, see A. Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Houndmills, 1996), 214–72; Carlo Marco Belfanti and Fabio Giusberti, “Clothing and Social Inequality in Early Modern Europe: Introductory Remarks,” *Continuity and Change* 15 (2000): 359–65, here 359–61; Cissie Fairchilds, “Fashion and Freedom in the French Revolution,” *Continuity and Change* 15 (2000): 419–33, here esp. 420–21. On the Württemberg legislation, see, for example, “Zweite Polizeiordnung” (October 28, 1644), in Reyscher, *Vollständige Sammlung*, 13: 41–44; “Dritte Polizeiordnung” (October 8, 1660), in Reyscher, 13: 423–35, here esp. article 3 (428–32); “Vierte Polizeiordnung” (December 17, 1681), in Reyscher, 13: 577 (summary in n. 635); “Fünfte Polizeiordnung” (December 6, 1712), in Reyscher, 13: 921–26; HSAS, A21 Bü. 224 (Kleiderordnung 1712); “Erläuterung der Polizei-Ordnung” (May 2, 1713), in Reyscher, 13: 759 (summarized in n. 1002); “General-Ausschreiben: Erinnert an die genaue Beobachtung der Polizei-Ordnung” (July 17, 1714), in Reyscher, 13: 1023; “General-Rescript in Betriff der Unbefugten Nachahmung von Uniform-Kleidern und Farben” (September 6, 1731), in Reyscher, 14: 91–93; “Generalrescript, betreffend die Beförderung der Religiosität und Sittlichkeit” (January 13, 1739), in Reyscher, 14: 220–31, esp. article 16 (230); “Vierte Trauer- und Leichentax-Ordnung” (April 24, 1784), in Reyscher, 14: 997–1015, here esp. articles 4–8 (1000–02).

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, PAW KKP, Vol. 2, fol. 18r, December 14, 1660: “daß überhand genommene . . . Klaid. Pracht.”

¹⁵⁵ HSAS, A573 Bü. 6712, fol. 3r–6v, 1713–14.

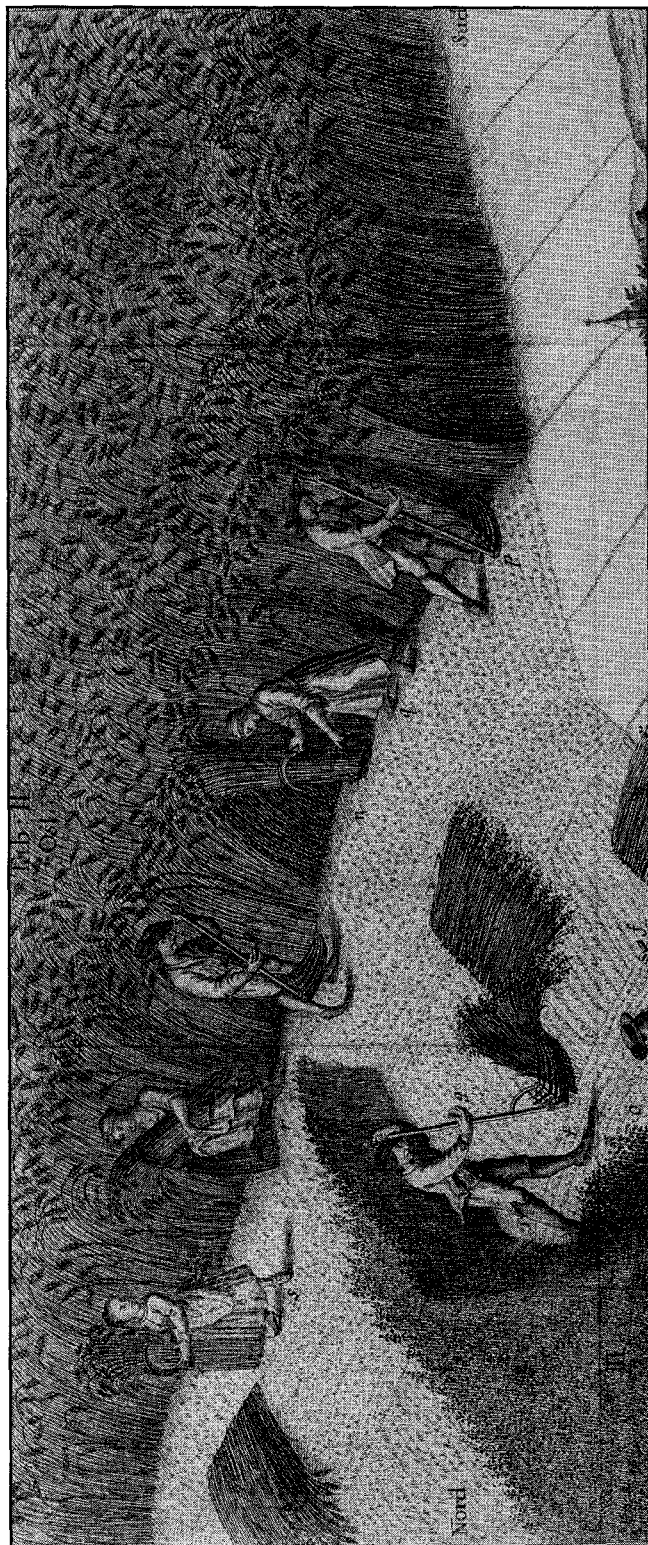


FIGURE 4: Women work alongside men as agricultural laborers harvesting grain. Johann Friedrich Mayer, *Fortsetzung der Beyträge und Abhandlungen zur Aufnahme der Land- und Hauswirthschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1770), facing 247. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

observed in sumptuary enforcement throughout preindustrial Europe.¹⁵⁶ The average fine inflicted was over 6 *Kreuzer*, nearly an average day's earnings for a local proto-industrial weaver and six days' wages for a maidservant.¹⁵⁷ A fine of this size did not make it impossible to indulge in new forms of consumption, but it could not fail to deter the marginal consumer.¹⁵⁸

Community councils also imposed other penalties on female consumption, exhorting communal officeholders' wives to refrain from sartorial display "in order to set a good example to others,"¹⁵⁹ imposing public shaming on women who dressed above their station,¹⁶⁰ inquiring severely into a wife's alleged "disloyalty in the domestic economy" when she bought a new skirt without her (alcoholic) husband's permission,¹⁶¹ and even denying poor relief to an old woman whose children "let themselves be observed in clothes above what is fitting."¹⁶² Often, communities combined this concern about women's excessive consumption with an equal concern about women's excessive working practices, as in 1703, when the Ebhausen community council ordered widows to "refrain from the shameful misbehavior they have been engaging in, especially at spinning bees, and their uppishness in dress,"¹⁶³ or in 1684, when it sentenced the *Eigenbrötlarin* Barbara Müller to three days and nights in jail because "she remained in the tavern past closing-time and spoke very impudently, saying that she could earn 3 *Batzen* in a quarter of an hour, so what did it matter if she consumed something? . . . Unlike this tankard, she didn't have a lid."¹⁶⁴

This combination of intense work and enhanced consumption by women, which so worried community councils, is strongly reminiscent of Jan De Vries's "industrious revolution," during which early modern individuals—particularly women—are thought to have shifted their time-allocation from leisure and household production into income-earning work, supplying the economy with more labor and using their earnings to consume more market goods, both of which encouraged economic growth.¹⁶⁵ But in societies such as Württemberg, entrenched elites such as guild masters and community elders used their institutional powers as members

¹⁵⁶ Hunt, *Governance*, 251–54.

¹⁵⁷ Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*, 221–25, calculates the average daily earnings of a worsted weaver in this region as 8 *Kreuzer*. On maidservants' wages, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 111–14.

¹⁵⁸ The impact of community-level sumptuary regulation in delaying and dampening changes in female consumption patterns in rural Württemberg to the end of the eighteenth century is confirmed by the gender-specific analyses of marriage inventories in Medick, *Weben*, 384–87, 398–406, 414, 427.

¹⁵⁹ PAW KKP, Vol. 4, fol. 252r, January 18, 1684: "ändern mit einem Exempel vorzuegehen."

¹⁶⁰ PAW KKP, Vol. 4, fol. 220r–222v, June 7, 1682; PAW KKP, Vol. 5, fol. 100v–103v, April 19, 1691; PAE KKP, Vol. 2, fol. 46r, July 15, 1708.

¹⁶¹ PAE KKP, Vol. 5, pp. 218–19, January 30, 1767.

¹⁶² PAW KKP, Vol. 5, fol. 64v, February 4, 1687: "sich in Klaiden über gebihr sehen laßen."

¹⁶³ PAE KKP, Vol. 2, fol. 19r, May 1, 1703: "ernstl. Verweißung gethan, daß sie des . . . schändlichen Vnwesens, so bißher bey v. Vnter ihnen, v. sonderlich in Liechtgärg Vorgelauff., auch Übermuths in Kleidern bemüssig. soll."

¹⁶⁴ PAE KKP, Vol. 1, fol. 16r, September 28, 1684: "daß sie . . . über Zeit im wirths hauß gebliben vnd damal. sich frecher weiß vernehmen laßen, sie Konn in einer Vrtel stund 3 batz. verdienen, wann sie schon etwz verzehre"; also November 7, 1684: "sie hab auch kein deckhel, wie dz Kántlin."

¹⁶⁵ Jan De Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1992), 85–132, here esp. 106, 110, 112–14, 118–19; De Vries, "The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution," *Journal of Economic History* 54 (1994): 249–71, esp. 257, 261; Berg, "Women's Work," 93–95; Snell, *Annals*, 309–10 with n. 87.

of recognized social networks not only to restrict women's production decisions, thereby affecting their incentives to intensify work, but also to limit the extent to which they could transform their production decisions into new consumption choices.¹⁶⁶ Again, we must ask whether the social capital generated by Württemberg's communities might not have come at too high a price, in terms not only of women's welfare but also of limiting the wider economic growth that the "industrious revolution" brought to other eighteenth-century European economies.¹⁶⁷

But perhaps women, though excluded from the male-dominated social capital of community and guild, formed their *own*, female-dominated social capital that sustained women's well-being in an otherwise hostile institutional environment? Interestingly, there is an example of such network formation among women in the preindustrial Württemberg countryside—the spinning bee. Spinning bees were gatherings organized by women of all marital and household statuses to share lighting and heating costs, alleviate tedium, transmit information through gossip, and (for the unmarried) meet courting males in a neutral environment. But this example of female social capital is the exception that proves the rule, for spinning bees and the women who attended them were subject to continual harassment by male-dominated community institutions. Community councils, assemblies, and church courts issued repeated prohibitions against spinning bees and punished the women who attended them through sentencing them to money fines, imprisonment, and even ejection from the community.¹⁶⁸ Communities' main formal concern was that spinning bees encouraged unregulated contact between unmarried women and men, leading to illegitimate pregnancies. But community institutions' objections to spinning bees ranged much more widely than this, as shown by their objection to *married* women participating in such gatherings, even with good economic justification. Thus in 1734, Michel Kuch's wife was fined by the Ebhausen community church court for attending a spinning bee organized by another married woman, despite her careful explanation that "[working] alone she does not earn her lighting costs."¹⁶⁹

One aspect of communities' wider dislike for spinning bees appears to have related precisely to their tendency to create a social capital of information transmission and collective (albeit informal) sanctions. In a typical complaint, a male citizen of Wildberg claimed in 1745 that these constant, irritating gatherings of female spinners "led to nothing but the passing of judgments on the authorities

¹⁶⁶ On disapproval of "excessive" consumption by women in other societies of German-speaking Central Europe, see Wiesner, "Having," 197, 199, 201; Dürr, *Mägde*, 159, 182–83; Dürr, "Die Dienstbothe," 119. On the persistence of institutional restrictions on consumption in France until after circa 1750, see Fairchild, "Fashion and Freedom," 420.

¹⁶⁷ On the importance of the "industrious revolution" for eighteenth-century European economic growth, see esp. De Vries, "Between Purchasing Power," 85–92; and De Vries, "Industrial Revolution," 249–56. On the extent and causes of differences in its distribution across different European societies, see Sheilagh Ogilvie, "The European Economy in the Eighteenth Century," in T. W. C. Blanning, ed., *The Short Oxford History of Europe*, Vol. 12: *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688–1815* (Oxford, 2000), 91–130, here 111–13, 128–30.

¹⁶⁸ For a detailed survey of the ordinances against spinning bees in early modern Württemberg, see Hans Medick, "Village Spinning-Bees: Sexual Culture and Free Time among Rural Youths in Early Modern Germany," in Medick and David W. Sabean, eds., *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and History* (Cambridge, 1984), 317–39; for a discussion of local-level enforcement, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 284–85.

¹⁶⁹ PAE KKP, Vol. 3, fol. 178r, February 28, 1734: "weil sie alleine das liecht nicht verdiene."



FIGURE 5: Woman spins while men chop wood and hunt. Florini, *Æconomus prudens et legalis*, 495. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

and other people.”¹⁷⁰ Community institutions expressed the concerns of their male members about the rival social network represented by the spinning bee in which women not only created their own norms—“the passing of judgments”—but shared this information and informally sanctioned “the authorities and other people”—that is, the respectable *Ehrbarkeit* of male citizens who dominated community courts and community assemblies.

Female social networks existed, therefore, but had features that prevented them from generating significant social capital. For one thing, they lacked the admission criteria and hence the “closure” that, by intensifying the quality and reliability of the information sharing and third-party monitoring required to enforce cooperation, rendered the formally constituted male social networks so formidable.¹⁷¹ For another, they were networks of the powerless, with no effective defense against the cohesive guilds and communities of powerful males, whose social capital was so efficiently mobilized against them. As a result, male social networks were largely successful in manipulating their own social capital so as to turn female networks into informal, illegal, and irregular gatherings whose potential to generate and benefit from social capital was stifled.

SOCIAL CAPITAL HAS IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS for thinking about gender—but gender has even more important implications for thinking about social capital. As this article has sought to demonstrate, social capital provides a conceptual framework useful for identifying and analyzing the precise characteristics of those social institutions that facilitate gender discrimination. Patriarchal attitudes were universal in preindustrial Europe, but they were put into effect to a widely varying extent in different European societies. They could be enforced most effectively where there were social institutions manifesting “closure” and “multiplex relations”—that is, social networks such as strong and closely knit guilds and communities. Such institutions created the “social capital” that enabled individual men to coordinate their actions to create and disseminate shared norms about female behavior, convey information efficiently about violations of these norms, and organize collective action to impose sanctions on those who deviated from these norms. Societies with strong social networks, such as Württemberg, were much better able to impose and enforce norms regulating the training, work, marriage, residence, and consumption behavior of females than was the case, for instance, in the Low Countries, England, France, Scotland, or even (increasingly) Prussia in the same period.¹⁷² While patriarchal norms meant that women faced very serious restrictions in all preindustrial European societies, social capital made it easier to *enforce* these norms in societies with strong and closely knit guilds and communities.

But if social capital is helpful in thinking about gender, gender is even more

¹⁷⁰ HSAS, A573 Bü. 95, fol. 14r, May 10, 1745: “nichts als ausrichten der Obrigkeit und anderer leüthe ausgeübet werde.” For a detailed discussion of the regulation of spinning bees, see Medick, “Village Spinning Bees” (on the legislative framework); and Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 29, 166, 184–86, 208, 241, 313 (on local-level realities).

¹⁷¹ For the original insight, see Coleman, “Social Capital,” S104–S110; for a more rigorous development, see Sobel, “Can We Trust,” esp. 151.

¹⁷² For a comparative perspective, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, 344–52.

helpful in thinking about social capital. As theoretical concepts, social capital and social networks have hitherto been warmly embraced by social scientists, who regard them as being uniformly beneficial, not just for network members but for the whole society.¹⁷³ But empirical and theoretical considerations such as those presented in this article suggest that social capital should be considered in a cooler and more skeptical light.

The guilds and local communities of rural Württemberg did function as social networks. They satisfied the political scientists' criteria of "closure" and "multiplex relationships" required for the effective creation of social capital, and they used this social capital to sustain norms, share information, punish deviants, and organize collective action. But the norms they enforced, the information they shared, the forms of deviancy they punished, and the collective action they organized were deeply implicated in the exclusion of women from many sectors of the preindustrial economy and the exploitation of women in many others. Guilds excluded girls from vocational training, prevented married women and widows from pursuing different occupations from their husbands, forbade unmarried women to do many guilded tasks altogether, limited widows' ability to carry on the family workshop, and forced thousands of spinners and seamstresses to work at starvation wages. Communities denied females full citizenship, ejected unmarried women when male citizens complained, enforced a form of gender tutelage that prevented women from pursuing their own utility, discriminated against widows in property markets, forced maidservants and female laborers to work at wage rates less than one-third that of males and below their market level, restricted widows' entitlements to common resources, and penalized women's consumption choices. In short, these social networks used their social capital to protect the norms and privileges of their own male membership, but by so doing reduced many women's well-being and limited their contribution to the wider economy.

How can the social networks of preindustrial Germany help us think more clearly about social capital now? These historical findings suggest three important lines of inquiry.

First, they suggest that early theorists such as James Coleman were right to argue that effectiveness in generating social capital may be a positive function of a network's "closure," the care with which it defines membership. Only closure can create the dense network of interactions among the same people, enabling coherent formulation of collective norms, universal sharing of information, rapid detection of violators, and effective imposition of sanctions.¹⁷⁴ But closure has its costs. Gender, ethnicity, religion, and race offer visible criteria for achieving network closure, and empirically social networks have often excluded females as well as members of other easily identifiable groups such as Jews or people of different skin colors.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ See, for instance, the original contributions by Coleman, "Social Capital"; and Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work*; and, from a burgeoning recent literature, the almost uniformly optimistic assessments of social networks by the essays in Dasgupta and Stiglitz, *Social Capital*.

¹⁷⁴ Coleman, "Social Capital," S104–S110.

¹⁷⁵ On the exclusion of Jewish and female household-heads from community membership and community assemblies in German Lorraine, see Ulbrich, *Shulamit*, 153–54, 289–302. On guilds' particularly strong enmity to Jews, see Ulbrich, *Shulamit*, 257; and Patricia Behre, "Raphael Levy—'A Criminal in the Mouth of the People,'" *Religion* 23 (1993): 19–44, here 19 with n. 2, 27 with n. 27, 29

More recently, social capital theorists such as Robert Putnam have claimed that this problem can be solved by replacing the “bonding” social capital created by closure with so-called “bridging” social capital, which forms ties with other groups. But this does not deal with the problem that—as comparisons between male and female social networks in preindustrial Germany strongly suggest—network closure may be *essential* for effectively formulating norms, conveying information, detecting deviants, and undertaking collective action. That is, it may be *theoretically inevitable* as well as *empirically widespread* for strong social capital to be associated with strong gender and ethnic discrimination. If so, the claim that all members of society can gain from social capital is untenable.

Second, the historical findings for preindustrial Europe suggest that social networks not only *exclude* outsiders but use their social capital to reap benefits at the *expense* of outsiders. This article has illustrated how a social capital of shared norms, efficient information transmission, and collective sanctions was manipulated to benefit male guild masters and male community citizens at the expense of women. It also harmed other outsiders, such as Jews, foreigners, bastards, non-Lutherans, and members of “dishonorable” occupations.¹⁷⁶ These tactics were not merely an incidental expression of patriarchal social attitudes but a deliberate and essential component of the strategy pursued by social networks to sustain and defend their own norms and privileges. That is, historical findings suggest that the benefits of social capital are commonly secured at the expense of network outsiders, who are often particularly vulnerable members of society. A group with members necessarily implies the existence of non-members, and it is not clear what—if anything—can encourage social capital to exist while preventing it from being used by insiders against outsiders.

Third, history suggests that social capital does not always benefit society as a whole. The social capital created by preindustrial German guilds and communities protected monopolists from competition, prevented occupational and geographical mobility, reduced human capital investment, helped employers exploit workers, encouraged social exclusion, and stifled innovation in production and consumption. One might argue that the social networks of preindustrial Württemberg were exceptional, “bad” social networks as opposed to the many “good” social networks described by political scientists in such glowing terms. But research from a vast array of other preindustrial European societies reveals that their guilds and local communities behaved in very similar ways, and that where they did not—as in France, the Netherlands, England, or Scotland—it was because their strength and cohesion were breaking down.¹⁷⁷ Many modern social networks—Mafias, cartels,

with n. 36, 39. On requirements by German community councils that Jews and prostitutes wear distinguishing clothes, see Roper, *Holy Household*, 98. On guilds’ discrimination against women, bastards, and members of “dishonorable” occupations, see Roper, *Holy Household*, 36–55; Ogilvie, *State Corporatism*, 336–38; Stuart, *Defiled Trades*, 189–221. On the role played by social capital in helping to enforce racial segregation in the American South, see Durlauf, “Case,” 2.

¹⁷⁶ See the discussion in Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, chap. 7; Ogilvie, “Guilds,” 14–17, 24–25; and Stuart, *Defiled Trades*.

¹⁷⁷ Thus, for instance, Crowston, *Fabricating*, discusses how the all-female seamstresses’ guild of eighteenth-century Paris exhibited much less “closure” than the traditional male guilds and much less frequently sought to enforce its monopoly. On the relative strength of guilds and communities in

lobbying organizations, political parties, even religious clubs—also generate social capital that redistributes resources to their members rather than increasing the welfare of society as a whole.¹⁷⁸ The historical findings suggest that a network may as easily coordinate on bad norms as good norms. Furthermore, as James Coleman himself acknowledged, “effective norms in an area can reduce innovativeness in an area, not only deviant actions that harm others but also deviant actions that can benefit everyone.”¹⁷⁹

The historical findings on gender presented in this article have important implications for how social scientists think about social capital. They illustrate the significance of network “closure,” the harm social capital can inflict on network outsiders, and the questionable nature of claims that social capital benefits the wider society rather than special-interest groups that are already powerful. When we ask which institutional framework is best—whether for women or for the economy more widely—history suggests that we scrutinize social networks and social capital with caution.

different early modern European societies, and their treatment of women, see Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*, chap. 7.

¹⁷⁸ This possibility is acknowledged but unfortunately not pursued in Fukuyama, *Trust*, esp. 156–59; and Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 350–63. For a prescient discussion of these problems with social capital, long before the term became fashionable, see Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities* (New Haven, Conn., 1982), esp. 125, where he explicitly refers to the abuses practiced by guilds.

¹⁷⁹ Coleman, “Social Capital,” S105.

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The Dynamics of Urban Development: Towns in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Hungary

BALÁZS A. SZELÉNYI

CONTRADICTION AND CONFUSION cast their shadow over the understanding of urban development in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Hungary.¹ In textbooks on European civilization and macro-historical comparative narratives, prominent voices stress the division of Europe into two parts: East and West. According to this argument, from the early modern period these two regions of Europe followed diametrically opposite trajectories. Capitalism emerged in the western part, as the occidental city defeated the feudal countryside, bringing three-storied buildings, gas-lit cobblestone streets, tinkers, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs, enterprises, coffee houses, newspapers, and factories to developing towns. East of the Elbe, in contrast, the countryside overcame the cities. There were peasants, lords, grain, forests, bears, plenty of wine, and herds of cattle, but few towns. While in Western Europe towns expanded and grew from the sixteenth century on, contributing along the way to the expansion of capitalism and democracy, east of the Elbe they were subjugated to noble rule and lost their autonomy, leading to a stunted civic society.² This

Research for this text was conducted in the Eger Chapter Archive, the Hungarian National Archives, the Hungarian National Library, the Municipal and District Archives of Levoča and Košice (Slovakia), the Municipal Archive of Spišská Nová Ves (Slovakia), the Sibiu Branch of the National Archives of Romania, and the United States Library of Congress. I would like to thank the editors and readers of the *AHR* for their comments and suggestions. Further, the article would not have been possible without support from the Fulbright Minority Studies and Regional Program, the American Council of Learned Societies Eastern European Program, the American Council of Learned Societies Library of Congress Fellowships in International Studies, and the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress.

¹ Including Slovakia and Transylvania.

² See Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, 1974); T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philip, eds., *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe* (New York, 1985); Ernest Bramsted, *Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany* (Chicago, 1964); Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, 3 vols. (New York, 1982–84); Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (1967; rpt. edn., New York, 1979); Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (New York, 1947); Sándor Gyimesi, *A városok a feudalizmusból a kapitalizmusba való átmenet időszakában* [Towns during the transition from feudalism to capitalism] (Budapest, 1975); Eric Hobsbawm, “The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century: I,” *Past and Present*, no. 5 (May 1954): 33–53; and “The Crisis of the 17th Century: II,” 6 (November 1954): 44–65; Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge, 1985); Marion Malowist, “The Problem of the Inequality of Economic Development in Europe in the Later Middle Ages,” *Economic History Review* 19, no. 1 (1966): 15–28; Zsigmond Pál Pach, *Die ungarische Agrarentwicklung im 16–17. Jahrhundert: Abbiegung vom westeuropäischen Entwicklungsgang* (Budapest, 1964); Henri Pirenne, *A History of Europe from the Invasions to the XVI Century*, Bernard Miall, trans. (London, 1939); Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660–1815* (Cambridge, 1958); Jenő Szűcs, “Vázlatok Európa három történeti régiójáról” [Outline of the three historical regions of Europe], in T. Iván Berend and Éva Ring, eds., *Helyünk Európában* [Our place in Europe], 2 vols. (Budapest, 1986); Jerzy Topolski, *The Manorial*

macro-historical view of East European urban development has undergone little modification since Francis L. Carsten's famous summation in the *English Historical Review* in 1947:

The towns to the east of the Elbe, having been founded considerably later than those of western Europe, never equaled their strength and power; after a short and rapid rise, they were easily subjugated by the combined forces of nobles and princes. In none of the countries concerned, was there any longer a force which could have prevented the nobility from becoming the ruling order of society.³

Carsten understood the moment of the town's defeat during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the decisive victory of autocracy and aristocracy over the bourgeoisie. "Medieval democracy had lost its battle, and the burghers of the towns did not raise their heads again until the nineteenth century, when once more they were defeated by the forces which had vanquished them four hundred years earlier."⁴ In 1954, he further argued in his famous work *The Origins of Prussia*: "The decay of the eastern towns was a fact of fundamental importance for the course of German and of European history. It opened the way for the rise of the nobility, and it separated events in the east from those of the west: there the renewed rise of the towns and of the urban middle classes transformed state and society, but the east no longer participated in this development."⁵ Jerome Blum concurred, noting in the *American Historical Review* in 1957: "The experience of Western Europe suggests that the enservment of the peasantry and its corollary, the economic and political supremacy of the landed nobility, might have been avoided if the burghers of the East had been as powerful as their opposite numbers in Western Europe."⁶

Challenging Carsten's thesis of noble hegemony east of the Elbe, new scholarship over the past two decades on the micro-historical sociology of seventeenth-century Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg has seriously questioned the thesis that in the seventeenth century West European peasants became freer and those of the East less free. William Hagen, Edgar Melton, Jan Peters, and Heidi Wunder have significantly reformulated the historical understanding of peasant-lord relations and have raised formidable points as to whether the term "second serfdom" is appropriate at all in describing the socioeconomic system of seventeenth-century East-Central Europe.⁷ As its most significant contribution, this new

Reaction in Early Modern East-Central Europe: Origins, Development and Consequences (Aldershot, 1994); Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648–1871* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971); Max Weber, *The City*, Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth, trans. and eds. (New York, 1966).

³ Francis L. Carsten, "The Origins of the Junkers," *English Historical Review* 62, no. 243 (April 1947): 145–78, see 164.

⁴ Francis L. Carsten, "Medieval Democracy in the Brandenburg Towns and Its Defeat in the Fifteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. (London, 1943): 73–92, see 90.

⁵ Francis L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia* (Oxford, 1954), 135.

⁶ Jerome Blum, "The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe," *AHR* 62 (July 1957): 807–36, see 833.

⁷ Often, the criticism is leveled specifically at G. F. Knapp's famous work, *Die Bauern-Befreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preussens* (Leipzig, 1887), which formed one pillar of Carsten and Rosenberg's criticism of the Junkers. William W. Hagen, "Seventeenth-Century Crisis in Brandenburg: The Thirty Years' War, the Destabilization of Serfdom, and the Rise of Absolutism," *AHR* 94 (April 1989): 302–35; also see Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians* (Cambridge, 2002); Hagen, "How Mighty the Junkers? Peasant Rents and Seigniorial Profits in Sixteenth Century Brandenburg," *Past*

approach evidences less noble hegemony and significantly more peasant autonomy than previously thought. As Hagen put it, "The villages were not suffocating under the weight of feudal rents and princely taxation."⁸ Or, as Melton noted, "In Brandenburg and East Prussia, it was neither the golden age for the Junkers nor a dark age for the peasants."⁹

Interestingly, however, despite the progress made in clarifying serf-lord relations under second serfdom, the place of towns during what specialists call the manorial or the seigniorial reaction has eluded theorists. Carsten's proposition—that towns east of the Elbe were crushed, the bourgeoisie beaten, and the nobles victorious—continues to be the conventional wisdom. A good illustration of this is Hagen, who, on one page, resuscitates the life of peasants and writes of sixteenth-century Brandenburg that "seigniorial authority collapsed over wide regions, if not everywhere," on a previous page also noted: "The long sixteenth century did not smile on the towns of Brandenburg. The Junkers dealt them hard blows by setting up rival breweries in the countryside and bypassing their wholesalers in favor of merchants abroad, especially in Hamburg."¹⁰

With the preceding in mind, this work aims to make a contribution to the understanding of urban development during the transition from feudalism to capitalism by revising the notion that towns declined following the establishment of second serfdom. The argument proposed is that the struggle between towns and lords in early modern Europe was not about capitalism versus feudalism, progress versus stagnation, or the future versus the past. Instead, towns and lords coexisted within a system of shared values and norms. It is true that these two entities at times found themselves on opposite sides of the battlefield, but more frequently they were united in arms against a common enemy. A careful look at urban evolution in Hungary during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does indicate that some towns were subjugated to noble rule in the sixteenth century, but that fact did not signify urban decline. Moreover, many towns evidence maturation when they should be failing. There were, of course, foolish, self-destructive lords who, in fits of ill-tempered rage, acted irrationally. But in general, second serfdom fostered cooperation rather than antagonism. Naturally, some towns declined after they were subjugated, but interestingly that decline was the result of local conditions, such as a devastating fire, pestilence, or simply an invasion followed by decimation, and rarely a consequence of a feudal lord laboring to reduce them to poverty. Equally significant was that many towns were able to remain free of noble control in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet these independent towns were not

and *Present*, no. 108 (1985): 80–116; Peter Kriedte, *Peasants, Landlords and Merchants: Europe and the World Economy 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1983); also Kriedte, "Spätmittelalterische Agrarkrise oder Krise des Feudalismus?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 7 (1981): 42–67; Edgar Melton, "Gutsherrschaft in East Elbian Germany and Livonia, 1500–1800: A Critique of the Model," *Central European History* 21 (December 1988): 315–49; Jan Peters, ed., *Konflikt und Kontrolle in Gutsherrschaftsgesellschaften* (Göttingen, 1995); J. Schlumbohm, *Freiheitsbegriff und Emanzipationsprozess* (Göttingen, 1973); Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau* (Oxford, 1986); Heidi Wunder, "Serfdom in Later Medieval and Early Modern Germany," in T. S. Aston, ed., *Social Relations and Ideas* (Cambridge, 1983), 273–94.

⁸ Hagen, "Seventeenth-Century Crisis in Brandenburg," 311.

⁹ Melton, "Gutsherrschaft in East Elbian Germany and Livonia," 326.

¹⁰ Hagen, "Seventeenth-Century Crisis in Brandenburg," 315, 313.

islands of “capitalism and modernity” surrounded by a backward feudal countryside. In brief, the occidental city existed in a symbiotic relationship with feudal lords in the West as well as the East, and the origins of the divergence between Eastern and Western Europe cannot be reduced to the noble subjugation of towns following the manorial reaction.

Most important, the specific case of Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrates strong contradictions within the macro-historical understanding of urban development and highlights the need to reexamine what happened to towns at the onset of second serfdom across Eastern Europe. The micro-historical attention towns in the West have received in the tradition of Adriaan Verhulst also needs to be applied to Eastern Europe.¹¹ At the moment, historians constructing meta-narratives on Eastern Europe and Hungary in particular do not typically conduct research in municipal archives, while micro-historians do not engage in debates at the national or international comparative level. Macro-historians are often accused of teleology and working with false assumptions, while micro-historians are weighed down by infinite details and rarely risk commenting on what is happening outside their small locale. This essay does not aim, however, to dismiss either the macro or micro approach. Instead, its goal is to realign the two perspectives, thereby creating a new narrative and expanding our knowledge and understanding of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in both Eastern and Western Europe.

IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT, in the West, there is a long tradition of contrasting the “progressive” city with the “backward” country. As John Merrington wrote,

The centrality of the town-country relation in the transition to capitalism in the West and more basically the equation of urbanism with capitalism and progress were already explicitly formulated in the earliest theories of the origin of capitalism—those of 18th-century political economy. For the proponents of the new and revolutionary “conjectural” history of “civil society”—Smith, Steuart, Ferguson, Millar—the origins of the division of labour and the market in the “commercial stage” of civilization were to be sought in the separation of town and country. (The highland-lowland division in Scotland provided first-hand evidence.)¹²

It was, however, only in the late nineteenth century that the famous Belgian urban historian Henri Pirenne (1862–1935) expanded on the classic urban-country dichotomy as used by Adam Smith, and drew a direct line between urban growth in Western Europe and urban decline in Eastern Europe. Jerome Blum, Francis Carsten, Hans Rosenberg, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Max Weber were all deeply influenced by Pirenne’s model. According to this interpretation, in the early medieval period a life-and-death struggle unfolded between towns and feudalism in Western Europe. Towns promoted the division of labor, trade, and manufacturing; they were home to *homo-œconomicus*, the agent of progress and the source of civil

¹¹ Adriaan Verhulst, “The Origins of Towns in the Low Countries,” *Past and Present*, no. 122 (February 1989): 3–36.

¹² John Merrington, “Town and Country in the Transition to Capitalism,” in Rodney Hilton, ed., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1978), 170–95, see 170.

virtues such as liberty, meritocracy, and democracy. Feudalism, diametrically opposed to the values of the occidental city, was a rural-based regime—closed, hierarchical, paternalistic, and oppressive. Instead of promoting development, it was a self-contained political economic system hostile to trade, commerce, and innovation. Pirenne maintained that, during the classic period of European feudalism between the eighth and tenth centuries, European civilization declined.¹³ Europe's rise to world supremacy, therefore, began when the occidental city triumphed over feudalism. Towns contributed to the decline of feudalism because they were spaces of "free air"—*stadtluft macht frei*—where serfs escaped from demanding lords to gain their liberty. Feudal lords, deprived of their laborers, were thereafter forced to make compromises, contributing, in turn, to the transformation of serfs into a class of free peasants. For Pirenne and those inspired by his view of history, the victory of the occidental city was the necessary prerequisite for the expansion of European trade in the sixteenth century. Modern capitalism, liberalism, republicanism, and constitutionalism would not have emerged if not introduced by the occidental city. The rise of Western civilization could not have been possible if the city had not vanquished the feudal countryside in the late medieval period.¹⁴

Ironically, as Pirenne pointed out, while the victory of the occidental city in Western Europe led to the rise of individual liberties and progress, it was simultaneously responsible for the subjugation of towns by nobles and the decline of civil liberties in Eastern Europe. Accordingly, the causes of the seigniorial reaction were identical to the rise of the transatlantic slave trade. Namely, as the occidental city grew, demand for raw materials and vital consumption goods escalated. Sugar was imported from the Caribbean, but grain and meat were sought from Eastern Europe. To meet the demand for agricultural produce in the West, landlords in Eastern Europe consolidated their control over markets and labor, subjugating towns, enserfing free peasants, and emerging as the uncontested ruling estate. For Pirenne, landlords in Eastern Europe were like plantation owners in the Americas. Both were agents ready to destroy human liberty for the profits of exporting in bulk to Western Europe. For these reasons, Pirenne referred to the burghers and peasants of Eastern Europe as "white slaves," victims of the same world capitalist order that led to the mass enslavement of blacks in Africa. Pirenne wrote:

The descendants of the free colonists [German immigrants east] of the 13th century were systematically deprived of their land and reduced to the position of personal serfs (*Leibeigene*). The wholesale exploitation of estates absorbed their holdings and reduced them to a servile condition, which so closely approximated to that of slavery that it was permissible to sell the person of the serf independently of the soil. From the middle of the 16th century the whole of the region to the east of the Elbe and the Sudeten mountains became covered with *Rittergüter* exploited by *Junkers*, who may be compared, as regards the

¹³ As quoted in Merrington, "Town and Country," 173, from Pirenne's *Medieval Cities* (rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 31, 72, 153–58.

¹⁴ Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de la constitution de la ville de Dinant au moyen-âge* (Gand, 1889); also see Pirenne, *Belgian Democracy, Its Early History* (Manchester, 1915); *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, N.J., 1925); and *Early Democracies in the Low Countries: Urban Society and Political Conflict in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, 1963).

degree of humanity displayed in their treatment of their white slaves, with the planters of the West Indies. The negro in the New World, and the German peasant in the Old World, were the most typical victims of modern capitalism, and they both had to wait until the 19th century for their enfranchisement. This is a fact which must never be forgotten when considering the modern history of Germany and Austria. The enslavement of the peasantry to his noble master explains many things.¹⁵

In Hungarian historiography, the Pirenne explanation of the seigniorial reaction has been widely accepted.¹⁶ Its most famous and influential proponent was Zsigmond Pál Pach. Yet, while agreeing with Pirenne that the prime mover of modern history was the development and expansion of international trade, Pach developed a more nuanced explanation of the Hungarian experience. Pach maintained that Hungarian urban development accelerated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when trade with the Levant was especially vibrant and strong. Like Carsten, Pach argued that, up to the mid-fifteenth century, Hungary and the rest of East-Central Europe were catching up with the West. From the fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, towns with charters were multiplying, peasants were gaining their freedom, and seigniorial control over land and labor was waning. Furthermore, peasants were taking their produce directly to the market with increasing frequency, and in the small market towns a layer of enterprising small farmers was emerging, contributing to growing rural social stratification. However, Pach stressed that, from the second half of the fifteenth century, a new trend set in that counteracted the transformation of peasant entrepreneurs into a class of agricultural capitalists, and instead noble rule was reasserted. The essence of the new trend was summarized by Pach in economic terms as "the growing participation of the nobility in commerce and, subsequently, in the actual production of commercial goods."¹⁷ For Pach, therefore, the second half of the fifteenth century was the genesis of the break between East and West, because, "while the disintegration of the medieval order, the rise of capitalist relations, began and proceeded in several Western European countries . . . , the feudal system survived,

¹⁵ Pirenne, *History of Europe from the Invasions to the XVI Century*, 534.

¹⁶ On the Hungarian literature, see Zsigmond Pál Pach, *Das Entwicklungsniveau der feudalen Agrarverhältnisse in Ungarn in der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest, 1960); Sándor Gyimesi, "Frühkapitalistische Entwicklung und Spätféudalismus in 16. und 17. Jh. in Ungarn," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 2 (1987): 51–64; Iván Berend, "The Historical Evolution of Eastern Europe as a Region," in Ellen Comisso and Laura D'Andrea Tyson, eds., *Power, Purpose, and Collective Choice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), 153–70; Szűcs, *Vázlat Európa három történelmi régiójáról*; György Granasztói, *A középkori magyar város* [The medieval Hungarian town] (Budapest, 1980). On Poland, look at Maria Bogucka, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* [Gdańsk's foreign trade in the first half of the seventeenth century] (Wrocław, 1970); Antoni Mączak, "Export of Grain and the Problem of Distribution of the National Income in Poland in the Years 1550–1650," *Acta Poloniae historica* 18 (1968): 75–98; Stanisław Hoszowski, "The Revolution of Prices in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Acta Poloniae historica* 2 (1959): 7–16; Jerzy Topolski, "The Role of Gniezno in International Trade," *Acta Poloniae historica* 18 (1968): 194–204. For recent work, see Andrzej Wyrobisz, "Towns in 15th, 16th, and 17th Century Descriptions of Poland," *Acta Poloniae historica* 67 (1993): 79–90; Jerzy Wyrozumski, "Was Poland Affected by the Late-Medieval Crisis?" *Acta Poloniae historica* 78 (1998): 5–18.

¹⁷ Z. P. Pach, "Sixteenth-Century Hungary: Commercial Activity and Market Production by the Nobles," in Peter Burke, ed., *Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe: Essays from Annales* (New York, 1972), 113–33, see 114.

and even consolidated in several respects, in the countries of mid-Eastern Europe, and the rule of late feudalism was prolonged for centuries.”¹⁸

Pirenne and Pach shared the belief that larger historical trends are intricately tied to international trade routes. In the fourteenth century, for instance, Pach claimed that Hungary prospered from its contact with the Levantine trade, based essentially on the import of luxury goods such as spices, silk, dyes, and jewelry that were subsequently sold in the privileged market towns to the wealthy nobles, patricians, abbots, and bishops. Pach further argued that the course of East European history underwent a profound transformation with the decline of Levantine trade and the rise of commerce with Western Europe, bringing a shift from the traditional trade in luxury goods to the export of bulk agricultural produce in return for manufactured articles. As Pach summarized, “This role of East Central Europe in international trade (exporting foodstuffs and importing industrial products) limited and hindered industrial-urban growth in the countries involved, where the level was anyway below that of Western Europe in this respect from the beginning of the period.”¹⁹

Why did landlords tap into agricultural sales to the West? Pach was in agreement with Pirenne on this point. Namely, he thought that the favorable situation for agricultural exports, under the influence of the price revolution, stimulated the countries of East-Central Europe to increase agricultural market production. Lords in Eastern Europe, therefore, became eager to participate in exporting to Western Europe because of the price revolution caused by the late medieval demographic drop, increasing the prices of agricultural products to levels that exceeded those of industrial articles. A gap thereafter was created—called the price scissors—between the relative prices of industrial versus agricultural goods. Pach noted three stages in the growing participation of nobles in commerce: “First, they exploited their privileged right to sell wine. Second, they took an increasingly active part (especially the big landowners and the lesser nobility) in the trade in livestock. Third, they developed their trade in wheat and even their own wheat production.”²⁰

Following these stages, the feudal land tenure system survived and became the dominant feature of the socio-political system of East-Central Europe. The peasants reacted to their growing oppression by staging a number of formidable revolts, the most serious and famous one led by György Dózsa. However, at each turn, the nobles leading the counteroffensive were able to outmaneuver the peasant resistance with their superior political coordination. Finally, in 1514, the Parliament agreed to laws proposed by Emmerich Verbőczy (sometimes spelled Werbőczy), laying the foundation for the legal imposition of second serfdom. Free peasants became serfs, and free towns were transformed into the *Gutsherrschaft* (estate) of lords.²¹

¹⁸ Zsigmond Pál Pach, “The Shifting of International Trade Routes in the 15th–17th Centuries,” *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14 (1968): 287–319, see 287, also printed in Pach, *Hungary and the European Economy in Early Modern Times* (Aldershot, 1994).

¹⁹ Zsigmond Pál Pach, “The Role of East Central Europe in International Trade,” in Pach, *Hungary and the European Economy*, 259.

²⁰ Pach, “Sixteenth-Century Hungary,” 114.

²¹ Pach, *Das Entwicklungsniveau der feudalen Agrarverhältnisse*; see also Zsigmond Pál Pach, *The*

THE THEORETICAL STARTING POINT for this article is that urban development and feudalism are not mutually exclusive. It is important to note that this was true for Eastern as well as Western Europe during feudalism. Two points will be stressed. On the one hand, towns often lived in a symbiotic relationship with lords; while, on the other hand, it is clear that the main actors in the towns, namely merchants and artisans, were not the natural allies of serfs. It is noteworthy that evidence even from the Low Countries during the eighth and ninth centuries shows urban growth when Pirenne had predicted decline. Adriaan Verhulst highlighted a number of reasons why Pirenne was wrong. For instance, while Mediterranean trade declined following the Arab conquests, towns in the Low Countries found different sources of exchange, such as local and upriver trade. Towns also thrived in the vicinity of monasteries and other ecclesiastic seats. But, most important, towns grew if they learned how to trade with the new castle lords of feudalism. Verhulst's detailed study of the topography of Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges demonstrates that new trading posts emerged within these urban centers in the ninth and tenth centuries, a fact Pirenne did not know. Verhulst writes:

These new *portus* of the tenth century, in contrast to the Carolingian settlements, were furnished with market-places and owed their development, if not their origin, primarily to local trade with the non-merchant population living within the walls of the new fortifications beside their respective *portus* . . . This sort of fortification was seldom originally built as a defense against the Vikings. Its construction was rather a manifestation of the general spread of fortifications (the "incastellamento") which initiated the feudal period all over Europe. The merchants sought its proximity not for military protection, but for trading possibilities. The castrum therefore was not, as Pirenne put it, a passive element to which towns could become attached, but an active economic factor of attraction.²²

The symbiotic relationship of towns and feudalism was, of course, a central point in the 1950s debates within English Marxism. As A. B. Hibbert bluntly put it in his 1953 article in *Past and Present*: "There is the simple fact that whatever area and whatever century we may choose to take as being most typically 'feudal' there is still trade and there are still merchants. Feudalism could never dispense with merchants. The very structure, technical level and economic habits of society always made some local and long-distance trade necessary."²³

The most significant contribution in the debates on the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the origins of capitalism since the 1970s was made by Robert Brenner. Following the tradition of Maurice Dobb and Rodney Hilton, Brenner is critical of the Pirennean notion that towns were the agents corroding serfdom in the West, because "[the] actual mechanism through which the towns had their reputedly dissolving effects on landlord control over the peasantry in Western Europe have still to be precisely specified." Furthermore, "the viability of the towns

Role of East-Central Europe in International Trade, 16th and 17th Centuries (Budapest, 1970). For a shorter summary, see Pach, *Levantine Trade and Hungary in the Middle Ages: Theses, Controversies, Arguments* (Budapest, 1975); also see Pach, *The Transylvanian Route of Levantine Trade at the Turn of the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Budapest, 1980).

²² Verhulst, "Origins of Towns in the Low Countries," 32.

²³ A. B. Hibbert, "The Origins of the Medieval Town Patriciate," *Past and Present*, no. 3 (February 1953): 15-27, see 17.

as a potential alternative for the mass of unfree peasantry must [also] be called into question simply in terms of their gross demographic weight . . . It is indeed far from obvious that the medieval towns housed the 'natural' allies of the unfree peasantry. For many reasons the urban patriciate would tend to align themselves with the nobility against the peasantry." In sum, "the historical record of urban support for the aspirations to freedom of the medieval European peasantry is not impressive."²⁴

Instead of focusing on towns, Brenner argues that change both east and west of the Elbe issued from class struggle between peasants and lords. Towns are understood, with their artisan guilds and privileged merchant elite, as intricately combined with the system of feudalism, and while towns do make a difference, they are not prime movers of change. Or, in other words, it was not the "weakness of towns" but the "weakness of the peasantry" in the East to organize and defend themselves that accounts for the success of the seigniorial reaction and the imposition of second serfdom. As Brenner summarized:

[E]conomic backwardness in Eastern Europe cannot be regarded as economically determined, arising from "dependence" upon trade in primary products to the West, as is sometimes asserted. Indeed, it would be more correct to state that dependence upon grain export was a result of backwardness; of the failure of the home market—the terribly reduced purchasing power of the mass of the population—which was the result of the dismal productivity and vastly unequal distribution of income in agriculture rooted, in the last analysis in the class structure of serfdom.²⁵

In other words, towns are not islands separate from the sea of feudalism. The merchants in the towns were dependent on the demand by lords for luxury products and, instead of working to establish free market economies, were interested in hoarding staple rights. Furthermore, artisans had conflicting interests with cheap rural labor and more often than not tried to limit immigration into towns by strengthening the guilds. Towns, therefore, did not try to undermine feudalism but were in fact privileged members of the feudal club. Or, as Rodney Hilton wrote in 1952, "modern capitalism derived its initial impetus from the English textile industry and does not descend directly from the principal medieval centers. Its foundations were laid in the rural domestic industry which had fled from the traditional urban centers."²⁶ And, as Maurice Dobb noted, "It was precisely in the backward north and west of England that serfdom in the direct labour services disappeared earliest, and in the more advanced south-east, with its town markets and trade routes, that labour services were more stubborn in their survival."²⁷

Several questions remain unanswered in light of the conclusions reached by the debates in English Marxism concerning the role of towns in the transition from feudalism to capitalism: If the occidental city was not the single and most important agent corroding feudalism in the West, is it logical to claim a natural correlation between the rise of second serfdom and urban decay in the East? If towns and

²⁴ Robert Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," *Past and Present*, no. 70 (February 1976): 30–74, see 54–55.

²⁵ Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure," 59–60.

²⁶ R. H. Hilton, "Capitalism—What's in a Name?" *Past and Present*, no. 1 (February 1952): 32–43, see 41.

²⁷ Maurice Dobb, "A Reply," in Hilton, *Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, 57–67, see 61.

feudal lords were symbiotic partners in the West, instead of antagonistic forces in a life-and-death struggle as Pirenne had maintained, why would landlords in Eastern Europe want to subjugate towns and reduce them to poverty in their attempts to re-strengthen feudalism? Instead of assuming urban decline under second serfdom, is it not possible that urban development and feudalism coexisted in Eastern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? In short, the need has arisen for a new understanding of towns in Eastern Europe, especially a reexamination of the relationship between towns and nobles under second serfdom.

WHEN STUDYING WHETHER OR NOT HUNGARIAN TOWNS attempted to undermine feudalism, the work of Jenő Szűcs provides an important alternative perspective to that of Zsigmond Pál Pach. Pach and Szűcs concurred on a number of points. They agreed that the golden age of Hungarian urban development was between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Towns with charters existed prior to the thirteenth century, yet they were few and underdeveloped, and urban growth resembling its Western counterpart began only in the thirteenth century.²⁸ They also agreed that international trade routes play a critical role in the historical dialectic. However, while Pach studied the causes of second serfdom by examining the behavior of nobles, Szűcs analyzed the internal evolution of towns. In his influential work on the town of Sopron (Ödenburg) between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Szűcs discovered that internal social developments played just as important a role in stunting urbanization as did external factors (such as noble subjugation). Specifically, Szűcs discovered that, prior to the seigniorial reaction, a growing disparity of wealth and political power was taking place within the urban commune. From the fifteenth century, some merchant families rose in spectacular fashion, buying titles of nobility and becoming owners of large vineyards near the town. Other families, mostly poor artisans, were losing ground economically and politically, and experienced difficulties acquiring membership in the town fraternity.

Szűcs was very critical toward the new merchant elite that rose to positions of power in the royal free towns of fifteenth-century Hungary. It is true that, at first, this new merchant elite contributed to the advancement of trade. Szűcs was as impressed as Gernot Nussbächer, the leading historian of early modern Braşov (Kronstadt/Brassó), by the reach of the new trading networks. As Nussbächer noted, in the fifteenth century: "From as far as London, Ypern, Löwen, Brügge,

²⁸ In 1100, Kremica (Kremnitz/Körmöcbánya), in 1141, Skalica (Skalitz/Szakolcza), and in 1200, Szeged (Szegedin) were granted royal privileges, but real urban growth was more characteristic of the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1225, Banská Bystrica (Neusohl/Beszercebánya), in 1238, Trnava (Tyrnau/Nagyszombat), in 1242, Levoča (Leutschau/Lőcse), in 1244, Buda, in 1244, Banská Štiavnica (Schemnitz/Selmecbánya), and in 1244, Krupina (Karpfen/Korpona) became royal free towns. In 1291, both Bratislava (Pressburg/Pozsony) and Pest were elevated to royal free standing, but between 1250 and 1320, fewer towns received royal charters. Then in the year 1324—which is understood as the height of urban power in Hungary—seven towns were granted royal privileges, including Bardejov (Bartfeld/Bártfa), Prešov (Preschau/Eperjes), Sopron (Ödenburg), Zvolen (Altsohl/Zólyom), Nová Baňa (Königsberg/Újbánya), and Baia Mare (Neustadt/Nagybánya), and were raised to royal free standing. The year 1324 is viewed as the most important year for urban development in Hungarian history. Mining, manufacturing, construction, and trade were all flourishing and expanding.

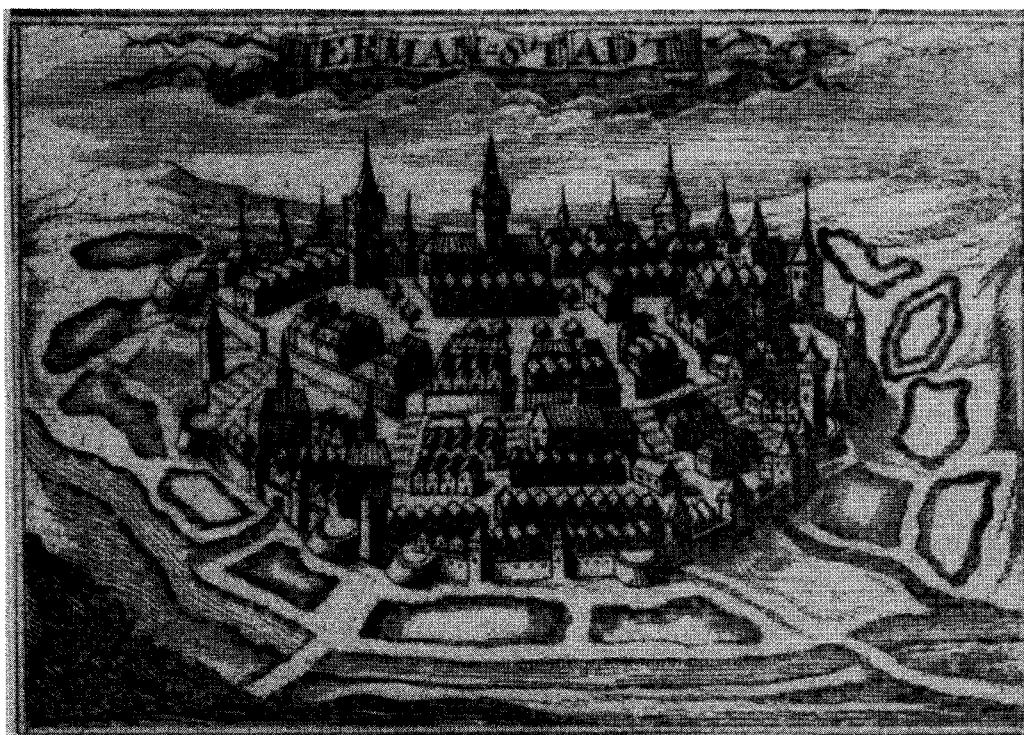


FIGURE 1: The town of Sibiu in the seventeenth century (also known as Hermannstadt or Nagyszeben). Sibiu was one of the most important early modern towns of Transylvania. Copperplate etching from an anonymous artist. Reproduced courtesy of the Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum (T. 6022).

Köln, came textiles and luxury goods, from Nürnberg knives, from Poland and the Uplands of Hungary metal goods, and from Italian cities like Verona and Bergamo hats and textiles. From the orient carpets, spices and southern fruit.”²⁹ However, as Nussbächer also observed, profits increasingly were concentrated in a handful of families of Braşov, such as those of Lukas Rehner, Lucas Czeresch, Johan Groman, and Georgius Hirscher and to a lesser extent Simon Grett, Johan Kylhaw, Andreas von Rosenau, and Peter Schwarz.³⁰ For Szűcs, the urban decline starting in the late fifteenth century was intricately tied to the emergence of these elite families. After a generation or two of hoarding profits, the new elite came to be known as Ringbürgers, because of their habit of segregating themselves from the rest of the urban commune by moving into the center of town. Following the deterioration of the Levantine trade route and increasing leisurely consumption of the new urban elite, social frictions created by the growth of inequalities stunted urbanization. Szűcs showed that the consolidation of Ringbürger rule was usually marked by the introduction of stricter laws limiting the settlement of new immigrants into the town, curtailing the number of artisans given full burgher privileges. Szűcs, therefore, argued that towns declined during the rise of second serfdom not because nobles subjugated markets to increase grain exports, but because the

²⁹ Gernot Nussbächer, *Johannes Benkner* (Bucharest, 1988), 22–23.

³⁰ Nussbächer, *Johannes Benkner*, 22–23. The names are given as spelled in the original documents.

Levantine trade dried up and a new elite with a vested interest in land and not commerce or manufacturing rose to power.

It is important to note here that, despite the fact that towns and lords under the feudal political economy lived in a symbiotic relationship, this does not mean that there was no conflict between nobles and burghers. Towns and lords were privileged corporate members of the feudal political economy, and each side sought to hoard royal monopolies, often at the expense of the other. Furthermore, in Hungary, and Eastern Europe in general, there was a noteworthy ethnic component to the struggle between town and country. Feudalism, it must be stressed, was introduced late and from above in Hungary and, in contrast to the West, developed its own idiosyncrasies. Hungarian feudalism was far more fragmented along ethnic lines than its western counterpart, and, besides the classic division of those who work, those who pray, and those who fight, an eastern caste-like division of society was superimposed. The Germans, Romanians, Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Roma, Hassidic and Sephardic Jews, Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, Croats, and Serbs, to name some of the larger groups, each had a niche in society. Under Hungarian feudalism, therefore, the classic occidental feudal division of society mirrored ethnic-linguistic and religious differences. Furthermore, and most relevant for this study, many towns were German-dominated. In the Uplands and Transylvania, there were towns with a Magyar majority, like Košice (Kaschau/Kassa), Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg/Kolozsvár), and Alba Iulia (Weissenberg/Gyulafehérvár), but out of the thirty or more royal free towns in the seventeenth century, only seven had a Magyar-speaking majority.³¹ This special ethnic-exclusive character of towns reinforced the fact that towns were not the spaces where serfs could escape from bondage to freedom. Towns instead were often spaces of “free air” for the already privileged German burghers.

TAKING THE ABOVE INTO CONSIDERATION, it remains to be answered whether 1514—when the Hungarian Parliament ratified the so-called Verbóczi Laws (sometimes spelled Werbőczy) laying the foundations for the legal imposition of second serfdom—was followed by a period of urban decline, stagnation, or growth. Formerly free peasants were transformed into serfs, their freedom of movement hindered, and lordly jurisdiction increased throughout the kingdom, but did this imply that lords also aimed to stunt urban development? How did lords behave toward towns? Was there urban development under second serfdom?

The answers to the above questions relate directly to the fact that the manorial reaction first and foremost undermined the strength and legitimacy of the king in significant ways. Royal free towns, after all, were the most important source of cash flow for the crown. When towns were subjugated either to lordly rule or a Ringbürger oligarchy, the king received less in taxes. Consequently, as a political-economic system, the early stage of second serfdom entailed the collapse of the state and the emergence of highly fragmented, decentralized local sources of power.

³¹ These were Alba Iulia, Baia Mare, Baia Sprie (Mittelstadt/Felsőbánya), Cluj-Napoca, Esztergom (Gran), Košice, and Tîrgu Mureş (Neumarkt/Marosvásárhely).

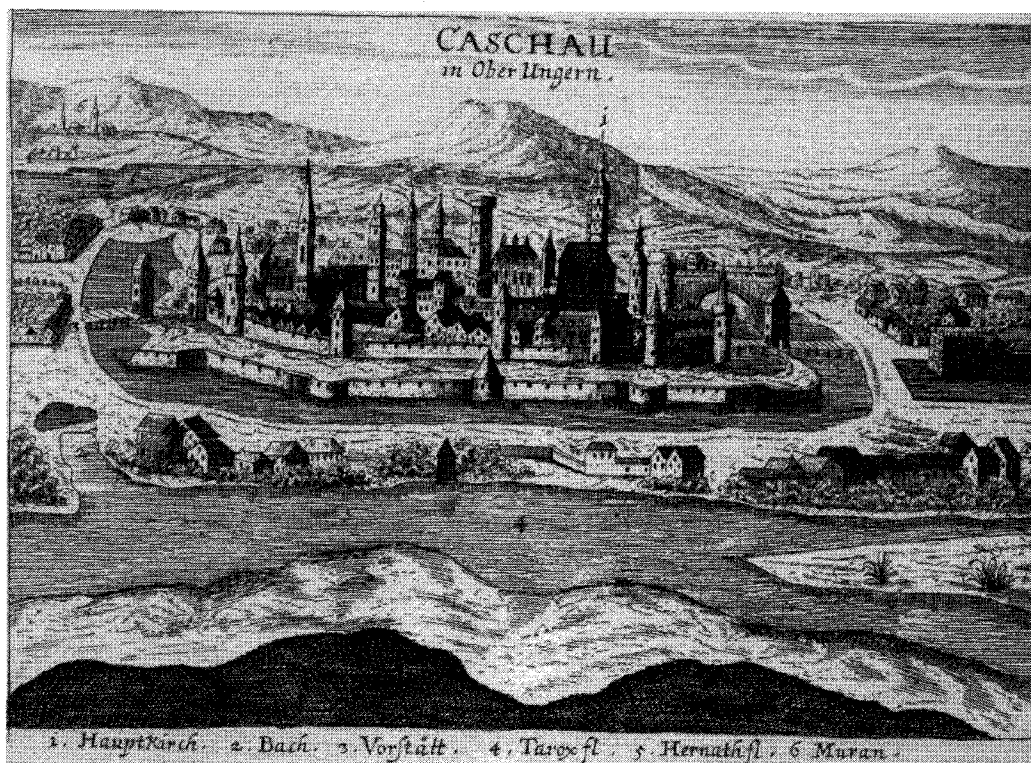


FIGURE 2: The town of Košice in the seventeenth century (also known as Kaschau or Kassa). Košice was the most important town of the Hungarian Uplands (today, Slovakia) in the early modern period. Copperplate engraving from an anonymous artist. Reproduced courtesy of the Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum (T. 505).

The obvious structural limitation of such a system was its vulnerability to international military competition. And when the first serious threat of an organized and disciplined state presented itself, in the form of the army of Suleiman the Magnificent, the weak Hungarian king was unable to field significant resistance and was miserably defeated at the Battle of Mohács (1526). As the immediate consequence of the rise of second serfdom, therefore, by 1540, the entity known as the Greater Hungarian Kingdom had ceased to exist and was partitioned into three parts: the Plains coming under the direct suzerainty of the sultan, the eastern territory known as Transylvania becoming a vassal principality of the sultan, and the western and northern Uplands consolidating into the Independent Hungarian Kingdom. From the 1540s onward, the crown of the Hungarian Kingdom was inherited along the Habsburg line, although most of the judicial administrative authority lay with the two chambers of Parliament in Bratislava (Pressburg/Pozsony) and the numerous county conferences of nobles (diets).

The complete collapse of central authority followed by the partition initially strengthened already strong centrifugal tendencies within the social structure. However, the military defeat at Mohács also contributed to the political-economic system of second serfdom undergoing considerable sophistication, which favored towns. Namely, the geo-political military situation forced lords into making

concessions to urban growth. As the former Greater Hungarian Kingdom became a military frontier region for 150 years, over which the Muslim and Christian powers fought fiercely for supremacy, new men were invited into the towns to carry the sword in times of war, to help in the introduction of new military technology, and, last but not least, to assist in the overall modernization of urban centers ravaged by the hoarding that had followed the manorial reaction. Such a mutation of the political-economic regime of second serfdom was, of course, also a natural progression of the feudal system itself. In Western Europe, it was precisely identical factors that prompted princes and lords to bolster urban development in the ninth and tenth centuries. Occidental feudalism is an exclusively rural-based regime only in its embryonic stages. As a result of struggles between landlords and international military competition, it quickly evolves into a more complex order, including a degree of urban autonomy.

The relationship between the Zápolya family and the town of Kežmarok (Käsmarkt/Késmárk) is illustrative of the complexities involved in the evolution of towns at the onset of the manorial reaction. Kežmarok had been granted a number of royal privileges during the thirteenth century (the earliest in 1269), including the right to hold a market and to elect a judge. The town's name probably originated at this point, reflected in its spelling *Kaisermarkt* (meaning "emperor's market") in the earliest documents. In 1380, Kežmarok was granted royal free standing and regularly sent representatives to the king's court. Shortly thereafter, the Hussite revolutionaries invaded. The scant records that survived indicate that Czech and Polish mercenaries entered the town during the first half of the fifteenth century and formed an alliance with the urban artisans and the poor against a coalition of Ringbürgers, local Magyar nobles, and the Hungarian king. After a long, harsh, and indecisive clash of swords and ideology that spanned three decades, in 1440 victory was achieved by the Hussite leader Giskra, the homes of the merchant elite were looted and burned, and a popular republic was established with a mercenary-captain at its head. Neither the mighty János Hunyadi (vaivode of Transylvania 1441–1446 and regent of Hungary 1446–1453) nor his famous son Matthias Corvinus (king of Hungary 1465–1490) was able to bring the town and territory under royal control until Matthias sent Emmerich Zápolya to defeat Giskra. For his success against Giskra and the Hussite followers, Zápolya was granted vast estates in northern Hungary, including the office of *Schloßrichter* of Kežmarok (castle judge).³²

From 1465 to 1485, the Zápolya family consolidated its rule over northern Hungary, amassing an estate spanning over four counties and a dozen towns. In 1485, Matthias Corvinus granted the land to the Zápolya family in perpetuity. Following this move, Emmerich Zápolya changed the title of his office in Kežmarok from that of castle judge to castle lord (*Schloßherr*) and referred to the town as his private "villa" and the burghers as his "subjects." In classic East European fashion, this newly risen magnate took a free market town and transformed it into his private

³² Christian Genersich, *Merkwürdigkeit der königlichen Freystadt Käisermarkt* (Kaschau, 1804). Also see Ivan Chalupecký, *Kežmarok* (Košice, 1968); Nora Baráthová, *Kezmarský hrad* (Martin, Slovakia, 1989).

Gutsherrschaft, forcing the town to pay taxes to him personally and not to the king.³³ Ironically, Matthias Corvinus, in his effort to centralize power, was instrumental in the phenomenal rise of Zápolya family members, who in turn became the leaders of the manorial reaction that was responsible for weakening royal authority while strengthening noble autonomy.

The verdict on whether the Zápolya family was able to subject Kežmarok completely to their private family authority is filled with contradictions. It is true that the rule of the Zápolyas damaged the town's royal free standing, and from a judicial-administrative standpoint it experienced noticeable regress. However, it should be mentioned that the town notary throughout the Zápolya period referred to Kežmarok as a republic (*Respublica Kaisermarkt*), and signs of urban dynamism were also evident. Between 1515 and 1516, a new and stronger wall was constructed with a new taller tower, a town mill was built, and—the most important symbol of urban autonomy—a town hall was erected. This urban dynamism continued into the 1520s, and in 1521 the town possessed a public bath, a curia for the common people, and a new schoolhouse; in 1523, a clock was installed in the church tower. Interestingly, in 1526, the town was able to send two ambassadors to the National Assembly to cast their vote on the next king of Hungary (the former king having died at the Battle of Mohács), a privilege the Zápolya family had suspended when they initially subjugated the town. Finally, in 1531, János Zápolya transferred the office of castle lord of Kežmarok to a Polish magnate and mercenary by the name of Hieronimus Łaski. Zápolya's ambassador to Constantinople in 1527, Łaski was an educated humanist and adventurer who had spent some time in the company of Alvisio Gritti, the rich merchant and son of the doge of Venice.³⁴ A one-time condottiere in Italy who traveled considerably in Europe, this good prince upon coming into possession of the town castle changed the title of the office back to castle judge from castle lord.³⁵

A possible explanation for the Zápolya family's behavior toward Kežmarok can be traced to the events immediately following the collapse of the Hungarian Kingdom after the Battle of Mohács (1526). At Mohács, the Hungarian king died, and János Zápolya emerged as the leading candidate to become his successor. It comes as no surprise, then, that Kežmarok—as the family's town—would be allowed to send representatives to an ad hoc meeting of the National Assembly convened quickly following the death of the king, where Zápolya was crowned king of Hungary. Yet Kežmarok had already experienced urban dynamism between 1515

³³ Genersich, *Merkwürdigkeit der königlichen Freystadt Kaisermarkt*.

³⁴ István Sinkovics, "Útkeresés Mohács után: Az ország három részre szakadása 1526–1541" [The search for order after Mohács: The partition of the kingdom into three parts 1526–1541], in Zsigmond Pál Pach, ed., *Magyarország története 1526–1686*, 2 vols. [History of Hungary 1526–1686] (Budapest, 1987), 1: 147–222, see 180–90. Also see Gábor Barta, et al., eds., *Két tárgyalás Sztambulban: Hieronimus Łaski tárgyalása a töröknél János király nevében, Habardanecz János jelentése 1528. Nyári sztambuli tárgyalásairól* [Two conferences in Istanbul: Hieronimus Łaski's meeting with the Turks in the name of King János; and János Habardanecz's report of his Istanbul conference in the summer of 1528] (Budapest, 1996).

³⁵ Genersich, *Merkwürdigkeit der königlichen Freystadt Kaisermarkt*. Zápolya granting estates to Łaski can be found in the Hungarian National Archives (MOL), Neo-regestrata acta, E 148, 59/20. Some of Łaski's correspondence can also be found in the Sibiu Branch of the National Archives of Romania, under the Brukenthal Index. Kežmarok's town book covering most of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is in the Poprad District Archive (Slovakia) and is in excellent condition.

and 1523, and it can be argued that János Zápolya was able to become a leading candidate in 1526 because he realized early on that his support for urban growth could help him in becoming wealthy and powerful. He had learned the secret of how to become a powerful and good prince.

János Zápolya changed his political position several times in his lifetime. In 1514, he was one of the military leaders who defeated the peasant rebellion of György Dózsa and played a leading role in the ratification of the Verbőczy Laws, which limited peasants' right to move freely. He was one of the leading figures laying the foundations for the establishment of second serfdom. After Mohács, however, he emerged as a claimant for the Hungarian crown against Ferdinand Habsburg. The House of Habsburg had the genealogical right to the crown, but Hungarian kings were elected at the time, and the office of the king was not constitutionally inheritable. When, in 1526, Zápolya convened an ad hoc National Assembly, he was elected king. Ferdinand, to counteract this bold move, summoned another National Assembly in Bratislava and had himself elected. Two kings of one kingdom quickly led to civil war. Then rumors began circulating concerning Ferdinand's plans to organize an army of disgruntled peasants against Zápolya.³⁶ Now acting as head of state, Zápolya quickly reversed his earlier position and reintroduced freedom of movement to the peasantry; he even requested that towns open their gates to migrants from rural areas. Further, after "King" Zápolya settled in the capital of Buda, in order to win over the bourgeoisie of that town he ennobled all the burghers, in a memorandum drawn up in 1531. Such a mass ennoblement, with the granting of freedom of movement to the peasantry, and the request to the towns to accept the settlement of serfs, meant the judicial end of second serfdom. Ironically, then, the same man who led the manorial reaction when he was an oligarch also brought an end to it when he became king. Zápolya's reversal, however, only applied to a small part of the Hungarian Kingdom, basically those territories that came under Ottoman occupation and administration from 1540 until 1686. Ferdinand had secured the northern Uplands, and in the principality of Transylvania the nobility maintained its control over rural labor.³⁷ Yet Zápolya is a good illustration of how the partition of the Hungarian Kingdom altered the attitudes of nobles and magnates toward towns, and how the fortunes of towns changed because of the impact of international military competition.

THE HUNGARIAN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NOVELIST Kálmán Mikszáth (1847–1910) noted that the seventeenth century was one in which burghers of the royal free towns walked on eggshells. Before the town gates might stand the mercenary troops of the Holy Roman Emperor, the Ottoman sultan, or rebellious Magyar nobles.

³⁶ Gábor Barta, *Vajon kié az ország?* [To whom does the country belong?] (Budapest, 1988); Alphons Lhotsky, *Das Zeitalter des Hauses Österreich: Die ersten Jahre d. Regierung Ferdinand I. in Österreich, 1520–1527* (Vienna, 1971).

³⁷ In 1493, the burghers of Krakow were also ennobled, and similar ennoblements took place among the burghers of Lviv (in Ukraine) and Wilno (Vilnius). András Kubinyi, "Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig 1541-ben" [The history of Budapest in the late medieval period to Buda's fall in 1541]; László Gerevich, ed., *Budapest Története II*, 2 vols. [History of Budapest] (Budapest, 1973), 2: 210–12.

Each day brought its own surprises, dangers, possibilities, and adventures, and it was unclear where it would all end.³⁸ To survive, towns developed a sophisticated game of diplomacy. On different occasions, they appeared as loyal subjects of the sultan, or the Holy Roman Emperor, or Magyar noble rebels. By maneuvering through this maze of alliances, towns could maintain a degree of autonomy, and the most successful were even able to manipulate the different invading armies to consolidate their "local" power. Bribes, conspiracies, and treachery were part of everyday life. The sultan defended the town of Sibiu (Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben) when Gábor Báthory tried to subjugate it in 1610–1611, and Hieronimus Łaski defended Kežmarok when the troops of Ferdinand Habsburg tried to conquer it in the 1530s. Towns also asked for the help of the Holy Roman Emperor, and, provided they could deposit a large enough donation, he would come to their defense. Using this strategy, in 1647 Svätý Jur Sankt (Georgen/Szentgyörgy), in 1648 Eisenstadt (Kismarton), in 1649 Kőszeg (Günst), in 1647 Pezinok (Bösing/Bazin), in 1650 Kežmarok, in 1681 Rust (Ruszt), and in 1686 Pukanec (Pukkanz/Bakabánya) were granted royal free privileges.

The outcome of contested legitimacy, therefore, was that towns were able to maintain their autonomy; some even increased it. This is evident in the drawn-out struggle over the right of nobles to settle within the walls of royal free towns. These attempts intensified shortly after the military debacle at Mohács, and the fall of Szeged (1541), Pécs (1543), and Visegrád (1544). Each successive defeat forced nobles to migrate in ever-increasing numbers north and west into the Independent Hungarian Kingdom or east into the principality of Transylvania. Severed from their land and homes, these nobles were clamoring for both the security and the economic opportunities available in the royal free towns of the Uplands and Transylvania.

An important corollary to this point is the unique historical evolution of the Hungarian nobility. Unlike throughout most of Europe, with the exception of Poland and to a lesser extent Spain, in the Hungarian Kingdom the nobility accounted for approximately 4.4 percent of the total population at the turn of the fifteenth century. This contrasted greatly with the classic West European pattern, where the title-holding nobility never accounted for more than 1 percent of the populace. Possibly the most important difference in evolution lies in the large number of poor nobles in Hungary versus their relatively rich Western counterparts. Of the roughly 150,000 nobles living in the Hungarian Kingdom in 1494–1495, out of a total estimated population of 3.5 million, two-thirds (100,000) had no serfs, were in possession of only small land holdings, and lived in the villages with the peasants. The manor-holding nobility who benefited from feudal labor service (*robot*) numbered 50,000 at the end of the fifteenth century, and they actively distanced themselves from their poor, but noble-titled, brethren.³⁹ The one and important advantage the title of nobility held was tax exemption, and, for the majority of serfless, landless, village-dwelling impoverished nobles who could

³⁸ Kálmán Mikszáth, *A fekete város* [The black city] (Budapest, 1910). This popular novel by Mikszáth was a fictional account of the history of Levoča during the Thököly Revolt in the seventeenth century.

³⁹ István Rácz, *Városlakó nemesek az Alföldön 1541–1848 között* [Urbanized nobles of the Plains 1541–1848] (Budapest, 1988), 17–19.

scarcely be distinguished from the peasantry, it was an advantage they clung to dearly. It was precisely because the Ottoman administration did not respect or accept the tax-exempt privilege of the occidental feudal title that the nobility living on the newly occupied lands flooded north and east, where the title could still be used to advantage.

The conflict between royal free towns and nobles in the sixteenth century was therefore multi-faceted. The actual mass of the nobles who wanted to settle within the towns is an important factor to consider. While at first, only one or two arrived at the gate, soon thereafter came a flood of impoverished noble-peasants, who possessed little of the skill and know-how required for city living. With the exception of towns like Bratislava—which became the new capital of the Independent Hungarian Kingdom—Trnava (Tyrnau/Nagyszombat), Košice, and Alba Iulia, to name some important ones, many municipal governments reacted to this mass immigration by closing their gates.

Realizing that they could not settle successfully in the royal free towns if they waged the struggle on a case-by-case basis, the shunned nobles looked increasingly toward the National Assembly, hoping that what could not be achieved at the local level might be done at the national, and that the Assembly would force the towns to open their gates. However, as Gyula Szekfű noted, in the second chamber of Parliament, problems awaited the nobility because, according to custom, “delegates from royal free towns had an equal vote to delegates sent from county diets, and there were periods, under the rule of Maximilian and Rudolph, when the number of representatives sent by the towns equaled those sent by the nobles.”⁴⁰ Consequently, the nobles could not be assured of winning the battle in Parliament unless they were able to decrease the number of urban representatives. Their best strategy was to petition the king to intervene with the towns. They acted accordingly when, in 1552, they asked “your Highness to give the command to the royal free towns and the mining towns, that those nobles and others who are escaping from the war, who can no longer live in the safety of their home, be allowed to settle.” In 1562, they again petitioned for the right to buy homes in the towns.⁴¹ But these and many other attempts were defeated except in a handful of places, and it was only after 1647 that nobles were able to settle within the walls of royal free towns in limited numbers.

Perhaps the boldest move by frustrated nobles to open the gates of the towns was made in 1608 when, in the second chamber of Parliament, they declared that from that time forward the number of towns that could send representatives was to be reduced from over thirty to twelve: the seven most important mining towns, and the royal free towns of Košice, Levoča (Leutschau/Lőcse), Prešov (Preschau/Eperjes), Bardejov (Bartfeld/Bártfa), and Sibiu. Soon after, however, the towns of Bratislava, Sopron, and Kežmarok were quickly added, bringing the total to fifteen. At the same meeting (1608), the nobility further declared that those towns were only to send representatives that were serf owners, that is, landlords, in their own right. Since it was the task of the Assembly to pass legislation regarding serfs, it was argued that only those with a vested interest in serfdom should be able to

⁴⁰ Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [History of Hungary], 5 vols. (Budapest, 1935–36), 3: 554.

⁴¹ Rácz, *Városlakó nemesek az Alföldön*, 30.

participate. In short, the nobles were making their best effort to limit urban representation, and the towns that could not be excluded outright were pressured to become feudal lords and required to become serf owners.⁴²

The Magyar nobility did not succeed. Their efforts to form a united political front at the national level failed because Emperor Rudolph used towns to counterbalance Magyar noble autonomy. For example, in 1609—one short year after the nobles had thought they had achieved hegemony in Parliament—Rudolph invited the towns of Varaždin (Warasdin/Varasd), Modra (Modern/Modor), Krupina (Karpfen/Korpona), Zvolen (Altsohl/Zólyom), and Koprivnica (Koprein-itz/Kapronca) to send ambassadors, and by 1655 Trnava, Trenčín (Trenschin/Trencsén), Senj (Zengg), and Eisenstadt were represented, so that by the mid-seventeenth century there were around thirty royal free towns, equaling the number of nobles sent by the county diets.⁴³ At the national level, therefore, urban representation had never been stronger than during the early seventeenth century, and compromise rather than subjugation characterized the relationship between nobles and towns.

The conflict between the nobility and towns during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can also be understood as a struggle of German burghers versus Magyar nobles. In the Zipser towns of the Uplands and the Saxon towns of Transylvania, at least, this, too, was an important element of the feud. Urban representatives at Parliament would claim that they were not willing to replace their German-burgher laws with Magyar-noble laws, and nobles did not hesitate to criticize the exclusive German culture of the towns. The most ethnically exclusive laws were in place in the Transylvanian Saxon towns. These acts of legislation, in effect, produced a unique island of homogeneous Germans surrounded by an ocean of multi-ethnic heterogeneity. Interestingly, however, even in those towns that had a large Magyar urban population, such as Cluj-Napoca, Magyar nobles continued to be excluded, and so the issue of barring the entry of nobles into towns was more than simply that of ethnic antagonism. It is instructive to look, for instance, at a decree from Cluj-Napoca in 1603 that was used to exclude nobles from entering and living in the town. The decree starts by praising the wisdom of the early Hungarian kings for separating the nobles and serfs from the burghers. It goes on to say that, because within the town walls all burghers are equal before the law, allowing nobles to live in the town would upset that balance. And while members of other ethnic groups may settle in the town, they may do so only if they come from a burgher background. A noble man may not marry into the town, and if he takes a burgher woman as his wife, she forfeits her civic rights and property.⁴⁴ The point being that the legal wrangling between towns and nobles at the end of the sixteenth century was not a struggle of progressive burghers versus backward feudal lords. Towns willingly reverted to defending their autonomy by referring to the feudal division of labor established by the first kings. They were not agents corroding feudalism, and it was just as difficult for a serf as a noble to find sanctuary within their protective walls.

⁴² Hóman and Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 3: 555–56.

⁴³ Hóman and Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 3: 555–56.

⁴⁴ Hóman and Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 3: 558.

Some towns declined, others stagnated, and yet others stayed at the level they were before. But the manorial reaction did not logically lead to the noble subjugation of towns. It led instead to the collapse of royal power and introduced a period of contested sovereignty. There was most certainly a process of creative reconstruction that came as a natural consequence of this atmosphere of near anarchy. After being sacked and burned, towns had to rebuild. During the rebuilding, the walls were made thicker, taller, stronger, and, to avoid the fires caused by the cannons, houses were increasingly built from brick. The examples of Sibiu and Braşov in Transylvania are particularly interesting. As in towns across the Hungarian Kingdom, prior to the fifteenth century most buildings were constructed of wood. It was not until 1408 that Sibiu's first brick building besides the town church was completed. However, between 1408 and 1599, an architectural revolution occurred, and by 1599 only one wooden house was left on the market square. This architectural revolution was most intense during the sixteenth century: in Braşov, the tower to the town hall was constructed in 1528; in 1539, the first printing house was built; in 1545, the fish market in the town square was erected; and between 1539 and 1545, the most impressive building up to the current day, the Merchants' House, was constructed.⁴⁵ In Sebastian Münster's (1489–1552) eyewitness account, Sibiu was likened in size to Vienna, and in 1683 the Magyar *Simplicissimus* described the towns of Transylvania in the following way: "Transylvania is a wonderful land. It is plentiful in people, gold, silver and other metals, salt, fish, wild game, wheat and honey. The towns are beautiful and in large part Lutheran and German. The capital is Sibiu, which is the largest and in size and beauty comparable only to Wien and Breslau [today in Poland, Wrocław]."⁴⁶

Sibiu and Braşov were not alone. Throughout towns in the Independent Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania, everyday life was filled with energy and vitality from the mid-sixteenth through the seventeenth century. It is not by accident, for instance, that during this same period new words were introduced into the Hungarian language, words that were not part of the vocabulary of urban decay. Words and phrases such as *iparkodik és indusztrálkodik* (to be industrious), *gépely* (machine), *órai mesterséggel forgó* (clock work), *magában forgó szerkezet* (automat), and *csinálmányok* (manufactured products) made their appearance primarily in the Upland and Transylvanian mining towns.⁴⁷

A UNIQUE AND FAR DIFFERENT TYPE OF URBANIZATION characterized the agrarian towns that came under Ottoman political administration. The most noticeable effect of the imposition of Ottoman rule on the Carpathian basin was the dramatic

⁴⁵ Nussbächer, *Johannes Benkner*.

⁴⁶ Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographie oder beschreibung aller länder herrschafftenn vnd fürnemesten stetten des gantzen erdbodens* (Getruckt zu Basel, 1588). The Hungarian *Simplicissimus* appeared in print in 1683 and was an imitation of Grimmshausen's work. Its author's identity remains a mystery. Some have attributed it to the Silesian-born Daniel Speer. He was born in Vraclav (Breslau) in 1635. However, linguists have questioned this assumption, and there remains no definite answer to the author's true identity. See József Turóczi-Trostler, ed., *Magyar Simplicissimus* (Budapest, 1956), 226.

⁴⁷ Ágnes Várkonyi, "Gazdaság és társadalom a 17. század második felében (1648–1686)" [Economy and society during the second half of the seventeenth century], in Pach, *Magyarország története 1526–1686*, 2: 1273–1424, see 1290.

decline in the number of inhabited settlements. As evidenced by István Rácz, a leading Hungarian urban historian, while in 1522 there were 264 settlements in Bács-Bodrog County, by 1720 only fifty-five of them remained populated. Similarly, in the administrative district of Jászkunság, while in 1557 there were forty-nine settlements, by 1720 only twenty-three were inhabited. In the three counties of Békés, Csanád, and Csongrád combined, while at the turn of the sixteenth century there were 188 settlements, by 1720 there were only twenty-three. The most extreme case was in Csanád County, where, before the arrival of the Ottomans, seventy-six settlements were inhabited, a number that fell to a dismal three by the end of Ottoman rule, representing a 96.1 percent decline.⁴⁸ These figures have led many Hungarian historians to believe that the Ottoman period represented 150 full years of dearth and decimation. Complementing the decline thesis are the mass exodus of nobles from the occupied lands (due to their loss of tax-exempt privileges) and their extensive accounts of mass persecution, suffering, and torture at the hands of the “barbarians.” Evidence is abundant in support of the claim that the Ottoman period signified the imposition of Eastern despotism on a more developed Western Christian feudal order. As László Makkai, the distinguished early modern historian of the region, noted, even though the Hungarian feudal system was significantly less developed in comparison to the rest of Europe, and the development toward capitalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had made only minuscule headway, nevertheless these humble beginnings were still far more advanced than the complete stagnation and immobility that the Turkish empire represented.⁴⁹

Contrary to Makkai’s opinion, however, there is every reason to believe that the introduction of Ottoman civilization and administration actually represented an advance over the preceding era. It should be remembered that laws sanctioning the imposition of second serfdom had been enacted only a decade before the Ottoman arrival, and the respect for human liberty was at an all-time low in the kingdom. Furthermore, in contrast to what has been characterized as Ottoman “barbarism” stands the example of the Magyar feudal class, which punished the conspirators of the 1514 Dózsa peasant rebellion by forcing Dózsa’s followers to eat their leader’s burned flesh.⁵⁰ There appears to be scarce evidence to prove that Hungarian conditions were more advanced in terms of tolerance, hygiene, the sciences, urbanization, trade, manufacturing, state administration, or military technology.

It is true that the immediate impact of Ottoman rule was the decline of smaller settlements and the exit of the nobility, and even the abolishment of royal free privileges to distinguished towns. Yet this was paralleled by the growth of large settlements, the increase in individual liberty (including religious toleration), and

⁴⁸ Rácz, *Városlakó nemesek az Alföldön*, 27.

⁴⁹ László Makkai, *A magyar városfejlődés és városépítés történeti vázlata* [A historical outline of Hungarian town development and town building] (Budapest, 1963), 62.

⁵⁰ Antal Verancsics, an eyewitness to the execution of Dózsa, described it thus: “They took György Dózsa’s clothes off up to the waist and tied him to a red-hot iron chair. Then they forced his soldiers to dance the heyduck around his throne. After the completion of every round they had to take a bite out of his flesh.” László Kürti, “The Ungaresca and Heyduck Music and Dance Tradition of Renaissance Europe,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14, no. 1 (1983): 63–104, 83. Kürti is quoting from *Memoria Rerum quae in Hungaria a Nato Rege Ludovico Acciderunt*, in L. Szalay and G. Wenczel, eds., *Monumenta Hungariae Historiae*, III (Budapest, 1854–75), 11.

the rise of municipal government autonomy. The decline of small villages was therefore not the product of Turkish slash-and-burn tactics but signified the aggrandizement of many small villages into larger settlements. Fear of raiding bands of Turkish warriors propelled peasants living in small hamlets to move to larger villages. The result was that the Plains became the most urbanized region of the Hungarian Kingdom, albeit in reality this represented extremely large villages rather than what would, in the classic sense, be considered cities. István Rácz has shown that the effects of this process were felt into the late eighteenth century. In 1784, while in the entire Hungarian Kingdom 58 percent of the population lived in settlements with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants, in three of the largest counties of the Plains 50 percent lived in settlements with populations of over 5,000 people.⁵¹ Consequently, although many villages of fewer than 100 inhabitants declined in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, large settlements such as Nagykőrös, Cegléd, Makó, Hódmezővásárhely, Békés, Kiskunhalas, and Mezőtúr doubled in their size. The largest of the agrarian towns, Debrecen, grew from 5,000 to 15,000, and Kecskemét witnessed an increase from 4,000 to 9,000.⁵²

As the most impressive aspect of Ottoman rule, noble privileges no longer had legal binding authority. That is, the arrival of the Ottomans meant that lordly jurisdiction over serfs was broken, and the peasantry was left to organize their own self-governments. This represented a strong reversal of the events leading up to the arrival of the Ottomans, whereby the imposition of second serfdom manifested itself by increasing the burden on peasants and decreasing the autonomy of agrarian towns. Notwithstanding the fact that, after the arrival of the Ottomans, bands of Magyar nobles did periodically descend on Ottoman-dominated territories from the north and east to demand taxes, without an entourage of mercenaries, they had little success. Interestingly, the troops of the sultan never settled in the agrarian towns, and if the taxes were paid in full on time, there was no interference in the internal affairs of the municipal administrations.

The collapse of lordly control did not mean that the agrarian towns of the lowlands became completely devoid of nobles. As noted previously, the Hungarian nobility had followed a different road than their West European counterparts, and their numbers were significantly inflated. Furthermore, in the fifteenth century, many of them lived inside the villages, and their fate was little better than that of the peasants. A number of these impoverished nobles did not move north or east but instead took up residence in the agrarian towns. Indeed, altogether, only two counties, Békés and Csanád, became completely free of nobles in the sixteenth century. But descending from a noble background appears to have been a disadvantage to someone applying for town citizenship. In Kecskemét, for instance, between 1564 and 1647, there were only eight families of noble descent and in Nagykőrös only ten.⁵³ Agrarian towns were definitely anti-noble, and they gave permission for nobles to settle only if they renounced their privileges and took an oath of loyalty to the municipal governments.

The largest agrarian town with a noble presence was Debrecen, where, between

⁵¹ Rácz, *Városlakó nemesek az Alföldön*, 27–28.

⁵² Makkai, *A magyar városfejlődés*, 70.

⁵³ Rácz, *Városlakó nemesek az Alföldön*, 85–86.

1564 and 1640, 118 nobles were granted burgher rights.⁵⁴ Many of these families played a prominent role as merchants and occupied seats in the town senate. The most famous judge of the sixteenth century, Ferenc Duskás, was also a noble. The nobles' status in the town, however, did not derive from their feudal titles. Neither did it entail judicial immunity from the civic courts, nor tax exemption. It was primarily their merchants' skill and capital that accounted for their rise and lofty positions. Moreover, the advantages of "burgher rights" significantly outweighed the benefits of a noble title. Without burgher rights, a family could not receive part of the community land or use the common lands, and hence could not be in possession of their own means of subsistence. Such a disadvantage would invariably hurt one's chances of success and was the fate that befell the unfortunate class of day laborers, servants, and other individuals without burgher rights.

Towns that lay within the stretch of territory that is commonly referred to as the "military border zone" underwent a further unique urban evolution in the sixteenth century, as exemplified by Tata, Győr, Pápa, Veszprém, Keszthely, and Zalaegerszeg. A high proportion of these towns' urban dwellers were professional soldiers. In sixteenth-century Győr, for instance, 265 of the 731 houses were occupied by soldiers, and next to the 3,000 burghers lived a soldier population of 2,000.⁵⁵ Furthermore, because of the length of military conflict (the region remained a military border zone for 150 years) in these border castle towns, resembling Spartan-like urban fortresses with the core of their identity centered on the soldier-burgher ideal, a distinct military caste-like element emerged. The Kuruc Army, used by Emmerich Thököly and Ferenc Rákóczy II in their struggles for Hungarian independence against Habsburg rule in the late seventeenth century, was recruited from this soldier-burgher population.

In sum, the imposition of second serfdom was legally ratified in the year 1514. This inaugurated the introduction of its first stage, signifying a decline of state authority and a corresponding fragmentation of political power. As it first emerged, the political-economic order of early second serfdom was a highly unstable social system and contributed significantly to the partition of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1540. While the arrival of the Ottomans initially strengthened the centrifugal forces within society, shortly thereafter, lords were forced into a more conciliatory position toward towns and urban autonomy. Consequently, from the mid-sixteenth century onward, towns were making a comeback. The second stage of second serfdom was a more complex order and resembled late occidental feudalism in its social organization: towns, lords, and princes shared power. The agrarian towns in the lowlands followed a different evolution, although interestingly they, too, made a comeback. Ottoman rule on the Plains eliminated the institutional features of second serfdom and feudalism. Free from lordly control, peasants on the Plains aggrandized their small villages into large urban-like settlements, developing along

⁵⁴ Elemér Mályus, *A mezővárosi fejlődés* [The development of agrarian towns] (Budapest, 1953); Lajos Zoltai, *Debrecen a török uralom végén* [Debrecen at the end of Ottoman rule] (Budapest, 1905); Zoltai, *Vidékiek beköltözése Debrecenbe* [The settlement from the countryside into Debrecen] (Debrecen, 1902); István Balogh, *A civisek világa* [The world of well-to-do peasants in the towns of Eastern Hungary] (Budapest, 1973); István Rácz, *A debreceni civisvagyton* [An inventory of Debrecen's well-to-do peasants living in the town] (Budapest, 1989).

⁵⁵ Makkai, *A magyar városfejlődés*.

the way a sophisticated form of self-government, with which the Ottomans did not interfere. Consequently, towns, both where second serfdom continued to thrive and where it was broken, made significant strides in the partitioned Hungarian Kingdom of the mid-sixteenth century, and were embarking on a robust ascent that would stumble only in the late seventeenth century.

THE IDEA THAT THE CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN BOURGEOISIE followed a separate and distinct road originally emerged in the works of disgruntled Central European liberals at the twilight of the nineteenth century. Born in the backdrop of the failure of the 1848 revolutions, the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, and German unification by Prussia in 1871, the aristocracy and nobility of Central Europe were seemingly able to survive the threat of the French Revolution, to the detriment of civic middle-class values and institutions. Disillusioned by the course of events, liberals decried the lethargy, laziness, and gentrification of their respective national bourgeoisies. Theodore Mommsen bitterly wrote in 1899: "To be a true bourgeois is not possible in this nation."⁵⁶ In describing the frailty of an organic bourgeoisie in Germany, Friedrich Meinecke invented the term "substitute middle class," referring to the success Jewish immigrants came to enjoy in middle-class professions as arising from the corresponding powerlessness of an organic Christian German middle class.⁵⁷ Max Weber was also critical of the German middle class's gentrification after German unification:

[I]t is in keeping with the wisdom of the state ruling Prussia today, to reconcile the bourgeois purse with the minimal political influence of the bourgeoisie by granting a kind of "second class right of admission at court," and in the interested circles nothing would be more unpopular than if difficulties were created for the "nobilitation" of capital acquired in commerce, in industry, in the stock exchange by their metamorphosis into the form of the landed estate.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Quoted in Lothar Gall, *Bürgertum in Deutschland* (Augsburg, 1989), 17. Mommsen also wrote: "I have never had political influence, nor aimed at it. But in my innermost self, and I believe with what is best in me, I have always been an *animal politicum*, and wished to be a citizen. That is not possible in our nation; even the best among us never rises above doing his duty in the ranks and treating political authority like a fetish (*politischen Fetischismus*). This rift between my inner self and the people to whom I belong has firmly and consistently determined me to appear as little as possible as a person before the German public, for which I have no respect." Theodore Mommsen, "Last Wishes, 1899," *Past and Present*, no. 1 (February 1952): 71.

⁵⁷ Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaats* (Munich, 1908).

⁵⁸ Quoted in Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany*, 50. As Don Martindale noted: "[For Weber] Prussia's policies were determined by the attempt to keep the city and its typical strata under political control while political dominance—in the state, the administration, and the higher ranks of the Army—was in the hands of the rural aristocrats (the Junkers). Thus [he thought that] while in other Western lands and the United States urban types had the major voice in the affairs of the nation, in Germany the city man was peculiarly deprived of political responsibility." Martindale, "Prefatory Remarks: The Theory of the City," in Weber, *The City*, 36. Or, as Richard Bendix noted: "[As] a member of the middle class [Weber] inquired into the sources of the collectivism and rationality that prompted English and Hanseatic stockbrokers to impose an ethic of trade upon themselves—a practice that stood in marked contrast to the aping of aristocratic ways among his compatriots." Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (1960; rpt. edn., Berkeley, Calif., 1977), 48.

At the time Francis Carsten was formulating his ideas on medieval urban development, civil society had deteriorated even further in Central and Eastern Europe. Carsten published his first major article in 1943 under the title "Medieval Democracy in the Brandenburg Towns and Its Defeat in the Fifteenth Century." The last sentence read: "Both the historical weakness of democracy in Germany and the formation of the Prussian State are intimately connected with the subjugation of the towns at the end of the middle ages."⁵⁹ Readers did not have to be reminded of what Carsten meant. His work was intended as a contribution to understanding the victory of National Socialism in Germany. Nineteen thirty-three became the year that had to be explained, and throughout his life Carsten remained committed to the idea that stunted urbanization in the sixteenth century was the root cause of the rise of dictatorships in the twentieth. In his influential work *The Origins of Prussia* (1954), he wrote: "The most important factor in the social history of Brandenburg and Prussia, and of many other eastern European countries, was the decline of the towns and the subsequent rise of the nobility: it definitely separated the developments in the east from those in the west and created a boundary line between two different social systems."⁶⁰

This article challenges the traditional view of early modern urban development in Eastern Europe by showing that, in the case of Hungary, there was no direct correlation between the seigniorial reaction and urban decline. While some towns declined, others grew. Among the most fundamental changes that took place, urban constitutions were modernized, the family and the social organization of the communal brotherhood were reformed, and towns converted to Lutheranism. Many diverse factors exist to explain Hungary's widespread urban dynamism. Bratislava, for instance, with the Ottoman occupation of Buda, became the new political capital of the Independent Hungarian Kingdom. Trnava's population increased because many of the influential burghers from Buda and Pest decided to settle there. Cluj-Napoca became an important city in Transylvania, as it became the center of a unique Magyar late renaissance. Buda expanded because it became the capital of the Ottoman administration in the occupied lands and was a transshipment point between the West and the East. But even the less impressive town of Levoča experienced growth. Between 1555 and 1667, the number of houses increased from 440 to 700, while the population of the town rose from 3,162 to 4,867.⁶¹ Further, the populations of Košice, Bardejov, Prešov, and virtually all of the mining towns experienced a similar demographic and economic rise.⁶² In urban centers large and small, town halls, public baths, schoolhouses, stone fortifications, and Renaissance-style homes were constructed.

How does this evidence help in understanding East European historical developments? Hungarian historians have used the urban decline thesis, in the

⁵⁹ Carsten, "Medieval Democracy in the Brandenburg Towns," 90. Carsten understood his theory as applying to all of Eastern Europe, including Hungary: "In spite of wide differences of historical development between Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Russia, and the Baltic states, one basic fact applied to all of them: the nobility remained the ruling class, and an urban middle class did not come into being until the later nineteenth century"; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, 276.

⁶⁰ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, 276.

⁶¹ Kálmán Demkó, *Lőcse története* [History of Levoča] (Lőcse, 1897), 269.

⁶² Granasztói, *A középkori magyar város*, 158–59.

tradition of Carsten, to explain the medieval origins of Hungary's later political backwardness: namely, the rise of right-wing dictatorship in the interwar period and communism after World War II. This was most eloquently expressed by Jenő Szűcs in his influential work "Outline of the Three Historical Regions of Europe":

The weakness of the development of a western type of autonomous urban/civic society should not be looked for in the fact that in the Hungarian Kingdom town dwellers were ethnically different from the Magyars but in the fact that the urbanization that did develop lasted only for a short time and produced but a handful of towns between 1200 and 1350; and, when this early urbanization was interrupted [with the decline of the Levantine trade route], those that did exist were dwarfed by the economics of the dominant latifundium system.⁶³

In light of the evidence presented in this article, it becomes difficult to accept Szűcs's position that Hungary's weakly developed urban/civic traditions can be traced to a stunted or interrupted urbanization in the medieval period. On this point, Geoff Eley's argument appears more convincing, that in Germany (and here Eastern Europe must be included), there is too great a reliance on the continuity from the medieval to the modern, and historians should try and "loosen the deterministic grip of the road to 1933." This is not to discard the importance of the medieval; yet, as Eley writes, "In the end both perspectives are necessary—the deep historical long-term structural one and the stress on the immediate crises. But we have to be clear about what exactly each of them may reasonably explain."⁶⁴

The critical question remains: Was the Hungarian experience unique? Or does there have to be a review of urban development across all of Central and Eastern Europe under second serfdom? Is there a need for a new meta-narrative?

Arguments for Hungary's distinctiveness could begin with the Ottoman occupation. Where the Ottomans consolidated their control, occidental feudalism and second serfdom were abolished. Further, even where second serfdom continued, namely the Uplands and Transylvania, it could be maintained that the tense international military competition was far different from that of, for instance, Poland. One of the strengths of this argument is that after the Ottomans were expelled and the Habsburgs consolidated their rule over Hungary, many royal free towns stagnated. Arguments against Hungary's distinctiveness, in contrast, would stress broader European structural developments. As Robert Brenner argued, for instance, there were three possible solutions to the crisis of the manorial economy in late medieval Europe. One, lords could expel their serfs and transform the land into their private property. Two, peasants could expel their lords and establish a system of free peasant family farming. Three, lords could chain their serfs to the land and establish second serfdom. The first option was followed in England, the second in France, and the third in Eastern Europe.⁶⁵

Within this larger European context, the military success of the Ottomans over Hungary should be understood as a symptom of the rise of second serfdom and not an end in itself. One of the structural flaws of the seigniorial reaction throughout

⁶³ Szűcs, "Vázlatok Európa három történelmi régiójáról," 2: 515–68, see 541.

⁶⁴ Geoff Eley, *From Unification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past* (1986; London, 1990), 12, 276.

⁶⁵ Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure."

Eastern Europe was that it weakened royal authority, because the rise of Ring-bürger rule in the towns and subjugation of other towns by the nobility reduced the flow of taxes to the state. A direct line can be drawn from the borders of what today are Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland, up to Lithuania, where a similar pattern was followed: rise of lords, corruption in the towns, followed by declining authority of the king, contested sovereignty, and invasion. Interestingly enough, it was precisely during the period of contested sovereignty and the growing international military competition of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century that towns flourished. The case of Zápolya is telling here. When he re-granted Kežmarok its autonomy and ennobled all the burghers of Buda, Zápolya was trying to rise from a landlord leading the manorial reaction to the king of Hungary. Some Polish nobles with similar aspirations must also have realized the advantages of this strategy. In other words, the moment sovereignty was being renegotiated following the initial imposition of second serfdom was a fortuitous one for towns, and some emerged with greater autonomy. This does not mean to imply that all towns developed under second serfdom. Sometimes, towns negotiated badly, with the wrong partner, becoming little more than villages. But when they negotiated well, with a good partner, had fortune on their side, and escaped major fires and plagues, they emerged stronger.

Contrary to the traditional view, therefore, there is no natural correlation between the seigniorial reaction and urban decay. As is accepted today, the old textbook supposition that towns existed outside and were antithetical to feudalism is an exaggeration. Towns did not lead the way for the decline of feudalism in Western Europe. Taking this into account, it must also be accepted that their decline did not seal the victory for seigniorial reaction in Eastern Europe. Towns and lords during feudalism could slug it out, snub one another, or, what was most frequent, live in a symbiotic relationship. But towns were rarely the natural allies of unfree peasants, and the chant of "city air makes free" (*stadtluft macht frei*) was often reserved for the already privileged. Obviously, some towns declined as a consequence of the seigniorial reaction, but many did not. The fate of towns often hinged on local factors, the course of negotiations, and fortune, but not on a set and immutable law linking second serfdom with urban decay.

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South Atlantic Crossings: Fingerprints, Science, and the State in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina

JULIA RODRIGUEZ

IN THE COURSE OF ONE OF THE MOST INFAMOUS MURDER CASES in late nineteenth-century Argentina, prosecutors obtained in 1892 the world's first criminal conviction based on fingerprint evidence. Immersed in the ghoulish facts of the case, in which two small children were stabbed to death in their beds, the coastal villagers of Necochea in Buenos Aires Province hardly noted this high-water mark of transatlantic science. But it was from here that the first practical applications of fingerprinting burst forth, a vital eddy in the currents of people, ideas, and technologies surging across the Atlantic at the turn of the century. The case had been initially vexing: no one had seen the crime, and interrogations had yielded contradictory evidence. Amid the gore, however, was a single bloody fingerprint left on a doorjamb. How, short of finding blood on the suspect, could a match be proved? Several days into the investigation, the detective in charge, Eduardo M. Alvarez, shocked observers with a novel brand of evidence, a method of linking finger marks to police records of known or suspected criminals. He demonstrated a match between the bloody mark and the prints of the children's mother, Francesca Rojas, who promptly confessed to the crime.

Just months before, a local police scientist named Juan Vucetich, who had recently emigrated from Croatia, had developed a new classification and filing system for fingerprint records that made possible the pairing. Confronted in his daily work with rising numbers of crimes as the Argentine population grew increasingly heterogeneous, urban, and mobile, Vucetich effectively focused his attention on the means of comparing prints from a crime scene with ever-expanding individual identification records. The genius of his system of "dactyloscopy," as he called it, was not its accuracy (detailed examinations of finger marks were by then common) but the efficiency with which his classification system could be married to an emerging bureaucratic archive of individual fingerprints. The ability to classify

I would like to thank the staff of the Archivo Vucetich at the Museo de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires in La Plata, Argentina, for access to police documents and Juan Vucetich's professional papers; Osvaldo Barreneche provided invaluable help in La Plata as well. Partial research support was provided by National Science Foundation grant no. SBR-96-16935. I am grateful to Charles Forcey, Jr., for his excellent suggestions. Sven Beckert, Simon Cole, Marcos Cueto, Eliga Gould, Frank McCann, and Orlando Rodriguez contributed thoughtful feedback; Nancy Leys Stepan and Herbert S. Klein read an earlier version. In addition, I would like to thank the *AHR* editors and anonymous readers for their insightful comments. I presented a portion of this article at the 1999 meeting of the American Historical Association. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from French and Spanish are mine.

and retrieve large, if not unlimited, numbers of record cards had many potential applications beyond crime solving. Civil uses, he argued, ranged from general population records to prostitutes' registers to immigrant tracking systems. As news of the successful use of fingerprint evidence to solve the Necochea child murders—a full ten years before such evidence was used in criminal trials in London and Paris—spread through legal and political circles, Vucetich was hailed first locally and then abroad. Argentina's scientific community, self-consciously peripheral, basked in its newfound prestige as a cradle of advanced criminology.

No one knew better than the Argentines that the development, implementation, and dissemination of fingerprint technology was a distinctively transatlantic scientific event. Historians of the United States and modern Europe have recently documented the significance of the linkages and cross-fertilization of ideas across the Northern Atlantic that shaped social policy, legislation, and state formation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They revealed how ideas and their applications evolved not in sterile theoretical laboratories but by virtue of their vigorous empiricism, and through their interaction with diverse, fertile local contexts.¹ In the process, these ideas were transformed more often than not as they were carried back and forth between the Americas and Europe. We know much less, however, about South Atlantic crossings and the science of Latin America.² Shrouded in assumptions about remoteness, poverty, and Catholic traditionalism, the mere existence of world-class science in Latin American nations had to be “discovered.” Pathbreaking studies have shown that science can travel in many directions, that excellence can originate outside the intellectual centers of the North Atlantic.³ Histories of developments in high-altitude physiology and the

¹ Notable recent studies on the transatlantic exchange of ideas in the modern era, focusing mostly on United States–European relations, include Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York, 1986); Axel R. Schäfer, *American Progressives and German Social Reform, 1875–1920: Social Ethics, Moral Control, and the Regulatory State in a Transatlantic Context* (Stuttgart, 2000). See also Elisabeth Gläser and Hermann Wellenreuther, eds., *Bridging the Atlantic: The Question of American Exceptionalism in Perspective* (Washington, D.C., 2002).

² Recent scholarship in Latin American history has begun to challenge the centrality of the North in transatlantic history as well as the assumption that the Americas were primarily recipients of European ideas. See Jeremy Adelman, *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif., 1999); Gil Joseph, et al., eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.–Latin American Relations* (Durham, N.C., 1998). On the flow of ideas from the new world to the old, see Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750–1900* (Pittsburgh, 1973); and two books by Germán Arciniegas: *America in Europe: A History of the New World in Reverse* (San Diego, Calif., 1986); and *Cuando América completó la tierra* (Bogotá, 2001). Moreover, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra provides an excellent discussion of how the term “West” excludes and marginalizes Latin America; see *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, 2001), 10.

³ Historians of science have rightly placed technological innovations within their larger social context, looking to politics, economics, and culture as equally consequential as individual brainpower in the discovery of new ideas. A number of recent studies of Latin American science have illustrated that economic privation or “underdevelopment” does not necessarily result in mediocre science. In certain settings, a confluence of ingenuity and institutional and societal patronage produced not only equally recognized knowledge but also arguably a more “practical” science. For examples of this literature, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*; Marcos Cueto, *Excelencia científica en la periferia* (Lima, 1989); Cueto, “Laboratory Styles in Argentine Physiology,” *Isis* 86 (1995): 228–46; Stuart McCook, *States of Nature: Science, Agriculture, and Environment in the Spanish Caribbean, 1760–1940* (Austin, Tex., 2002); Julyan Peard, *Race, Place, and Medicine: The Idea of the*

discovery of the yellow fever vector, for example, require us to consider the venues of scientific innovation.⁴ Such events, however, have been understandably recounted as national triumphs. Here, I will argue that they are better understood as part of a complex Atlantic crossings process. In a post-Columbian world, ideas, like biological agents, move and transmute in complex ways and in multiple directions.⁵

Among many untold stories of exchange between Europe and South America, I offer here one episode that not only belies common myths of “peripheral science” as purely imitative and underdeveloped but also extends southward the important story of collaboration between scientists and modernizing state-builders. Argentina’s contribution to modern fingerprint science does not fit our traditional model of scientific progress, which sees a “diffusion” of ideas largely from center to periphery.⁶ Under that model, the precocious development of fingerprinting in Argentina might be explained as the result of chance immigration from Europe of a clever and creative mind. But, as this article will make clear, Vucetich’s dactyloscopy was at once part of a new “scientific” and intercontinental approach to social problems and a very particular response to the local problems of crime in Vucetich’s adopted country. The early application of dactyloscopy reveals a chapter in the history of the free-flowing exchange of novel ideas and state practices, not only from east to west but also west to east and from south to north. The story of the Argentine contribution to the now ubiquitous technique of fingerprinting was staged in a Latin American nation that was intimately connected to the northern scientific world, poised to exploit one of the world’s richest economies, and led by a forward-looking class of state-builders bent on a thoroughgoing modernization. If that sounds similar to developments in the youthful United States, it should, for Argentina at that time was one of the most robust of the South American republics and has offered historians a rich field of comparison to its northern neighbor’s own story of scientific and cultural exchange with Europe.⁷

Vucetich’s work was part of a transatlantic scientific conversation, but its success was rooted in the empirical opportunities of the Argentine environment. As has

Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Medicine (Durham, N.C., 1999); Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991).

⁴ Marcos Cueto, “Andean Biology in Peru: Scientific Styles on the Periphery,” *Isis* 80, no. 4 (1989): 640–58; Nancy Leys Stepan, “The Interplay between Socio-Economic Factors and Medical Science: Yellow Fever Research, Cuba, and the United States,” *Social Studies of Science* 8 (1978): 397–423.

⁵ Alfred W. Crosby’s scholarship drew our attention to the historical significance of the migration and exchange of biological organisms (including humans, animals, plants, and pathogens) as well as cultural forms; see *The Columbian Exchange: The Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); and *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York, 1998).

⁶ Social scientists in the 1970s, influenced by dependency theory, dubbed Latin America, Africa, and Asia “peripheral” to the scientific “centers” of Western Europe and North America. For analysis and revision of this view, see Cueto, *Excelencia científica en la periferia*; Elena Díaz, Yolanda Texera, and Hebe Vessuri, eds., *La ciencia periférica: Ciencia y sociedad en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1983).

⁷ For comparisons of Argentina, the United States, and other lands of recent settlement, see D. C. M. Platt and Guido Di Tella, *Argentina, Australia, and Canada: Studies in Comparative Development 1870–1965* (New York, 1985); Carlos H. Waisman, *Reversal of Development in Argentina: Postwar Counterrevolutionary Policies and Their Structural Consequences* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), chap. 3; Luis Roniger and Carlos H. Waisman, *Globality and Multiple Modernities: Comparative North American and Latin American Perspectives* (Portland, Oreg., 2002).

often been remarked by historians of natural science, and above all medicine, new world sites such as Argentina offered an open field to experimental scientists.⁸ This was no less true for the emerging “science” of crime and other social problems such as prostitution, alcoholism, and political violence. Far from being a barren or primitive cultural and intellectual landscape, Argentina was a veritable hothouse for scientific innovations essential to the era’s state-building projects. With its uncharted terrain, “exotic” populations, and novel social and political formations, it enjoyed observational data unknown to the old world. Argentina’s educated and trained scientists who came of age after 1880 were intimately shaped by the dramatic political events of their times, and they in turn directed some of that nascent state’s most consequential projects. Chief among them was this postcolonial state’s effort to harness the surging forces of mass immigration and rapid economic expansion. The social “pathologies” plaguing France, Germany, the United States, and other nations—increasing crime, urban crowding, ethnic factionalism, social and class conflict—were to be found in extreme form in Argentina. Moreover, its oligarchical political culture and less seasoned constitutional structures gave elites with scientific credentials far greater influence and power. It was these two elements—the Argentine state’s strong urge to engineer order at a time of tumultuous social transformation wrought by its accelerated modernity, and its strong support of science—that created a fertile field for the development and application of fingerprinting.

No mere catalogers of new world flora and fauna, these scientist-reformers and their vocabulary of social engineering were at the heart of Argentina’s reformist moment. As elsewhere in the Atlantic world, the increasingly authoritative methods and rhetorical structures of science were embedded in the processes of state formation and modernization.⁹ Liberal state-builders believed that, due to the nation’s rich natural resources and their European ancestry with claims of racial

⁸ At times, Latin American scientists and philosophers recognized this advantage, referring to their lands as open and fertile compared to a rigid, stultified old world. Cañizares-Esguerra found that eighteenth-century scientists, historians, and philosophers of the Spanish colonies had a similar understanding of their environment; *How to Write the History of the New World*, 7; see also his article on Spanish-American racial theories, “New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650,” *AHR* 104 (February 1999): 35.

⁹ I more fully explore the relationship between scientific and medical rhetoric and practice, the expansion of the state, and control of citizenship in my forthcoming book, tentatively titled “Civilizing Argentina: Science and the State against Barbarism.” The legacies of the turn of the century, a foundational period in the growth of disciplinary ideology and institutions, continued to place Argentina on the extremes of the modern state forms. Ironically, attempts to secure social order under both liberal and authoritarian twentieth-century regimes (up to and including the hygienic rationales for repressive practices during the military dictatorships of the 1940s and 1970s) originated in the exuberance and radicalism of this earlier “positivist” moment. For a similar interpretation of the paradoxes of nineteenth and early twentieth-century “liberal” reforms in Argentina, see Ricardo Salvatore, “Death and Liberalism: Capital Punishment after the Fall of Rosas,” in Salvatore, *et al.*, eds., *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since Late Colonial Times* (Durham, N.C., 2001). On the paradoxes of modernity in particular for women, see Kristin Ruggiero, “Honor, Maternity, and the Disciplining of Women: Infanticide in Late Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72, no. 3 (1992): 353–73; Lila Caimari, “Whose Criminals Are These? Church, State, and Patronatos and the Rehabilitation of Female Convicts (Buenos Aires, 1890–1940),” *Americas* 54, no. 2 (1997): 185–208; Donna Guy, “Parents before the Tribunals: The Legal Construction of Patriarchy in Argentina,” in Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Durham, 2000), 172–93.

superiority, they deserved membership in the circle of advanced, “civilized” nations. The key to that membership, as they and their foreign colleagues saw it, lay in the application of “modern” and “scientific” principles in government and economy. At the end of the nineteenth century, the promise of science seemed infinite, and they were convinced that the application of precise, measurable, and “objective” approaches to state formation was the best way to achieve progress, civilization, and even greatness.¹⁰

The triumph of Argentine dactyloscopy illuminates brightly if singularly the dynamics of the expansion of disciplinary institutions during a key period of liberal and democratic state-building.¹¹ The story begins with a sketch of the fertile transatlantic field of social pathology in which the young Vucetich put down his intellectual roots and sought to apply the diligent empiricism of the natural and medical sciences to social problems. I then follow the immigrant scientist to the frontier post of Argentina, where his passion for systematic and empirical observations of social pathology placed him in the employ of the provincial police’s scientific office. It is here that the intersection of scientific theory and institutional imperatives of the Argentine locality begins to emerge. Next, I describe the system he created to classify, organize, and retrieve fingerprint records, a method that was recognized in its day and can today be understood as “excellent” science to the extent that it met the needs of emerging modern societies, of which Argentina was one of the most volatile and fragile. Finally, I show the impact of Vucetich’s system on various levels. On the local and national level, the application of fingerprinting, now a property of the state, did not reflect precisely what Vucetich had advised. Beyond Argentina, I describe how dactyloscopy reentered the transatlantic sphere; there, Vucetich’s better-known colleagues recognized it for the scientific advance that it was, and gave it a place alongside the arguably better-known British system developed by Edward Henry in 1897.

The spark that Vucetich started and that took flame in Argentina flickered and wavered in other contexts, but it eventually joined with parallel efforts to become a universal practice. Once it was recognized as a simple and useful tool for the file cabinets and bureaucrats of the modern state, dactyloscopy epitomized the promise of novel scientific systems to answer the needs of specific local and national police forces, immigration bureaus, and other public agencies. As important as the combination of scientific rhetoric and technique was Vucetich’s particular contribution to crime stopping: the bright light he held up for state bureaucracies. Throughout the Atlantic world, Argentina’s work on fingerprinting spoke to modern states’ desires to tame the unprecedented, threatening, and often “foreign”

¹⁰ Argentina, like many large countries, has its own version of manifest destiny reaching back to the earliest years of independence. Similar to neighboring Brazil, this idea involved expansionism (including the appropriation of native lands) and a sense of *grandeza* (greatness). In contrast to most other Latin American countries, however, Argentina’s vision of *grandeza* was distinctly racialized as Euro-American. On ideas of Argentine greatness, see Nicholas Shumway, *Inventing Argentina: History of an Idea* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 296.

¹¹ Fingerprinting can be described as a type of what James C. Scott calls “state-initiated social engineering” within the “imperialism of high-modernist, planned social order.” Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998).

social forces, which, as planners knew all too well, could propel their societies towards either greatness or ruin.

IVAN VUCETICH WAS BORN ON THE DALMATIAN ISLAND OF LESINA, off the Adriatic coast of Croatia, in 1858. He immigrated to Argentina, adopting the name Juan Vucetich, as he would be internationally known, at the age of twenty-six. It would be interesting to know more about Vucetich's background, but there is a dearth of information on his life before his appointment to the Argentine police. It is likely that he came from an educated background in his native Croatia, for within four years of his arrival, he was hired into the scientific wing of the Buenos Aires provincial police. His first post there was to direct the *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, which collected arrest and crime statistics for the province, and a few years later he was hired to run the Office of Identification. Vucetich followed in the long tradition of European explorers and adventurers drawn to the new world, with its rich and abundant natural and social formations.¹² Scientists emigrated from Europe to the Americas and back again, often in search of new ground for scientific observation. These scientists came equipped with the most recent theories, approaches, and objectives defined in the northern metropolitan centers, but they were highly aware of the fresh data that the new world offered them. They thus arrived ready to measure, study, and cure the local populations but also expected to develop and generate new theories based on their data.

While little is known about Vucetich's life or education before his arrival in South America, a great deal is known about his intellectual milieu. Men like Vucetich received their training, traveled in, and occupied an international scientific community. Science was the lingua franca of an intellectual and political elite on both sides of the ocean. In their view, objective, empirical observation, in the words of French philosopher Auguste Comte, was the only reliable means of reflecting and understanding the "positive facts" of nature, including human nature. Especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, thanks to advances in rail and transoceanic travel, the emergence of scientific journals, and the sponsorship of practical science by liberal states, linkages between scientists intensified to the point where they could speak of an international community. In some fields, rivalries (or "schools") developed that tapped into the surging nationalism of scientists and politicians who sought national recognition and advances from scientific discoveries. On a deeper level, however, most scientists saw their work as part of a larger stream of discoveries that would advance universal knowledge and the greater good. One branch of science that enjoyed a widespread and conspicuous success was medicine and public health. Physicians had seen during the course of the eighteenth century not only increasing social status and professional organization but also a number of impressive victories over disease and pestilence. Among the dramatic

¹² On European fascination with and exploration of the Americas in an earlier period, see Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, Conn., 1993); Victor Von Hagen, *South America Called Them: Explorations of the Great Naturalists: La Condamine, Humboldt, Darwin, Spruce* (New York, 1945), as well as the vast literature on Alexander von Humboldt's Latin American journeys.

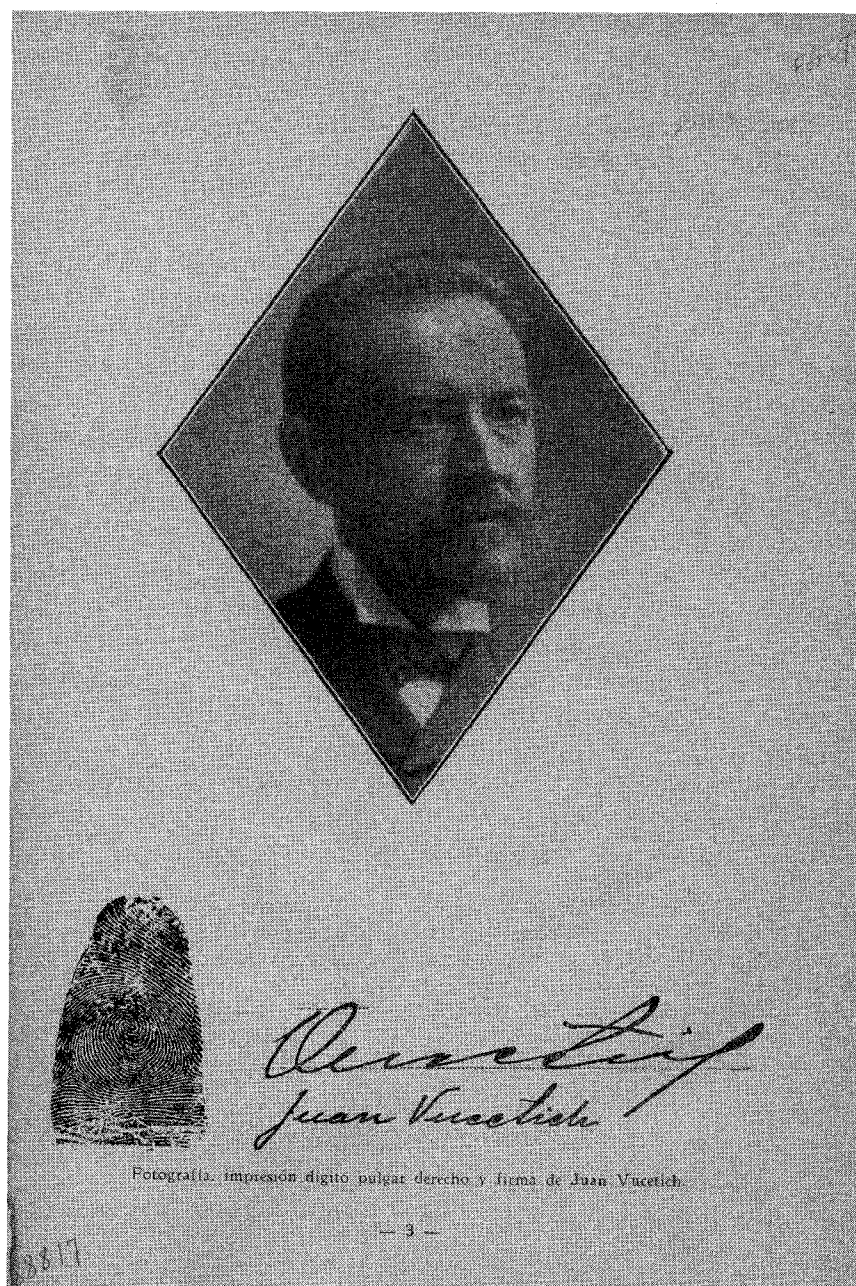


FIGURE 1: Frontplate with photo, signature, and thumbprint of Juan Vucetich, in *Homenaje a Juan Vucetich* (Buenos Aires, 1938).

developments were discoveries in “tropical” medicine—the identification of new diseases as well as cures for known ones in exotic locales.¹³

¹³ Argentine medicine was most strongly influenced by French models; in 1903, psychologist Horacio Piñero even pronounced, “From the intellectual point of view, we are French.” Quoted in Hugo Vezzetti, *El nacimiento de la psicología en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1998), 43. On Argentine medicine, see Ricardo González Leandri, *Curar, persuadir, gobernar: La construcción histórica de la profesión médica en Buenos Aires, 1852–1886* (Madrid, 1999); Mirta Zaida Lobato, ed., *Política, médicos*

Excited by stunning victories in disease control, including the discovery of new vectors and new treatments, late nineteenth-century scientists turned to medicines for cures for the social body. Giving urgency to these discussions on both sides of the ocean was a set of by now well-documented anxieties about the social pathologies emerging alongside modernity—the real and imagined specters of social turmoil, urban decay, and crime.¹⁴ Vucetich's work emerged from this larger intercontinental conversation about social pathology that was informed by the rise of empiricism, statistics, classification, and biology, especially Social Darwinism. Propelling this movement was the conviction that new problems needed new solutions. Physicians, social scientists, and legal scholars alike filtered social pathology through biological lenses, leading to the rise of medical, anthropometric, and deterministic approaches.

"Criminal anthropology," as the new positivist discipline was known, coalesced out of a trans-European intellectual movement investigating the causes of criminal, antisocial, and anti-national behavior.¹⁵ It distinguished itself from the so-called classical school of criminology, elaborated by Cesare Beccaria and others in the late eighteenth century, by emphasizing the supposedly "scientific" (as opposed to metaphysical) basis of its theory; by its focus on the individual offender and belief in the lack of free will in criminal behavior; an emphasis on "humane" approaches to criminals, replacing punishment with "treatment"; and finally by its concern with "social defense," or a privileging of social stability over individual rights. In Europe, the inventors of criminology had attained both scientific and political status by 1880. In Italy, the leading crime theorist was Cesare Lombroso, who was succeeded by his student Enrico Ferri. The 1876 publication of his *Criminal Man* (*L'uomo delinquente*) was understood as a turning point in approaches to crime.¹⁶ Lombroso's

y enfermedades: *Lecturas de historia de la salud en Argentina* (Mar del Plata, 1996). On tropical medicine within a larger imperialistic system, see Nancy Leys Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Medicine* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001); Arnold Davis, *Warm Climates and Western Medicine: The Emergence of Tropical Medicine, 1500–1900* (Amsterdam, 1988); Roy M. Macleod and Milton James Lewis, *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion* (New York, 1996).

¹⁴ A rich literature exists on the scientific and medical response to European, especially French, social anxieties at the fin de siècle. See Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918* (New York, 1989); Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven, Conn., 1981); Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1987); Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Stanford, Calif., 1996).

¹⁵ For historical studies of criminology, see Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law and Society in the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford, 1989); Marie-Christine Leps, *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse* (Durham, N.C., 1992); Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France*; Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*; Nicole Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals* (Chicago, 1997); Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes*; Richard Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000). On the history of criminology and penology in Latin America, see Lyman L. Johnson, ed., *The Problem of Order in Changing Societies: Essays on Crime and Policing in Argentina and Uruguay, 1750–1940* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1990); Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900–1930* (Durham, 2001); Ricardo Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre, eds., *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America* (Austin, Tex., 1996); Salvatore, *Crime and Punishment in Latin America*.

¹⁶ Lombroso's work was expanded and amended by his two students, Enrico Ferri and Raffaele Garofalo, and the work of the three men was collectively known as the "Italian school" of criminology. A description of the context from which the Italian positivist school emerged can be found in John A.

main—and most controversial—contribution to criminological theory was his idea of the “born criminal,” a type of human being believed to represent a distinct species, “homo delinquens.”¹⁷ Regardless of their stance on the biological origins of criminality, Lombroso and his critics alike considered crime to be a “natural” and inevitable problem, like illness, but also preventable if approached scientifically. Europe produced experts who famously developed aspects of the criminological enterprise, among them the French police scientist Alphonse Bertillon, the Austrian criminalist Hans Gross, and the British polymath Sir Francis Galton.

Such men were attractive to states that sought to contain what many citizens perceived as a rising tide of crime and social danger riding the heels of modernity.¹⁸ They felt that scientists and governments could cooperate to eliminate, or at least mitigate, the effects of criminality. In turn, the state became the paying client of the self-designated social pathologists. Legislatures supported the development of new methods of healing an ailing social body while vesting the practitioners with extraordinary power to control their patients. A new “science” based on immutable features of the body and devoted to protecting social norms from encroaching waves of crime appealed to legislators and bureaucrats in a wide range of Atlantic states. Burgeoning cities and the arrival of large numbers of immigrants in many countries raised the specter of criminals who could escape detection by hiding in sprawling slums behind a wall of foreignness. One of the most imperative perceived needs was for tools to combat the anonymous or “hidden” criminal. Governments began building up their criminal justice apparatus, including police, prisons, and court procedures, in the mid-nineteenth century as part of a broader attempt to rein in those threatening forces.

Recidivism, anonymity, and dissembling surfaced as the most dangerous features of modern crime. Penal reformers hoped that techniques of identification could be used in concert with the latest classifications of criminal types to register members of groups most likely to commit crimes and, if possible, to discourage them in advance of their antisocial acts. Prior to the 1890s, however, most scientists

Davis, *Conflict and Control: Law and Order in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1988), 2. For discussions of Lombroso, see Mary Gibson, *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology* (Westport, Conn., 2002); Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*; J. Davis, *Conflict and Control*, esp. 326–38; Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1981), 122–42.

¹⁷ Lombroso’s “homo delinquens” was a single sex species: male. Lombroso elaborated his views on women in his 1893 book, *The Female Offender* (*La donna delinquente*; note the contrast with “the criminal man”), written with his son-in-law Guglielmo Ferrero. On Lombroso and gender, see Gibson, *Born to Crime*, chap. 2; Beverly Brown, “Reassessing the Critique of Biologism,” in Loraine Gelstrophe and Allison Morris, eds., *Feminist Perspectives in Criminology* (Philadelphia, 1990), 41–56; Nancy A. Harrowitz, *Antisemitism, Misogyny, and the Logic of Cultural Difference: Cesare Lombroso and Matilde Serao* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994), 30–36.

¹⁸ Their collective efforts, usually labeled criminology for the theorists and criminalistics for the hunters of actual criminals, were closely related in Argentina, as in North Atlantic countries. Experts in both fields frequently collaborated on research projects and their practical applications. Criminologists appeared as expert witnesses in trials, took an active role in defining the markers of criminal identity, and drafted new laws and policies to punish criminals and prevent future offenses. On the distinction between the two, see Allan Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 18–19; on identification science in comparative perspective, see Simon Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Jane Caplan and John Torpey, eds., *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton, N.J., 2001).

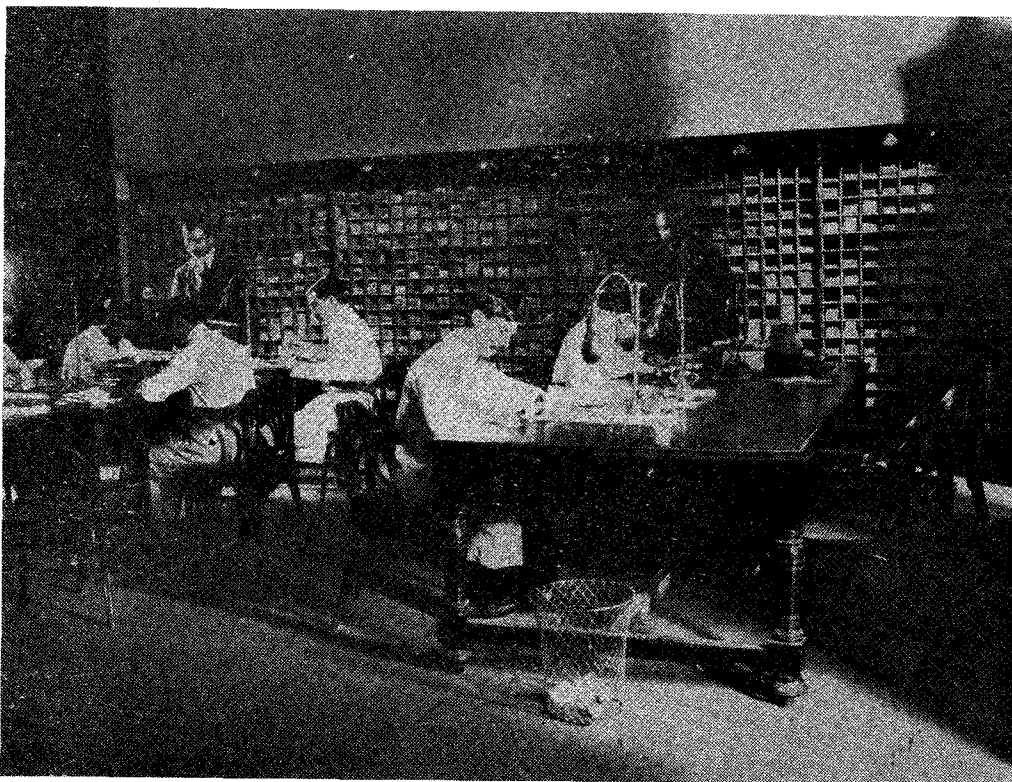


FIGURE 2: Dactyloscopy office, with filing cabinets along the wall, in Leopoldo López, *Reseña histórica de la policía de Buenos Aires, 1778–1911* (Buenos Aires, 1911).

and officials had rejected fingerprints as hopelessly complex and unfileable.¹⁹ The best-known method of criminal identification before 1900 was “Bertillonage,” an anthropometric system involving highly specific measurements of body parts. Created by French police scientist Bertillon in 1879, it consisted of eleven precise body measurements taken with specially designed tools. These were then recorded on identity cards and filed according to a complex series of cross-references. Even though Bertillonage was widely used (often in conjunction with fingerprints), most officials outside France soon recognized that it, in the words of U.S. scientist Raymond Fosdick, “had its obvious defects,” since its efficiency relied on consistency among technicians and subjects.²⁰ Police officials had no way to identify suspects other than this cumbersome method, which led many of them to fear a breakdown of the system. Scientists such as Galton tried many times without

¹⁹ See Paul Rabinow, “Galton’s Regret: Of Types and Individuals,” in Paul R. Billings, ed., *DNA on Trial: Genetic Identification and Criminal Justice* (Plainview, N.Y., 1992), 5–18.

²⁰ Raymond Fosdick, “The Passing of the Bertillon System of Identification,” *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law*, no. 6 (1915): 364. Fosdick describes at numerous points the Vucetich system on an equal footing with the Henry system in terms of its application throughout Europe; his larger point is that either one was preferable to Bertillonage, since fingerprints taken under any system could be compared with each other, while the French anthropometric system was incompatible with all. More broadly, art historian Allan Sekula calls our attention to the need to efficiently classify, file, and retrieve anthropometric records, a challenge faced by European and American scientists alike. Sekula, “Body and the Archive,” 1–86.

success to create a usable system of archiving fingerprints, a necessary step to applying them for mass use. This crisis would eventually clear a path for fingerprinting, but, until the turn of the century, fingerprints remained a holy grail of police methods, promising simplicity in identification that was just out of reach.

AGAINST THIS BACKDROP OF TRANSATLANTIC TENSION and scientific engagement, Juan Vucetich arrived in Argentina and took his position with the provincial police of Buenos Aires. La Plata, the provincial capital, was a boomtown in the nation's most prosperous region. It benefited from the wealth flowing through it from the pampas to the port. Yet La Plata was an inauspicious site for scientific innovation. It was a cultural and intellectual satellite of cosmopolitan Buenos Aires, a mere thirty-five miles to its southeast. In Argentina, as in many former colonies, all roads led to the central city. As Vucetich rose through the ranks of the police, he became a bureaucrat fluent in the theoretical research issues at stake and focused on the activities and needs of his colleagues and collaborators in the capital city. Part of the overlapping circles of the national intelligentsia and the political elite, he rubbed shoulders with the top research scientists in Buenos Aires, sharing the podium at conferences and providing crime data and fingerprints for experts in the city. The scientific community—criminologists, forensic experts, pathologists, and statisticians—he met with in Buenos Aires was not a sleepy one. The university enjoyed rapid expansion, research institutes were forming, and scientific publication booming. Argentine scientists in all fields were excited that they had under their noses an abundance of valuable data. They hoped to show the rest of the world's scientists that empiricism knew no nationality by producing world-class research.

While today this South American country is often plotted on the distant shore of the scientific world, it was at the turn of the nineteenth century a much larger and promising station in the ocean of transatlantic ideas. Latin American and North Atlantic scientists alike recognized researchers in the up-and-coming nation, particularly in the fields of public health, physiology, and anthropology, as well as criminology and criminalistics, for their increasing status. The Argentine state in turn took pains to promote its investment in science by sending ambassadors and reams of published research abroad. Coming largely from the privileged class, Argentine scientists had the linguistic skills, the resources for travel, and, not least, the motivation to contribute to international scientific knowledge.²¹ Being among the most educated members of their society, they had much in common with their North Atlantic counterparts; they hailed largely from the liberal and reformist wing of the elite and upper middle-class intelligentsia and sought to advance democratic, progressive reforms in public health, education, and the law. Thanks to their close cultural and social connections to the seats of power, they had a disproportionate influence on government policies forged in the first decades after national

²¹ For general discussions of Argentine science, see José Babini, *Historia de la ciencia en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1986); Hugo Biagini, *El movimiento positivista argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1985); Marcelo Montserrat, ed., *La ciencia en la Argentina entre siglos* (Buenos Aires, 2000); Oscar Teran, *Vida intelectual en el Buenos Aires fin-de-siglo (1880–1910): Derivas de la "cultura científica"* (Buenos Aires, 2000).

consolidation in 1880. At this time, too, Argentine scientists consciously built a scientific infrastructure—universities, research institutes, and government agencies—that they thought essential for the development of a nation that wished to rival the awesome pace of its northern neighbor, the United States. Forward-looking state officials in Argentina were equally determined to exploit “science”—broadly defined as modern engineering techniques, public health campaigns, and new educational and penological regimes—to achieve monumental national goals, commonly understood as democratic progress and peaceful modernization.²²

This intellectual community was connected to Europe through scientific conferences, travel, and study abroad. Its members also subscribed to numerous journals in multiple languages, which they housed in the National Library, at the university, and in reading rooms of scientific societies and professional organizations. Most Argentine scientists were multilingual and understood the necessity of writing and speaking in French, Italian, and English. Especially in this period, communication and collaboration between European and Latin American scholars expanded. The primary form of communication was the international scientific congress, a critical component of the production and dispersion of scientific knowledge. As participants, Argentine scientists could demonstrate their nation’s knowledge, while taking home powerful new ideas and approaches from the more mature scientific establishments of Europe. Moreover, Argentine delegations to international conferences, often composed of government appointees, understood the congresses as an important opportunity to gain prestigious backing for their social reform plans back home. Their empiricism had a purpose—to study local problems of a social nature.²³

Vucetich’s professional world in booming La Plata was integrated into the national modernization project and was inhabited by people aware of the practical exigencies of maintaining the social order. Starting in the 1870s, the country underwent a rapid burst of modernization fueled by mass immigration and an economic boom (based on cattle and wheat exports) that rivaled that of many North Atlantic societies at the time.²⁴ The Argentine state experienced a parallel process of stress and ultimately a wholesale political reorganization, a process that

²² Vucetich believed he was contributing to criminalistic “science” with what some might argue was a bureaucratic innovation. Both Argentine scientists and their colleagues abroad perceived anthropometry and other identification techniques as “scientific.” A plea for increased attention to the history of criminalistics in historical studies of criminology and science more broadly is Claire Valier, “True Crime Stories: Scientific Methods of Criminal Investigation, Criminology and Historiography,” *British Journal of Criminology* 38, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 88–101.

²³ Argentines attended international public health, criminology, and criminal law congresses, a great source of new scientific ideas. The Argentine delegation to the Stockholm congress in 1878, for example, reported, “The decisions made at this Congress will be of great importance to us since they will not fail to exercise influence on our criminal legislation . . . The approved resolutions will be like the treatment prescribed by a medical doctor to combat an illness. If we are sicker than other countries, we should try to demonstrate it and indicate the symptoms of our social ills so that we may find a remedy.” Quoted in Rosa Del Olmo, *América Latina y su criminología* (Mexico City, 1987), 63. See also “Republique Argentine,” *Le Congres Penitentiaire International de Stockholm, memoires et rapports, Bureau de la Commission Penitentiaire International* (Stockholm, 1879). After 1889, they sponsored scientific meetings of their own, usually with a regional focus, such as the Latin American Scientific Congress.

²⁴ After 1880, Argentina’s gross national product increased by about 6 percent per year, comparable to most industrial countries. Per capita income in this period was at times higher than in Spain, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland, and equal to that of Germany and Holland. On nineteenth-century economic

accelerated after national consolidation in 1880. Riding this wave of development was a new generation of political reformers. They had come into power after the reorganization of 1880 with a bold program of rebuilding the state and society on modern, rational grounds. The intellectual members of the oligarchy, exemplified by physican-bureaucrats such as Eduardo Wilde and José María Ramos Mejía, favored models of economic progress and modernization on the European model. They were also staunch secularists and converts to Enlightenment thought as it evolved at the end of the nineteenth century. Enamored with European theories such as positivism, they worshiped science as the only true avenue to national salvation. The ranks of this progressivist movement included public figures of all professions, who, united in their confidence, were certain that out of science and reason they could "make a great nation."²⁵

Chief among the state's new responsibilities was the policing of its borders. Turn-of-the-century Argentine society was marked by class and ethnic tensions, as wealthy elites sought to tame the torrential waves of immigration after 1870. Between 1871 and 1914, nearly 6 million immigrants arrived, about half of whom remained in the country. Buenos Aires was especially transformed by the population explosion. Government policies aimed at increasing population hoped to shuttle new arrivals to the countryside to fuel the nation's agricultural boom, but they did not make land available, and most immigrants chose to remain in the big cities, Buenos Aires in particular. The percentage of foreign-born residents of the city, already a notable 36 percent in 1855, increased dramatically to 52 percent by 1895. By 1914, nearly 50 percent of Buenos Aires's population was foreign born, a higher proportion than any other immigrant city at that time, including New York. The majority of these immigrants were working class and Italian or Spanish born; in 1914, native Italians represented 39 percent of foreign-born Argentine residents, and Spaniards comprised over 35 percent.²⁶ Elite state and nation-builders looked to Europe as a source of settlers for their vast country, but in seeking to attract newcomers they ascribed to a hierarchy of European "races" that assumed Northern Europeans to have natural, inborn traits superior to those of Southern Europeans. This putatively biological distinction between social groups inspired the oft-repeated preference for North European immigration and the simultaneous scapegoating of the majority of newcomers for rising social problems.

Large-scale immigration shaped anxieties about modern mass anonymity. Ironically, the immigrant was at once the nation's food and its toxin, driving the new economy and its bid to become a powerful nation but at the same time threatening to destroy all it achieved. State-builders hoped to find the right alchemy of immigration to keep the country in equilibrium. To do so, they relied increasingly on experts to determine the balance, and elite discourse about immigration was rife

growth, see David Rock, *Argentina, 1516–1982* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 118–61; Waisman, *Reversal of Development in Argentina*, 36–127; for the statistics cited, see Rock, *Argentina*, 172.

²⁵ Eduardo Wilde trans. and quoted in José Luis Romero, *A History of Argentine Political Thought* (Stanford, Calif., 1963), 185.

²⁶ Immigration statistics derived from Rock, *Argentina*, 141; José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 149; Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914* (Austin, Tex., 1970), 33–38; Alberto Kleiner, ed., *Publicidad oficial sobre Argentina como país de inmigración, 1903* (Buenos Aires, 1983), 30.

with theories then fashionable on the European continent. Scientists were excited by the challenge to study the features of this unprecedented social phenomenon. In their view, criminal immigrants to Argentina were especially dangerous—they may have been from the same genus as other delinquents but were a more advanced species.

Argentines may have turned increasingly to a view of crime and immigration as national problems, but they believed that the answer to their “backwardness” lay in North Atlantic-style industrialization, secularization, and modernization in education, criminal justice, and housing, and most of all a thoroughgoing program of social hygiene. Accordingly, the reception of European theories of criminality took place within the context of a nearly universal embrace of positivism and socio-medical approaches among Argentine intellectuals. They adopted this far-reaching European philosophy as the main tool of their “civilizing mission.” Foreign theories of crime, especially those popular in Italy and France, were enthusiastically taken up by Argentine scientists, even though they claimed to transcend them. In addition, the racial concepts of Social Darwinism, influential in nearly all fields both in Europe and America after 1860, were popular among Argentine criminologists. The ideas of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer had been in vogue in Argentina since the appearance of *On the Origin of Species* in Spanish in 1877. As elsewhere, in Argentina, biology lent increasing legitimacy to social ideas.²⁷

In 1890, VUCETICH ADVANCED TO THE HEAD POSITION in the Office of Identification at the provincial police. His move from statistics to identification signaled a new phase in hands-on policing as well as a shift in emphasis from “diagnosis” to “cure” in his work. He viewed his labors in the police force as scientific in the positivist sense—objective, measurable, and verifiable. In his view, the scientific approach carried forth in his laboratory could directly address what he and many other state officials saw as Argentina’s symptoms of social pathology, crime foremost among them. This stage had several dimensions to it, including Vucetich’s work as an individual scientist; the institutional and bureaucratic reception of dactyloscopy; and, finally, state patronage on the national level, or the nationalization of his system. The remainder of this article will describe these phases. The newly opened office followed Bertillon’s meticulous system of body measurement, notation, and classification.²⁸ As the official in charge of the filing and day-to-day application of

²⁷ Charles Darwin, *Origen de las especies por medio de la selección natural: ó, Conservación de las razas favorecidas en la lucha por la existencia*, 2d edn., Enrique Godínez, trans. (Madrid, 1877); Marcelo Monserrat, “The Evolutionist Mentality in Argentina: An Ideology of Progress,” in Thomas Glick, et al., eds., *The Reception of Darwinism in the Iberian World: Spain, Spanish America, and Brazil* (Dordrecht, 2001). On positivism in Argentina, see Biagini, *El movimiento positivista argentino*; José Luis Romero, *A History of Argentine Political Thought* (Stanford, Calif., 1963); Ricaurte Soler, *El positivismo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1968); Oscar Terán, *Positivism and nation in the Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1987). On positivism in Latin America, see David Hale, “Political and Social Ideas in Latin America,” in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 4 (New York, 1986), 382–414; Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., ed., *Positivism in Latin America, 1850–1900: Are Order and Progress Reconcilable?* (Lexington, Mass., 1971).

²⁸ Henry T. F. Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon: Father of Scientific Detection* (New York, 1968), 71–101. In 1896, Bertillon added a section to his record card for the impression of four fingers of the criminal. After 1902, he also recommended the use of fingerprint technology in crime-scene investigation.



FIGURE 3: Police officials in the dactyloscopy office, with ink pad and roller on a stand, in López, *Reseña histórica*.

this byzantine record system, Vucetich became convinced that modern police forces needed a more effective method.²⁹ In 1891, after reading an article about Galton's work on fingerprints in the French journal *Revue scientifique*, Vucetich began advocating the use of fingerprints as a clearly superior method to Bertillonage.³⁰

²⁹ Vucetich's decision to back fingerprinting in the La Plata Office of Identification infuriated Bertillon and resulted in a much-publicized dispute between the two scientists. According to one account, the competition surfaced in 1913, when Vucetich dropped in on Bertillon in Paris. "As the creator of the first complete system of classification of fingerprints, Vucetich evidently thought he was entitled to call upon Bertillon without giving notice of his intended visit . . . Vucetich arrived one morning, evidently expecting to be received immediately and with open arms . . . Suddenly the door leading to Bertillon's office was flung wide open. The Chief of Service stood on the threshold. He treated his visitor to a hostile scrutiny which slowly passed from head to feet. 'Sir,' he said, 'you have tried to do me a great deal of harm.' He slammed the door in the face of Vucetich. It was the first and last occasion upon which they met." Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon*, 146–47. While Vucetich certainly claimed that he meant no harm, Bertillon was not far off the mark in seeing fingerprint classification as a threat to his anthropometric system. By 1904, Vucetich would proclaim that he had "proved the inefficacy of anthropometry as a means of identification." Juan Vucetich, *Dactiloscopia comparada: El nuevo sistema argentino* (La Plata, 1904), 15.

³⁰ Cole, *Suspect Identities*, 133. The article on Galton's work was by French scientist Henry Crosnier de Varigny, "Antropologie—Les empreintes digitales, d'après M. F. Galton," *Revue scientifique* 47, no. 18 (May 2, 1891): 557–62. Galton was best known for his interest in heredity and eugenics (indeed, he coined the latter word). Criminalistics was a side preoccupation, yet, according to Sekula, "his interest in heredity and racial 'betterment' led him to join the search for biologically determined 'criminal type.'" Sekula, "Body and the Archive," 18–19. See also George Wilton, *Fingerprints: History, Law, and Romance* (London, 1938), 78; Carey Chapman, "Dr. Juan Vucetich: His Contribution to the Science of Fingerprints," *Journal of Forensic Identification* 42, no. 4 (1992): 286–94, 288.

His recommendation to the provincial police of Buenos Aires to adopt fingerprinting made him the first public official in the world to replace the dominant anthropometric methods with fingerprint identification. His influence was felt immediately. In 1891, the Identification Service was installed in the provincial prisons of Buenos Aires, where officials strove to record and archive prints of all potential recidivists, including each prisoner and all arrestees in police stations.³¹ One year later, the governor of Buenos Aires Province, Julio Costa, mentioned in his official address to the provincial legislature that fingerprinting had been added to the anthropometric system.³²

At the same time, however, Vucetich also found that Galton's system, with its three-part organization of finger pads, was too general to be of any use. Vucetich, who thought of Galton as the "father of fingerprinting" and considered himself but an improver and proselytizer of the system, had within a few months done what Galton could not—he created a universal classification scheme based on a manageable number of subdivisions of finger pad patterns. Initially calling it *icnofalangométrica* (derived from the Greek term for "finger track measurement"), in 1896 he renamed his revised system with the more accessible term *dactiloscopia* (Latin for "finger description"). The name change reflected not only a streamlining in classification of types of fingertip patterns but also a shift from scientific measurement of fingerprints to classification—the difference between the observation and study of information and its ordering in a useful way.³³ Vucetich's innovation was to subclassify loops, for example, identifying an "internal" inclination, or tracks leaning to the left with the outer ridge to the right of the observer, as well as the reverse, "external" inclining loops. Vucetich's simple classification consisted of the assignment of four single letters (AIEV) to thumbprints and numbers (1234) to the types of marks on the remaining four fingers. An individual's fingerprints could thus be classified, filed, and easily located by each finger's code. For example, the designation V2443 meant (from thumb to pinky) whorl, inner loop, whorl, whorl, outer loop. Finally, Vucetich used a secondary classification to further subdivide sets of fingerprints, in which he assigned five subtypes to each of the four primary types. Then, he added an additional distinction to each by counting the ridges between the core (the point at the center of the pattern) and the delta (the outer ridge of the core pattern) on two of the fingers and adding them in

³¹ The provincial police also began fingerprinting their own candidates to the force, the first experiment in the civil use of fingerprints in Argentina. This exercise was a seeming success: of 373 candidates in the first year of the procedure, eleven with previous police records were weeded out. By 1903, Vucetich cited this evidence to show that his system "functions regularly, and secures the recognition of repeat offenders to justice, as it assures the elimination of individuals with bad pasts who want to join the police." See Vucetich, "Historia sintética de la identificación," *Revista de identificación y ciencias penales* 7 (1931): 29; Juan Vucetich to Luis M. Doyenhard, May 1, 1903, miscellaneous correspondence folder, Archivo Vucetich, Museo de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, La Plata (hereafter, AV).

³² Cited in Vucetich, "Historia sintética," 30. See *Registro Oficial* (La Plata, 1893), 184. Even after the successful implementation of dactyloscopy, Argentine police and prison officials continued to record anthropometric data. The two systems existed simultaneously, were used jointly, and influenced each other. For examples, see the prison registers and identification cards (*fichas de filiación*) from Buenos Aires provincial prisons; *Entradas y salidas de presos criminales (carcel de Bahía Blanca, Dolores, Mercedes, Sierra Chica, Departamento del Centro, del Sud)*, 1882–1915, Archivo Penitenciario de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, La Plata.

³³ See Cole, *Suspect Identities*, 128.

parentheses to the fingerprint code.³⁴ It was the limited number of these subdivisions that rendered his method of fingerprinting viable for mass identification and classification. The subclasses of patterns were few enough to be easily defined, yet diverse enough to be filed and selected, or easily matched. After fingerprinting, police officials would analyze and type each print, recording the five-digit code on an identification card that held a photograph or other personal information. An officer would then file the cards by their print type in multi-drawer cabinets, each drawer clearly labeled. Record cards were copied and sent to police stations in other cities, or even other countries, to aid in prosecuting criminal cases and in identifying at-large recidivists.

In 1896, Vucetich announced his new system in a pamphlet entitled "General Instructions for the 'Province of Buenos Aires' System of Identification."³⁵ Mindful of his intellectual debt to Galton, Vucetich sent the British scientist his article and wrote in his accompanying letter: "In my capacity of Chief and Founder of the office of Statistics and Anthropometric Identification of the Province of Buenos Aires, I have the satisfaction to share with you that the Provincial Police are in the only state in South America that has implemented fingerprinting."³⁶ In reply, Galton acknowledged the Argentine's breakthrough improvements to his efforts, writing, "it is a great satisfaction to learn that you have found the Finger Print Method to be of real, practical service." His next words revealed a grudging acceptance of the techniques and also foreshadowed the difficulties that Latin Americans—no matter how well funded by their local institutions—would have establishing a place for themselves in the international community of scientists: "My knowledge of Spanish is unfortunately too limited to enable me to properly read your volume, but I have understood its main features and fully recognized the great pains you must have taken to compose it. It affords another instance of that statistical zeal for which Buenos Ayres is so justly renowned."³⁷

No doubt stung by Galton's patronizing response, Vucetich was nonetheless confident that once scientists and police officials around the world heard of his system they would adopt it, and he persisted in promoting dactyloscopy as a universally comprehensible system of identification. He argued that his method was compatible with the needs of large-scale, urban police forces, whose case loads

³⁴ Vucetich gave the patterns on the thumb the following abbreviated designations: A=Arch (*arco*); I=Inner Loop (*presilla interna*); E=Outer Loop (*presilla externa*); V=Whorl (*verticilio*). Similarly, numbers were used to identify the patterns on the remaining fingers: 1=Arch; 2=Inner Loop; 3=Outer Loop; 4=Whorl. Elaborated from Vucetich, *Dactiloscopia comparada*, 80–83. For a detailed explanation of Vucetich's fingerprint identification method, see also Luis Reyna Almandos, *Dactiloscopia argentina: Su historia é influencia en la legislación* (La Plata, 1909), 34–37; Cole, *Suspect Identities*, 128–29. See also (as cited in Cole) Frank M. Boolsen, "Fifty-One Fingerprint Systems: An Outline of the Various Methods in Different Countries for Classifying and Filing Fingerprints under the Ten-Finger and Single-Print Systems," Burtis C. Bridges, ed., unpublished typescript (Berkeley, Calif., 1935); Burtis C. Bridges, *Practical Fingerprinting* (1942; New York, 1963); Spencer L. Rogers, *The Personal Identification of Living Individuals* (Springfield, Ill., 1986), 73–75.

³⁵ Juan Vucetich, "Instrucciones generales para el sistema de filiación 'Provincia de Buenos Aires,'" (La Plata, 1896). An earlier publication, the pamphlet "Instrucciones generales para la identificación antropométrica," was published in 1893. Large portions of it were printed in the Platense newspaper *El día*. See *El día*, December 22, 1893.

³⁶ Juan Vucetich to Francis Galton, December 11, 1896, Centro de Estudios Históricos Policiales, "Comisario Inspector Luis Romay," Policía de la Capital, Buenos Aires (hereafter, CEHP).

³⁷ Galton to Vucetich, January 11, 1897, miscellaneous folder, CEHP.

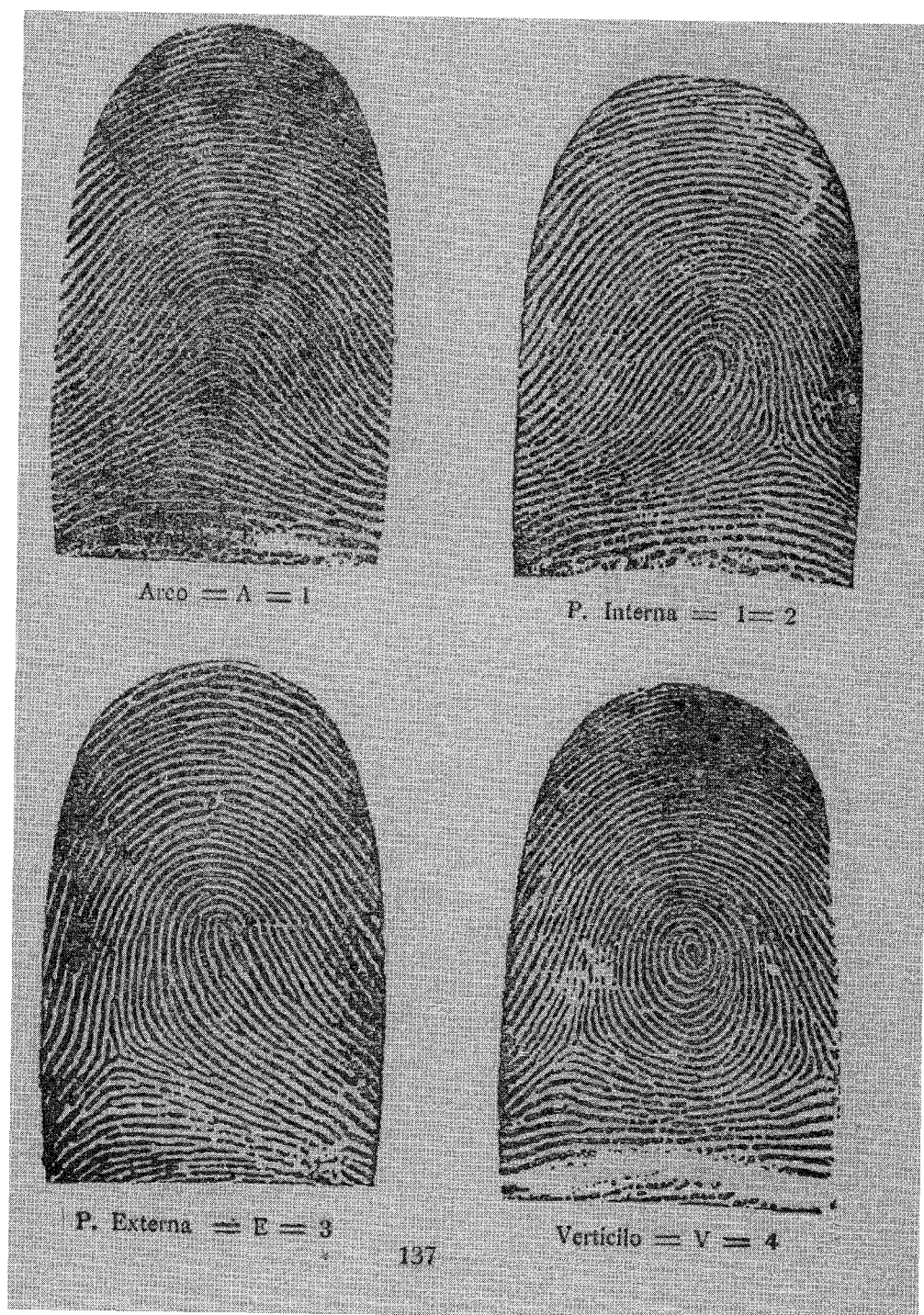


FIGURE 4: Juan Vucetich's fingerprint classification (from his *Dactiloscopia comparada*, 1904).

might number in the thousands and whose suspects might have crossed the Atlantic many times. He predicted in 1901 that fingerprinting would soon become a “universal police language.” Three years later, Vucetich published *Dactiloscopía comparada*, a book he hoped would convince not just local officials but the international community as well of what he considered dactyloscopy’s unique ability to provide that universal language. Dedicated to Galton but subtitled “The New Argentine System,” the book described as its goal “to set a new course in modern personal identification, an urgent and arduous problem of universal necessity.”³⁸ It also represented Vucetich’s hope that dactyloscopy could enhance his adopted country’s international reputation. Argentina’s role in this process, he believed, was confirmed by the fact that more and more North Atlantic scientists, such as Galton, were beginning to recognize the applicability and advantages of fingerprinting. In an appendix to *Dactiloscopía comparada*, he reprinted letters of praise for his method from three preeminent figures—Galton, Lombroso, and Gross—all attesting to his international reputation.³⁹ By 1904, Vucetich could proudly claim that “today, all the well-organized police departments on earth use [fingerprints] . . . The Province of Buenos Aires was the first of them . . . Our police have obtained a complete success.”⁴⁰

FROM HIS POST IN THE CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION SERVICE, Vucetich was able to work closely with provincial officials, and also with the powerful Buenos Aires city police. Together, these two police forces were central to the security of the entire country, as they protected the nation’s main port and its largest, wealthiest, and most populous region. With the consolidation of the national government after 1880, the Buenos Aires police forces had grown in strength and power. The two departments were also seen as Argentina’s most “modern” police corps; their mission, according to Luis M. Doyenhard, chief of police in La Plata at the start of the century, was to develop a “scientific” response to the dominant problems of the age: “social, political, and economic instability.”⁴¹ The nation’s main criminology journal, the *Archivos de psiquiatría y criminología*, stated in 1907, “Among the new sciences, without a doubt, police studies are the most modern . . . [I]t could be called the most eminent of the current sciences.”⁴² This view expressed the growing state

³⁸ Vucetich, *Dactiloscopía comparada*, 14.

³⁹ Lombroso wrote to Vucetich in 1896, requesting samples of fingerprints along with “descriptions of every one of the criminals to whom they belong.” He praised Argentina’s progress in this field, stating that “at least twenty-five years will pass before we in Italy will arrive to where you are now . . . I have discussed [your] discovery more widely in the new edition of *Criminal Man*. If you consult this book you will see how much I am indebted to your work.” Quoted in Vucetich, “Historia sintética,” 36, 44.

⁴⁰ Vucetich, *Dactiloscopía comparada*, 41.

⁴¹ Luis M. Doyenhard, *La policía en Sud-América* (La Plata, 1905), part 1, “El momento.” For a discussion of the post-independence reorganization and growth of the Buenos Aires police, see Oswaldo Barreneche, “Crime and the Administration of Criminal Justice in Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1785–1853” (PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 1997).

⁴² A. Cutrera, review of Alfredo Niceforo, “La policía científica,” *Archivos de psiquiatría y criminología* 6 (1907): 499. For examples of other such assessments in contemporary Argentine police histories, see Doyenhard, *La policía en Sud-América*; Luis J. Albert, *Historia de la policía*, 2d edn. (Buenos Aires, 1913), 102–03, 154–55, 161–63.

interest in building and modernizing the police as a critical front line against mounting working-class mobilization and social unrest, trends seemingly accentuated by transatlantic migration.

Police officials, like other government leaders, had become alarmed in the face of mass immigration, rapid population expansion, and the emergence of the urban crowd. Crimes of all sorts appeared to be on the rise as well, and observers linked this trend with the highly visible mobs of foreigners clogging the city streets. These phenomena had transformed Argentina into a country of "strangers," a condition that, according to criminologists, held the seeds of disorder. Just as in its first successful case, which resulted in the conviction of the murderous mother Francesca Rojas in 1892, fingerprinting promised to solve or prevent crimes that had elusive, unlikely, or dissembling suspects. With ink, rollers, and identity cards in hand, officials hoped to track criminals and potential delinquents with a newfound proficiency. The immigrant nature of Argentine society raised the specter of newcomers with dubious pasts entering the nation, disappearing into ethnic enclaves, and carrying out acts of violence or sabotage. But police officials were not only concerned about crime because they feared it would retard national progress. Perhaps even more terrifying was the disruption of the social order represented by recent immigrants claiming their piece of the national wealth or, even worse, massing into an increasingly vocal labor and left-wing movement. Sharing or merely sensitive to the concerns of the elite, police paid special attention to the potential for social revolution and linked it to "racial" factors generally believed to have a bearing on crime.

Officials relied on new technology combined with a racialized definition of criminal types that spoke to the new needs of the non-intimate, non-local society that Buenos Aires had become.⁴³ As the perceived need to distinguish individuals from the amorphous mass reached its peak, fingerprinting promised to isolate them and see through their false identities. Guillermo J. Nunes, the chief of police of the Province of Buenos Aires, reported in 1891 on the difficulties of criminal investigation, "given the constitutive elements of our population, essentially heterogeneous and cosmopolitan." He explained that the province was "composed of men from all parts of the globe, who belong to various nationalities and distinct races, with ignorant life habits, native tendencies, peculiarities, characteristics . . . whose forms are consequently unknown to the majority of agents. This difficulty, in most cases, can cheat success in important investigations."⁴⁴

Since the police began collecting crime statistics in the late 1870s, their principal preoccupation was with nationality, representing their underlying hypothesis that immigrants were largely responsible for crime. As early as 1884, a capital city police report blamed a crime wave on the nation's newcomers. It stated, "foreign

⁴³ While Vucetich did not emphasize the influence of race in determining the patterns of individual fingerprints, he did call for investigation into the correlation between fingerprint patterns and criminal types. He cited studies that seemed to link fingerpad patterns in primates and certain types of human "degenerates." "The frequency of determined form," he wrote in 1904, "serves as a point of departure for future investigations of anthropologists and forensic specialists." Vucetich, *Dactiloscopia comparada*, 55.

⁴⁴ Guillermo J. Nunes, *Memoria del Departamento de Policía correspondiente al año 1891* (La Plata, 1892), 5.

immigration, in which of course the laborious element predominates, brings—sometimes as an exception and others in organized groups—individuals with deplorable backgrounds.”⁴⁵ The capital police positioned themselves as critical to the nation’s advancement by promising to maintain public order and discipline the unruly crowds of immigrants that threatened it. Observations of strikes, demonstrations, and other disturbances took on a “scientific” cast as the police documented and compiled statistics on the participants.⁴⁶ The capital police categorized all of their incident reports by national origin; for example, they routinely separated “argentinos” from “orientales” (Uruguayans), “rusos,” and “italianos.” Their preoccupation reflected then-common ideas linking Spaniards, Italians, and Jews with criminal tendencies. Political orientation was another new area of focus, and labor activism itself was classified as a criminal activity. Starting in the late 1890s, they added a new item in the category of “crimes against the social order”: anarchist violence and terrorism, which they linked to immigrants as well.⁴⁷

Police reports and correspondence reveal that virtually all officials in the capital and province of Buenos Aires embraced dactyloscopy by the mid-1890s. Early skepticism from within the ranks of the police was swept away within a few years.⁴⁸ Police officials praised dactyloscopy for its organization and accessibility. Nunes, for example, called in 1892 for both a universal system of identification and for the sharing of data on criminals throughout the country.⁴⁹ In 1894, Bibiano S. Torres published a pamphlet aimed at convincing police chiefs around the country to use the Vucetich system of identification. He wrote of dactyloscopy, “If the police . . . has as its mission the maintenance of the public order, liberty, individual property, and security . . . , we have proposed to bring to the government’s awareness an

⁴⁵ *Memoria del departamento de Policía de la Capital, 1883–1884* (Buenos Aires, 1884), 81. See also Alberto Méndez Casariego, *La criminalidad de la ciudad de Buenos Aires en 1887: Contravenciones, suicidios y accidentes* (Buenos Aires, 1888); and the *Boletín mensual de estadística* (1895–99).

⁴⁶ A 1909 police report, addressed to the minister of the interior, praised the 1902 Residence Law for reducing the need to deport “those persons whose background and behavior constitute a very grave danger to the public order.” Calling the measure a “law of public health,” the police suggested its expansion to the control of vagrants and other quasi-criminal social disturbances, “in order to provide better and more healthful effects.” *Memoria del departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1906–1909* (Buenos Aires, 1909), 15–16.

⁴⁷ Despite the emphasis on identifying urban immigrants as prone to crime, a recent analysis of late nineteenth-century police statistics showed that class status was far more significant than nationality in determining criminality. In fact, crime rates for all major ethnic groups remained roughly constant with the representation in the population; Spanish immigrants had a slightly higher rate than native-born Argentines, but Italian-born immigrants had a lower rate. According to this analysis, the few voices questioning the blame on immigrants were overwhelmed by scientific and popular stereotypes of immigrants. For example, Miguel A. Lancellotti recalculated crime rates by age in 1912 to show the bias against foreigners, but criminologists discounted his critique as late as the 1960s. The statistics also revealed that most types of crime were in fact decreasing at this time; the increases that captured the attention of contemporaries were crimes against property, such as assault, theft, and vandalism, which surged during each period of economic crisis. See Julia Kirk Blackwelder and Lyman L. Johnson, “Changing Criminal Patterns in Buenos Aires, 1890 to 1914,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. 2 (1982): 359–80, 361, 367.

⁴⁸ That is not to say that individuals always subjected themselves willingly to anthropometric and dactyloscopic examination. Popular resistance as well as judicial opposition (on constitutional grounds) is examined in Kristin Ruggiero, “Fingerprinting and the Argentine Plan for Universal Identification in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 185–88.

⁴⁹ Nunes, *Memoria*, 5; see also “Medicina legal,” *Anales del Departamento Nacional de Higiene* 1, no. 2 (February 1891): 97.

improvement that we consider a very necessary complement to police service.”⁵⁰ In 1895, police official Ernesto Weigel Muñoz recommended dactyloscopy over Bertillonage, pointing out that the old anthropometric cards caused great confusion among different officers due to vague and imprecise information.⁵¹ In September 1901, Buenos Aires City Police Commissioner of Investigation José Rossi wrote his chief, Francisco Beazley, about a lecture he had attended by Vucetich and then reported in detail the differences between dactyloscopy and Bertillonage, pointing out the relative simplicity and ease of the Argentine system. He recommended its general adoption as “an acquisition of a new universal language, simple and efficient.”⁵² Two years later, Rossi oversaw its introduction to the Buenos Aires city police. He wrote to Vucetich requesting books and instructions, after which he mandated the adoption of dactyloscopy.⁵³ Police officials in the capital began soliciting Vucetich regularly for advice, instruction, and the loan of fingerprint records.⁵⁴ In celebrated cases, they exchanged prisoner fingerprint files by telegram to snare fugitives.⁵⁵

These new possibilities of identifying and tracking criminals fed the enthusiasm of officials such as Rossi, who as chief of police in 1907 called Vucetich’s work “one of the greatest discoveries in applied policing in recent years.”⁵⁶ The capital police’s investigative division hoped to utilize dactyloscopy to carry out its mission to maintain public order, “by means of knowledge, preventative observation, and repression of socially disruptive elements,” in other words, to expand the practice to the non-criminal population.⁵⁷ Officials in the capital city police expected to increase the number of records; indeed, in 1916 alone, they took 141,691 fingerprints, bringing the total to 619,553 records (of a total city population of about 1.5 million in 1916).⁵⁸ They had demonstrated the ease with which they could take

⁵⁰ Bibiano S. Torres, “Observaciones sobre las Oficinas de Antropometría é Icnofalangometría” (Buenos Aires, 1894), 5.

⁵¹ Ernesto Weigel Muñoz, “Prólogo,” to Vucetich, “Instrucciones generales para el sistema de filiación,” 3.

⁵² José Rossi to Francisco Beazley, September 9, 1901, miscellaneous correspondence folder, AV.

⁵³ José Rossi to Juan Vucetich, 1901–1907, correspondence file R-Z, AV. See *Orden del día*, November 9, 1903, 1066.

⁵⁴ Belisario Otamendi to Juan Vucetich, May 11, 1901, miscellaneous correspondence folder, AV. Vucetich reported in 1903 his excellent relations with the capital police’s commissioner of investigation; see Vucetich to Luis M. Doyenhard, May 1, 1903, miscellaneous correspondence folder, AV.

⁵⁵ For example, in 1910, the records of Simon Radowsky, an anarchist who had assassinated the Buenos Aires city police chief one year earlier, flew between the capital police and local stations. After Radowsky’s conviction and life sentence, the capital police forwarded his file to the provincial police, including his photographs, fingerprints, and anthropometric description. José Rossi to Ricardo Rojas, January 19, 1910, miscellaneous correspondence folder, AV. See also telegrams requesting Radowsky’s mug shots and fingerprints in his court trial documents, located in *Tribunales*, Legajo R5, 1872–1909, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires.

⁵⁶ José Rossi to Juan Vucetich, telegram, December 31, 1907, miscellaneous correspondence folder, AV.











⁵⁷ *Memoria del departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1906–1909*, 298. Furthermore, in 1911, a legislative committee called Vucetich to share his method at a special meeting with the minister of the interior and the minister of war. José Tonrouge to Juan Vucetich, April 29, 1911, correspondence file A-M, AV.

⁵⁸ *Memoria de la División Técnica, año 1916* (Buenos Aires, 1917), 18. City population figure from the 1914 census; see *Tercer censo nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1916), vol. 1: 3. As in most statistical reports, population figures were broken down by nationality; the city’s population in 1914 was apparently almost evenly split between foreigners and Argentines. La Plata’s population of 137,413 was about 28 percent foreign born.

Figura 4 (anverso)

POLICIA DE LA PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES

OFICINA DE IDENTIFICACION

Derecha		Izquierda
	Pulgares	
	Indios	
	Medios	
	Anulares	
	Anticiliares	

IMPRESIONES DIGITALES

FIGURE 5: One of the first criminal identification cards from the provincial police of Buenos Aires, 1891. One side exhibited the convict's fingerprints, the other recorded anthropometric data. From Luis Reyna Almandos, *Origen del Vucetichismo* (Buenos Aires, 1909).

prints from large numbers of people in a short period of time. Buoyed by the triumphs of dactyloscopy on the part of the police, state officials recognized that its use in court trials was only one, relatively modest application of the new technique. As officials began to think more broadly, they began to realize the promise of fingerprinting to help exercise state discipline in jails, prisons, public spaces, and at the nation's borders.

ARMED WITH A NEW IDENTIFICATION TECHNIQUE, police joined forces with their partners in law enforcement, the nation's legislators. Thanks to journalistic accounts trumpeting the novelty of dactyloscopy and its use in high-profile cases, as well as important meetings between officials in the province and the capital, political leaders joined forces with police to apply it on the federal level to specific national problems. Some recommended the broadest possible civic applications of fingerprinting. In 1909, Luis Reyna Almandos, one of Vucetich's most influential followers, suggested that the government apply dactyloscopy in nearly every realm of human experience—births, deaths, and marriages; public testimonies, legislation, and contracts; public health, welfare, residency; and in the control of prostitution and vagrancy.⁵⁹ Beginning in 1916, bolstered by their national successes in police work, Vucetich and Reyna Almandos spent years lobbying first the provincial and then the national government to create a national register of fingerprints.⁶⁰ Constitutionalist objections delayed the creation of such a register until 1935, but a program of targeted fingerprinting of select groups proceeded at full speed. This moment revealed both the ambitions that state-building modernizers had for fingerprinting as well as its dangers. Exciting as the new therapy was, it presented the risk of, as its critics pointed out, the violation of civil liberties and discrimination against “honest” immigrants.

While proponents endorsed the new dactyloscopy as “egalitarian”—objective and independent of social and racial circumstances or past behavior—they in fact proposed its use above all on the immigrants, whom they believed made up the heterogeneous, anonymous, and dangerous crowd. In this sense, their efforts partook of both nationalist and cosmopolitan impulses, at once breaking down and strengthening national borders. The most influential of dactyloscopy's supporters in the regulation of immigration was Vucetich's devotee Reyna Almandos, a prolific writer on dactyloscopy himself. He commented in 1909: “Until Vucetich's invention and its diffusion in the civilized world, neither the individual nor society relied on this defensive weapon. Its absence gave way to the rule of injustice, confusion, error, and finally legal crimes . . . Vucetich's system tends to consolidate all aspects of social order.” The most urgent area in this regard, according to Reyna Almandos, was in regulating immigration and the deportation of undesirables. He noted, “The

⁵⁹ Reyna Almandos, *Dactiloscopia argentina*, 109.

⁶⁰ On the proposed laws for universal fingerprinting in Argentina, see Juan Vucetich, *Comentario al proyecto de ley creando el registro general de identificación* (La Plata, 1916). For a discussion of the legal proposals and debates leading up to its creation, see Julia Emilia Rodriguez, “Encoding the Criminal: Criminology and the Science of ‘Social Defense’ in Modernizing Argentina (1880–1921)” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2000), chap. 4; Ruggiero, “Fingerprinting and the Argentine Plan for Universal Identification,” 192–96.

influx of foreigners to our land results in grave problems. Welcoming them as one of the greatest benefits, we feel nonetheless the need to create laws and establish regulations in order to impede the entrance of pernicious elements that raise the crime rate." Reyna Almandos suggested that Vucetich's method could be used to impede the flow of criminal immigrants by establishing offices of identification at all of the nation's points of entry. Incoming persons' fingerprints could then be cross-checked with international records of those with criminal pasts. He also suggested that the expulsion of "dangerous" foreigners, mandated in the 1902 Residence Law, would be more effective with the use of fingerprints. "Completing this identification with [the fingerprints] of the immigrants," he wrote, "expulsion could never be faked [that is, avoided]."⁶¹

Police and other government officials were also increasingly convinced that large-scale, mandatory fingerprinting of immigrants was a necessary complement to the exclusionary Residence Law. In promoting that view, they did not just target foreign criminals but all newcomers.⁶² In 1908, Nicéforo Castellano sent a copy of a proposed law to create a National Identity Office, containing an article establishing the routine recording of foreigners' personal information as well as fingerprint exchange with foreign offices. He called for the identification of "those immigrants who desire a citizenship card," since "our laws demand morality and good habits in conferring the privileges of citizenship . . . [T]he manner of searching for that background is to identify them." He recommended the routine fingerprinting of immigrants in third class passage, warning that recent criminal and anarchist events, such as the bombing of the elegant Colon Theater, were reminders that the state needed to be vigilant. Argentina tempted the criminal population with what Castellano cited as a set of "unique conditions, already recognized before disembarking," including unexploited land, available jobs, and a tolerant state and liberal constitution that promised to protect them.⁶³

Four years later, in 1912, the national immigration service incorporated fingerprinting into its procedures. At the same time, the government established the "Dactyloscopic Register of Immigrants" (*Registro Dactiloscópico del Inmigrado*) as a repository for immigrants' fingerprint records. Upon entering the country, most newcomers were given a numbered "immigrant's book."⁶⁴ This passport-like document, which included information about their rights and responsibilities, held a place for personal description and a fingerprint. The immigration service ordered officers at the Office of Work and Dispatch and the Immigrants' Hotel to compile extensive personal identification data for each immigrant. The form they used, titled "Description of the Immigrant," included anthropometric data and fingerprints. Each form was linked by number with the booklet issued to the immigrant.

⁶¹ Reyna Almandos, *Dactiloscopia argentina*, 109, 125, 127.

⁶² The accelerating state interest and ability in tracking foreigners in Argentina corresponded with movements in the North Atlantic world of the late nineteenth century, such as the increase in the distribution and use of documents of personal identification. See John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (New York, 2000), esp. chap. 4.

⁶³ Nicéforo Castellano, "Oficina Nacional de Identidad: Proyecto presentado al Ministerio del Interior" (Buenos Aires, 1908), 21–22. See also the inscribed and annotated copy in Vucetich's files, miscellaneous correspondence folder, AV.

⁶⁴ Dirección General de Inmigración, "Resolución No. 292," May 21, 1912, miscellaneous folder, AV.

Dirección General de Inmigración

Filiación del Inmigrado

Nombre y apellido

Edad

Nacionalidad

Estado civil

Color de la piel

Talla: 1 metro y centímetros.

Señas particulares

Puerto de embarque

Vapor

Fecha de llegada

Buenos Aires

Jefe de la Sección Trabajo

IMPORTANTE El inmigrante dirigirá todas sus quejas, reclamos ó pedidos desde cualquier punto de la Nación Argentina, por escrito, en su propio idioma, á la
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INMIGRACION, Dársena Norte - BUENOS AIRES
 Será atendido con interés, inmediatamente.

FIGURE 6: Identification page of the immigrant's book. Source: "Resolución No. 292," miscellaneous folder, Archivo Vucetich, Museo de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, La Plata.

Newcomers were required by law to carry their identification book with them at all times; without it, they could claim no protection under the law. While officials hoped to use dactyloscopy to stop criminal “bad seeds” at the borders and permit entrance only to assimilable, productive immigrants, in practice it served primarily as a warning to immigrants of their subordinate status to the state.⁶⁵ The goals, in the words of the “immigrant’s book,” were the “assimilation and permanent rootedness” of the foreign population.⁶⁶ It was a tangible reminder of the requirements of participation in Argentine society—a broad disciplinary device wielded at entry to all newcomers regardless of their past.

The fingerprinting of immigrants and convicts provided a template for state bureaucracies to increase their control and surveillance of the population at large. It eventually opened the path for the expansion of state power over all citizens’ behavior and movements. While the impact of these techniques was not uniform or totalizing, it represented a key moment of state power.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding the unforeseen or unintended outcomes of the application of many state practices, in the period examined here it is clear that, through the novel technology of fingerprinting, Argentine state-building bureaucrats funded in a short time the development of tools to mark outsiders, track them, and at times expel or jail them. In the name of “progress” and “civilization,” moreover, they had devised a means to send a clear corrective message to the rest of the population.

PERCHED IN THE PROVINCIAL POLICE and immersed in Argentina’s accelerated conditions of modernity, Juan Vucetich well understood that the Atlantic was a system of migratory movement. He repeatedly insisted that in order for dactyloscopy to truly succeed, nations beyond Argentina’s borders would have to apply it universally and uniformly. He knew the interconnected nature of Argentine crime and structures abroad. Proposing to help nations track people across borders, he anticipated the advent of international policing bodies such as Interpol and its international fingerprint database.⁶⁸ As he lobbied for the application of universal fingerprinting in Argentina, Vucetich simultaneously proselytized abroad. From La Plata, he corresponded regularly with police officials, scientists, and government officials in Europe, the Americas, and Asia. He was especially close with other Latin American police scientists, including Felix Pacheco, the chief of identification in Rio de Janeiro, one of the most enthusiastic promoters of dactyloscopy. At regional

⁶⁵ Provincial police chief Nunes had linked fingerprinting with good citizenship as early as 1891, saying “each good citizen should lend cooperation, under the auspices not only of his material interests, but also those of domestic honor.” G. J. Nunes to the President of the Supreme Court of the Province of Buenos Aires, November 24, 1891, p. 4, miscellaneous correspondence folder, AV.

⁶⁶ Dirección General de Inmigración (Buenos Aires), “Libreta del inmigrado,” 1911, 3.

⁶⁷ The inconsistency of the law and legal practices and the persistence of local power and autonomy in Latin America are widely recognized. “Obedezco pero no cumplo” (I obey but do not comply), the phrase that characterized colonial administrators’ creative interpretation of Spanish law, has its legacy in the modern administration of justice as well. See Jeremy Adelman, ed., *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History* (New York, 1999); Juan Mendez, et al., eds., *The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1999).

⁶⁸ See Malcolm Anderson, *Policing the World* (Oxford, 1989); Fenton Bresler, *Interpol* (London, 1992).

police congresses, they explained the Vucetich system and often did public demonstrations together.⁶⁹

By the first decade of the twentieth century, at the time when most North Atlantic countries started using fingerprints more consistently, Vucetich was a household name in international police circles. Most scientific commentators in Europe viewed Vucetichism favorably when compared with Bertillonage, and on equal footing with the Henry system.⁷⁰ One year after Vucetich had published his 1896 article, Edward Henry, a British colonial administrator in India, introduced a system that was similarly based on Galton's ideas. With three basic categories of print types, as opposed to four in the Vucetich system, the Henry system was considered by many experts to be less convenient. In a typical assessment, French rapporteur M. Dastre wrote in 1907 that, compared with Henry, "the definitive progress appears to have been realized by M. Vucetich." Some specialists argued strongly for conversion to the Vucetich system, which they believed was technically superior.⁷¹

Vucetich traveled widely to North America, Europe, and Asia, hoping to spread his method throughout the "civilized world" by visiting foreign police departments and presenting his system at international conferences. His main goal at such meetings, beyond advocating universal fingerprinting, was to convince representatives of other governments to establish "Intercontinental Identification Offices" to facilitate the exchange of criminal records. His plan had resonated strongly in Argentina, where a growing number of officials saw their country, with its multiple points of entry, as permeable and vulnerable. But fingerprinting had obvious applications in other countries as well, for example, the United States, with its own migratory waves, and the colonial outposts of the various European empires. In 1913, Vucetich suggested that Argentina could provide a model for others.

I have been able to observe in this great country [the United States] that the lack of connection of the [identification] service with national needs is notorious, owing to the independence of each state, which establishes its own service without any possibility of coordination. The result of this is that a fugitive criminal, by merely removing from one state to another, is sometimes more secure than if he had emigrated to another hemisphere where a uniform system of identification is in vogue.⁷²

⁶⁹ For a description of this collaboration, see "La dactiloscopia: Sus resultados en el Tercer Congreso Científico Latino-Americano de Río-Janeiro y en el Convenio Policía Sud-Americano de Buenos Aires," *Archivos de psiquiatría* 5 (1906): 354. Other regional conferences at which Vucetich presented his work include the 1904 International Hygiene Conference, held in Buenos Aires, the International Police Conference, also held in Buenos Aires in 1905, and the 1908 Chilean Scientific Conference.

⁷⁰ There is strong evidence that the key ideas in the Henry system were developed by his two Indian assistants, Azizul Haque and Hem Chandra Bose. On Henry and the significance of the colonial Indian setting, see Cole, *Suspect Identities*, 81–83; and Chandak Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj: How Fingerprinting Was Born in Colonial India* (London, 2003), 138–45.

⁷¹ M. Dastre, "Des empreintes digitales comme procédé d'identification," in *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l'Académie des Sciences* (1907), 45. Similarly, the Danish scientist A. Daae recommended the Vucetich system in "Die daktyloskopische Registratur," *Archiv für Kriminal Anthropologie und Kriminalistik* 24 (1906): 26–44. See also F. Spirlet, "Méthode de classification des empreintes digitales," *Archives internationales de médecine légale* 1 (1910): 7–34; and Fosdick's remarks in "The Passing of the Bertillon System of Identification."

⁷² Juan Vucetich, "The Fingerprint System," Address to the International Association of Chiefs of

A world tour in 1913 increased Vucetich's visibility. A report of that year's meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) described his status in the international community: "The chiefs had the opportunity to hear an address by Juan Vucetich, one of the famous first names in fingerprint identification. Mr. Vucetich . . . had earned his place in history by devising an original system for classification and filing of fingerprints, which he implemented at the Argentine Bureau as early as 1891. This was several years before the Henry System came into use in Britain."⁷³ The Vucetich system made inroads to regions far beyond its borders, as dozens of police departments around the world imported it wholesale or used elements of it for classification purposes. It dominated South America, was adopted by the Peking (Beijing) City Police after a personal visit from Vucetich, and was applied in modified form in at least twenty-one other countries. Observers in the early twentieth century noted that the dispersion of the two competing systems broke down along language lines: Vucetich dominated the "Latin" world (including Italian and Portuguese-speaking countries), Henry ruled the English-speaking world (including police departments in a number of U.S. cities), and all other countries were split between the two.⁷⁴ In 1917, the president of a Chicago criminal justice school offered him a teaching position with a respectable salary.⁷⁵ His strong presence in the field led one commentator to remark in 1942 that "the simplicity of the Vucetich method is readily apparent . . . [T]he considerable popularity it has attained is attested to by its extensive adoption."⁷⁶

While Argentina's turn-of-the-century political culture offered rich incentives for its development and adoption, officials in other countries did not embrace dactyloscopy with the same enthusiasm until some years later. Imperatives of the nascent federal state in Argentina, such as the rapid search for new technological solutions to racialized social problems, mass immigration, and political unrest, had encouraged the funding of state offices that would deploy those new disciplinary tools. A combination of prosperity, immigration, and an infatuation with scientific solutions created a hothouse environment in which the development and implementation of modern fingerprinting flourished. It was in this setting that the modern techniques of surveillance and social control were worked out, anticipating broader international concerns about immigrants and the mobility of criminals.⁷⁷

Police, 1913, trans. and rpt. in Donald C. Dilworth, ed., *Identification Wanted: Development of the American Criminal Identification System, 1893-1943* (Gaithersburg, Md., 1977), 94.

⁷³ Dilworth, *Identification Wanted*, 93.

⁷⁴ See Daac, "Die daktyloscopische Registratur," for instance. Whether they supported the Argentine or the British classifications, most experts agreed that some kind of conversion was necessary to create a universal standard allowing for the sharing of data across borders and other types of international collaboration in policing. The world would ultimately have to wait until the 1980s and the widespread use of computer-based imaging of fingerprints for that, however. For a discussion of computer technology and the digitization of fingerprints, see Cole, *Suspect Identities*, 134, 225, 250-53.

⁷⁵ The offer was to teach in the fingerprint department at the salary of \$150 per month. W. K. Evans to Vucetich, July 3, 1917, correspondence folder "Norte América A-Z," AV.

⁷⁶ Of police departments in thirty-one countries that Bridges describes in detail in his survey of fingerprint applications, twenty-one of them were influenced by Vucetich. Of the twenty-one, sixteen credited Vucetich as the primary influence. Both systems were similar in that they subdivided among ridge types; Vucetich used four main subtypes, while Henry used three. Bridges, *Practical Fingerprinting*, 161-206, quote 161.

⁷⁷ Cole and Sengoopta, too, argue that fingerprinting technology flourished precisely in colonial and

Argentines took pride in the knowledge that they pioneered the creation of Vucetichism, a practice that marked a turning point in global police methods and expanded in due course any state's ability to track, control, and confine its citizens and visitors alike. The "success" of Argentine dactyloscopy, trumpeted as it was by nationalists, had its dark side as well. The formation of powerful paradigms like the universal reliance on fingerprint identity not only highlights the role of social and political exigencies in scientific "discoveries," it also reminds us, across the board, of the dangers of vesting in our scientists omniscience about social problems. As this story of science crossing borders shows, the intertwined relationship of scientific knowledge and political imperatives, while representing a genuine step forward for forensic science, had both intentional and unforeseen consequences on the ability of immigrants and citizens alike to move freely in society.

high-immigrant settings, because of the perceived need to distinguish among a large, seemingly indistinguishable population. See Cole, *Suspect Identities*, chaps. 3 and 5; Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj*, esp. the introduction and chap. 5. More broadly, both Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Ann Laura Stoler have discussed colonies (Spanish-American, Dutch, British, and French) as the settings for the development of theories of racial difference that were then imported back to Europe. See Cañizares-Esguerra, "New World, New Stars," 35–36; and Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's "History of Sexuality" and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995).

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Eurasian Eclipse: Japan's End Game in World War II

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WHY DID JAPAN CHOOSE NOT TO SURRENDER to the United States in June 1945 along with Germany but stay in the war until August of that year? When Japan rejected the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, did it have a blueprint for post-surrender survival? In spite of voluminous works on World War II and the Pacific War as well as the Cold War, the last phase of Japan's war remains murky. Standard studies attribute impediments to Japan's "timely" surrender to such factors as the Imperial Army's determination to fight a homeland battle against the United States and also to the inability of pro-Anglo-American Japanese to influence decisionmakers in Tokyo. Concerning Japan's "abrupt" capitulation, most studies ascribe it to the shock of either the atomic bombs or the "surprise" attack by the Soviet Union, or both, followed by the "sacred" decision by Emperor Hirohito.¹ An orthodox lesson of the Pacific War is that Japan should have surrendered to the United States earlier, to save hundreds of thousands of deaths and casualties.² Had Japan done so, however, the United States would have taken over the entire sphere of Japan's continental empire and become a dominant power in the region, perhaps imposing harsh constraints on defeated Japan. That was not what Japan desired. Japanese leaders saw a need to investigate the best way to leave the war, and, as this article

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¹ In the United States, Robert Butow's classic work *Japan's Decision to Surrender* (Stanford, Calif., 1954) set the standard for studies on this topic. Relying heavily on Japanese testimony at the Tokyo War Crimes Trial, especially that by Marquis Kido Kōichi, Butow divided Japanese parties into two categories: the villains (mostly in the army) who insisted on fighting until the bitter end, and the pacifists (mostly in the navy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) who sought to achieve peace with the United States. In Butow's paradigm, the Soviet Union existed only as an instrument for the pro-Soviet group within the Japanese army who attempted to manipulate the course of the war. Generations of scholars carried on Butow's interpretation, although they differed in arguing whether the reason for Japan's surrender was the Soviet entry into the war or the atomic bombs, or both. For the most recent study, see J. Samuel Walker, "The Decision to Use the Bomb: A Historical Update," in Michael Hogan, ed., *Hiroshima in History and Memory* (New York, 1996).

² Akira Iriye, in *Power and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), criticized Japan's approach to the Soviet Union as a tragic mistake (170) and argued that Japan, at this watershed in the war, should have approached Washington rather than Moscow, abandoned the pan-Asian crusade, and returned to Wilsonianism (220–25).

will show, they calculated an end game for the nation by staking its survival on the future of East Asia after the empire's collapse.

The forceful image of Japan's "unconditional" surrender to the United States, and the subsequent U.S. occupation of Japan, has long emphasized the military campaigns in the Pacific and reduced the important Eurasian significance of Japan's World War II.³ It was Japan's attack in 1931 at Mukden and the subsequent creation of Manchukuo (the State of Manchuria, Japan's puppet state) that alienated Japan from the League of Nations and eventually led to a full-scale war against China in July 1937. The anti-Comintern pact with Germany and Italy of November 1937 and the Tripartite Pact of September 1940 integrated Japan's Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere into the European political context and expedited Japan's military advance into French Indochina. Then, less than eight months after Japan concluded its Neutrality Pact with the Soviet Union in April 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and started a war against the United States. In such a sequence of diverse hostilities and alliances, Japan schemed and fought the Fifteen-Year War largely in a Eurasian context.

It was the Soviet Union that gave Japan strategic versatility in exiting the world war. The Soviet entry into the war during its last phase is portrayed simply as a betrayal to Japan in light of the Neutrality Pact. Conversely, the Imperial Japanese Army and government have been criticized for wasting time in hoping for the Soviets to help broker peace with the United States. Such vilification of the Soviet Union, however, has obfuscated a complex strategy Japan adopted toward the Soviets. A body of little-known and rarely used documents, kept since 1941 by Japanese military leaders, diplomatic officials, and scholars and journalists of international relations, reveals that these Japanese did not adhere to any hopes for Moscow to mediate peace with the United States.⁴ Neither did they hold onto a

³ For a historiographic analysis of Japanese studies of World War II, see Yukiko Koshiro, "Japan's World and World War II," *Diplomatic History*, special issue, "The Future of World War II Studies: A Roundtable," 25, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 425–26.

⁴ In reexamining the last phase of the war, it is necessary to realize that the standard archival sources—so-called evidence presented at the Tokyo War Crimes Trial (1946–1948)—merely provide a basis for writing an orthodox history of Japan's war, thus telling only a partial story. Shortly after the Japanese government decided to accept the Potsdam Declaration, the Cabinet members chose to incinerate a great number of official documents in expectation of an impending war crimes trial, in which the United States was expected to play a leading role. They destroyed documents deemed inconvenient to a presumed yardstick of postwar American justice. On August 7, 1945, only one day after Hiroshima and one day before the Soviet entry into the war, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided on the quick destruction of classified documents related to wartime diplomacy, and did so earlier and much more swiftly and extensively than the Imperial Headquarters did to the military-related documents. China-related diplomatic documents were the first to be destroyed. Next were the Soviet-related papers. The last were the papers related to Axis diplomacy. Yoshida Yutaka, *Gendai Rekishi-gaku to sensō sekinin* [Contemporary history studies and Japan's war responsibilities] (Tokyo, 1997), 127–34; Usui Katsumi, Yoshimura Michio, and Hosoya Chihiro, *Gaikō Shiryō-kan no Nijū-nen to shōrai* (zadankai), vol. 2 [Roundtable: The past and future (The one hundred years of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, vol. 2)] (Tokyo, 1969), 1295–97. The documents, especially diplomatic ones, that survived destruction were those deemed appropriate to constitute a "correct" narrative of Japan's war after capitulation. In archival research in Japan, I combed surviving (and declassified) diplomatic and military documents long excluded from the standard list of official sources on Japan's war. Mostly, they are marked top secret or confidential but are cataloged under innocuous subjects such as communism, intelligence, the war in Europe, or the Korean army. *Kimitsu sensō nisshi* [Top secret war journal], a handwritten record of day-to-day activities and planning of the Imperial Headquarters, is among the most comprehensive top-secret documents that were preserved, escaping confiscation by

naïve anticipation for a break-up of the Moscow-Washington Grand Alliance, which would supposedly bring Japan its preferred terms for surrender. On the contrary, these Japanese were firmly convinced of eventual Soviet abrogation of the Neutrality Pact and entry into the war. They meticulously studied the possible timing of a Soviet attack and the manner of subsequent collapse of Japan's colonial empire, specifically the Soviet impact on postwar East Asia. In their perceptions, the Soviet Union possessed an ability to achieve a balance of power against the United States in a postwar world. Moreover, the Soviet presence would, they hoped, prevent the United States from establishing hegemony in East Asia and recreating it solely in its image. And ultimately, the Soviet influence in East Asia would restrain harsh U.S. control of post-surrender Japan.

In post-1945 world politics, Japan somewhat vanished in the transition from World War II to the Cold War. A rapid recovery of postwar Japan as an American bastion of capitalism was considered a windfall amid the rise of communism in Asia. Japan's subsequent economic growth, therefore, was treated as a mere footnote to Cold War history. But it is important to note that wartime Japanese planners regarded the Soviet presence in East Asia as a built-in factor for a postwar structure of East Asia, and such blueprints bore much relevance to the course of world history afterwards. Consider how Prime Minister Suzuki Kantarō's "silent dismissal" (*mokusatsu*) of the Potsdam Declaration set in motion colossal geopolitical changes in East Asia. Had he accepted it then, the United States would have been able to dispose of the Japanese Empire without having the Soviets participate in regional management. Merely two weeks after Potsdam, however, Manchukuo, the crown jewel of Japan's colonial empire, collapsed into Soviet control, not American, facilitating the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in taking over Japanese arms and ammunition in their continuing fight against Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang (GMD) government. The northern half of Korea also fell under Soviet occupation, which legitimized Kim Il-Sung's rise to power. The Yalta Agreement stipulated none of these developments, nor did the Potsdam Declaration.⁵

In prolonging the surrender, Japanese leaders never predicted the unprecedented nuclear attacks by the United States that destroyed more than 200,000 lives in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But the two atomic bombs did not demolish Japan's continental empire physically. Japan's postponement in surrender allowed the Soviet Union a chance to create a new geopolitical and ideological landscape beyond U.S. control.

the United States. It offers a crucial insight into the decision-making process at the Army War Operations Plans Division, covering the period June 1940–July 1945. Now available as Dai Hon'ei Rikugun-bu Sensō Shidō-han [The Army War Operations Plans Division], *Kimitsu sensō nissshi*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1998).

⁵ The Yalta Agreement, signed on February 11, 1945, did stipulate that the Soviet Union would receive the following spoils if it entered war against Japan in two or three months after German surrender: to restore the southern part of Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and also Lushun (Port Arthur) as a Soviet naval base; to secure the preeminent Soviet interest in the port of Dalian; and to obtain the right to operate jointly with China the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway. The part of the agreement concerning the Chinese ports and railroads was not an automatic reward, however; the Soviet Union had first to conclude a pact of friendship and alliance with the GMD government and then to obtain the concurrence of Chiang Kai-shek.

WARTIME JAPAN'S NEUTRALITY WITH THE SOVIET UNION is paradoxical because the latter, geographically the closest neighbor to Japan, had posed to the Japanese Empire a twin menace of ideology and military forces. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 was their first military clash over a sphere of influence in Korea and Manchuria. The Bolshevik Revolution challenged the ideological legitimacy of Japan's capitalist and imperialist pursuits under the emperor system. Upon invitation by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, the Japanese government joined the anti-Bolshevik war and fought in Siberia from 1918 to 1920. By the early 1930s, the Japanese government had extirpated the Japan Communist Party at home, but it had to continue to battle against communists across the colonial empire, denouncing the Moscow-based Comintern for giving them aid and instruction. The establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, which set its northern border directly against Soviet territory, further aggravated Soviet-Japanese relations. Only after two large-scale military confrontations at Changkufeng (on the convergence of the Soviet, Korean, and Manchukuo borders) in July 1938 and Nomonhan (on the Manchukuo–Outer Mongolian border) in May 1939, in both of which Japan's Kwantung Army⁶ suffered devastating losses, did Japan's government make a radical change in Soviet policy.

Japan did not choose to endorse communism as an acceptable ideology. Rather, it learned to live with the Soviet military presence across its border. Luckily, the two nations shared a mutual pragmatism that facilitated coexistence. Since Japan had established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1925, it declared that its domestic crackdown on communism and friendship with the Soviet Union were two separate matters. The Soviet government concurred, confirming that its amity with Japan stood on the principle of mutual respect for each other's unique socio-political system and non-intervention in the other's domestic politics.⁷ After Nomonhan, a basic policy the Japanese government adopted was "keeping peace and status quo" (*seihitsu hoji*) with the Soviet Union. The principle remained intact until the last stage of the world war.⁸

It was Matsuoka Yōsuke, Japan's foreign minister and signer of the Tripartite Pact of September 1940, who promoted a view of the Soviet Union as a potential buffer against the United States and concluded the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact in April 1941. On the eve of signing the Tripartite Pact, Matsuoka had confessed that it was a prelude to shaking hands with the Soviet Union.⁹ Matsuoka had

⁶ The Kwantung Army was a one-division force originally assigned to guard the South Manchurian Railway and the Liaodong peninsula in 1907. After receiving independent status in 1920, it increasingly assumed a politicized role in determining policy toward Manchuria.

⁷ "Gokuhi: Zai-Ro Tanaka Tōkichi Taishi hatsu Shidehara Gaimu Daijin ate" [Top secret: A telegraph from Tanaka Tōkichi, Ambassador to Russia, to Foreign Minister Shidehara], February 1, 1930, in "Nihon Kyōsan-Tō kankei zakken: Kyōsan-Tō to Soren-pō to no kankei" [Miscellaneous documents on the Japan Communist Party: Relationship between the JCP and the Soviet Union], I-4-5-2-3-3, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo.

⁸ "Tai-Bei Ei-Ran-Shou sensō shūmatsu sokushin ni kansuru fuku-an" [A draft proposal for expediting the end of the war against the U.S., Britain, Netherlands and Chiang's China], November 15, 1941, in Sanbō Honbu [The Imperial Headquarters], ed., *Sugiyama Memo* (Tokyo, 1967), vol. 1, 523–24, quoted in Nakayama Takashi, "Nihon no sensō sakusen shidō ni okeru Soren yōin, 1941–45" [The Soviet factor in Japan's conduct of war and military operations in 1941–45], *Seiji Keizai Shigaku* [Political-economic history], no. 333 (March 1994): 43.

⁹ Matsuoka Yōsuke Denki Kankō-Kai [Matsuoka Yōsuke Biography-Editing Committee], ed.,

proposed establishing a Eurasian bloc of Japan, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, which would constitute a diplomatic deterrent, a check by the "New Order" nations, against the Anglo-American alliance. Its Asian dimension was expected to prevent U.S. intervention in China.¹⁰ Matsuoka was not the originator of such a vision. Shortly after the Russo-Japanese War, a similar vision for a Eurasian continental alliance was advocated by Itō Hirobumi and Gotō Shimpei, the patriarchs of Japan's colonialism in Korea, to prevent the United States from interfering with Japan's pan-Asianism.¹¹ By July 1939, the idea had already received endorsement from a wider spectrum of Japanese leaders. Prince Konoe Fumimaro, former prime minister, Shiratori Toshio, ambassador to Italy, and Ōshima Hiroshi, ambassador to Germany, all supported a plan for the Japanese-German-Italian-Soviet alliance.¹² Takagi Sōkichi, the Imperial Navy's leading planner, inspired by the signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, examined several options for multilateral diplomacy and recommended the same four-nation alliance as the most beneficial to Japan's interest.¹³ The monthly intellectual journal *Kaizō* (Reconstruction) printed an article in its November 1940 issue that openly predicted that the task of coordinating a Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact would be a natural sequel to the Tripartite Pact. The May 1941 issue of *Kaizō* featured four articles on the Neutrality Pact with the Soviet Union, two of which stressed its linkage to the Tripartite Pact.¹⁴ Matsuoka's goal, therefore, was not at all a secret to the Japanese public.

The concept of inviting the Soviets to join the "New Order" of the Axis powers emerged from a notion that the Soviets would support, rather than oppose, Japan's goal of a "revolutionary" challenge to the status quo of Anglo-American dominance in the world. These Japanese planners saw in the Soviet Union a mirror image of Japan, particularly in the two nations switching positions in world politics. For example, in March 1933, Japan announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations to protest the condemnation of Japan's illegal occupation of Manchuria. A mere eight months later, the Soviet Union received Washington's diplomatic recognition and, in September 1934, joined the League of Nations. Seeing the

Matsuoka Yōsuke—*Sono hito to shōgai* [Matsuoka Yōsuke—His personality and life] (Tokyo, 1974), 783, 799; Minowa Kimitada, *Matsuoka Yōsuke—Sono ningen to gaikō* [Matsuoka Yōsuke—His personality and diplomacy] (Tokyo, 1971), 173.

¹⁰ Hosoya Chihiro, "The Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact," in James Morley, ed., *The Fateful Choice: Japan's Advance into Southeast Asia, 1939–1941* (New York, 1980), 47, 50; Miyazaki Yoshiyuki, "Saikō Matsuoka gaikō—Sono kokunai seiji-teki yōin" [Matsuoka diplomacy reconsidered: A remedy for national consensus], *Gunji Shigaku* [Journal of military history] 27, nos. 2–3 (December 1991): 34; Minowa Kimitada, *Matsuoka Yōsuke* (Tokyo, 1989), 173.

¹¹ Saitō Yoshie, *Azamukareta rekishi* [History betrayed] (Tokyo, 1955), 89, quoted in Minowa, *Matsuoka Yōsuke*, 49.

¹² Torii Tami, *Shōwa 20-nen* [1945] (Tokyo, 1985), vol. 1, part 1, 335–39.

¹³ Nomura Minoru, "Nichi-Doku-I-So rengō shisō no hōga to hōkai" [Rise and decline of the concept of a Japanese-German-Italian-Soviet alliance], *Gunji Shigaku* [Journal of military history] 11, no. 4 (March 1976): 2–14, esp. 6–9.

¹⁴ Gushima Kenzaburō, "Sangoku Dōmei to NiSso kankei" [The Tripartite Pact and Japanese-Soviet relations], *Kaizō* 22, no. 20 (November 1940): 288–95. The two articles in the May 1941 issue of *Kaizō* (23, no. 9) were Baba Hideo, "NiSso Chūritsu Jōyaku no seiritsu to igi" [Conclusion and significance of the Japanese-Soviet neutrality treaty], 102–04; Ōkubo Tetsuo, "Sangoku Dōmei yori NiSso Chūritsu Jōyaku e" [From the Tripartite Alliance to the Japanese-Soviet neutrality treaty], 105–09.

Soviets rise from complete isolation to prominence, these Japanese nonetheless doubted the authenticity of Soviet "assimilation" into the "family of nations," as much as they suspected Anglo-American sincerity in accepting the communist state into their circle. They could somewhat identify with the peripheral identity of the Soviet Union in the Anglo-American-centered world. After all, Japan had tried and failed to win Anglo-American recognition for equality in terms of military, political-economic, and racial relations. Their rejection added "moral" legitimacy to Japan's pan-Asianism, which promised to rid Asia of Anglo-American imperialism and redefine Asian modernity under its leadership. Leaders such as Matsuoka, who experienced American racism as a young immigrant living on the West Coast, detected the Soviet Union's marginality in the Old Order and solicited its membership in the New Order.

Joseph Stalin seemed to take an interest in the idea of neutrality with Japan when, in late March 1941, Matsuoka visited Moscow on his way to Berlin and Rome to reaffirm the Axis alliance. Historian Gabriel Gorodetsky portrays Stalin as a realist who was amused by Matsuoka's invitation to join the Tripartite Pact to challenge Anglo-Saxon capitalism and individualism. Besides, it seemed to Stalin a natural step to supplement the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact with a similar pact with Japan and ensure the more pragmatic Soviet aim of staying out of the war on the Soviet Union's European and Asian frontiers.¹⁵ Stalin first wanted to test Matsuoka as a go-between, and so he asked Matsuoka to tell German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop that "the Anglo-Saxons had never been Russia's 'friends.'"¹⁶ After the visits in Germany and Italy, Matsuoka, on his way home via the Trans-Siberian Railway, stopped in Moscow again. He elaborated the overall scheme of integrating Russia into the tripartite arrangements by concluding a Soviet-Japanese pact on non-aggression against territories, including Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) for the Soviets and Manchukuo for Japan. Stalin decided to sign the pact.¹⁷ Thus the four-nation alliance materialized for a very brief moment, until the outbreak of the German-Russian war in June 1941.

After signing the Neutrality Pact on April 13, 1941, Stalin is said to have embraced Matsuoka in a hug, celebrating their common Asian roots in reference to his Georgian background. Henceforth, the notion of Russians as "Asians" was introduced to the Japanese public. Some Japanese leaders, notably Prince Higashikuni Naruhiko, repeatedly reiterated the notion of Asian unity between Russians and Japanese against the Anglo-American invasion of China.¹⁸ This racial view,

¹⁵ Gabriel Gorodetsky, *Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), 8. In 1994, Nagoshi Kenrō, a Japanese journalist, introduced a collection of newly declassified documents at the Soviet Foreign Ministry archives, claiming that it was Stalin who first advocated the four-nation alliance in November 1940 in the spirit of collective recognition for each nation's sphere of influence and non-aggression. Nagoshi Kenrō, *Kuremurin himitsu bunsho wa kataru—Yami no NiSso kankei-shi* [A story of secret Kremlin documents: A dark history of Japanese-Soviet relations] (Tokyo, 1994), 193–95.

¹⁶ Gorodetsky, *Grand Delusion*, 193. Nagoshi's work also argues that when Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov visited Berlin in October 1940, he sounded out Hitler on Stalin's proposal for the four-nation alliance (195).

¹⁷ Gorodetsky, *Grand Delusion*, 8, 197. According to Nagoshi, Stalin's proposal for the four-nation alliance and approval for the pact with Japan demonstrate his seriousness about securing the territorial status quo. Nagoshi, *Kuremurin*, 194.

¹⁸ Higashikuni Naruhiko, *Ichī Kōzoku no sensō nikki* [A war diary of a member of the Imperial

incidentally, had an ironical twist in Nazi propaganda, which condemned Russians as “Asiatics” and “Mongols” whose “innate barbarism” augmented their fanaticism for communism, just like another group of “subhumans,” the Jews.¹⁹ Regardless, the lesser “whiteness” of the Russians facilitated their inclusion in Japan’s pan-Asianist rhetoric. In Manchukuo, for example, Russian émigrés were chosen to embody the state ideology of racial harmony, along with the Han Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Manchus, and Mongols. Nikolai A. Baikov (1872–1958), a Russian émigré writer living in Manchukuo, participated in the Greater East Asian Conference of Writers held in Tokyo and Osaka in 1942, promoting his theme of human coexistence with nature in Siberia.²⁰ Given that these Russians living in the Japanese Empire were anti-Bolshevik exiles, it is ironic that Stalin inadvertently gave them the racial label of Asians that allowed their placement in Japan’s pan-Asianism. But such confused juxtapositions of Russian race and Soviet ideology did well in the war. Ultimately, Foreign Minister Shigemitsu Mamoru argued in the fall of 1944 that Japan’s pan-Asianism was ready to endorse the Soviet principle of liberating the oppressed peoples of East Asia and to join the Soviet endeavor against Anglo-American imperialism.²¹

Russia, the closest agent of Western civilization to Japan, had since the late nineteenth century offered to Japan romantic visions of cultural modernity in quite a different way than the United States. Russian Orthodox missionaries settled and taught villagers in impoverished northern regions of Japan, while American Protestant missionaries focused on urban, educated, upper-class Japanese for proselytizing. After the successful Japanese translation of Ivan Turgenev’s *Hunter’s Sketches* in 1888–1889, Russian literature became perhaps the most loved and revered foreign literary genre for Japanese people of all backgrounds, male and female, urban and rural, intellectual and working-class. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Soviet Union again became a lodestar for Japanese writers, artists, critics, and intellectuals in redefining the meaning of modernity with avant-garde flavor.

Some 3,000 Russians, escaping from the Bolshevik Revolution and settling across the Japanese Empire, gave Japanese people an image of white Westerners different from Americans. Half of them scattered in the Japanese mainland and earned their living as bakers; dressmakers; peddlers of fabrics, clothes, kimonos, blankets, and cosmetics; shopkeepers; tinkers; entertainers; nurses; maids and servants. Their working-class appearance stood out in both urban and rural Japan,

family] (Tokyo, 1957), has the following entries, in discussions with General Koiso Kuniaki, Hisahara Fusanosuke, and Gotō Ryūnosuke: “Japan has to give the Soviet Union a keen awareness of being a member of Asia so that it will never stand on the side of the whites” (April 14, 1942); “Stalin is aware of and proud of being Asian [*Tōyō-jin*], so it’s necessary to have the Soviet people feel the same way . . . Only in that manner can Japan and the Soviet Union together prevent the United States from invading China” (September 27, 1944); “We have to try to help Soviet people develop an Asian identity so we can stand together against Anglo-America” (May 15, 1945). See 103, 107, 147, 184.

¹⁹ Omer Bartov, “Germany’s Unforgettable War: The Twisted Road from Berlin to Moscow and Back,” *Diplomatic History* 25, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 413.

²⁰ Nikolai Baikov, “Sayonara Nippon” [See you again, Japan], *Gekkan Roshia* [Russian Monthly] 8, no. 12 (December 1942): 52–53; and “Nihon inshō-ki” [My impression of Japan], *Asahi Shimbun*, morning edition, November 13, 1942.

²¹ Hatano Sumio, “Shigemitsu Mamoru to Dai-TōA Kyōdō Sengen” [Shigemitsu Mamoru and the Greater East Asian Joint Declaration], *Kokusai Seiji* [International relations] 109 (May 1995): 48.

providing ordinary Japanese people with an image of being in intimate contact with the West, something that was in direct contrast to the humiliating (and abstract) Japanese self-image of being lorded over by the “arrogant” and “superior” Americans.²² Russian émigré musicians, ballet dancers, and actors living in Japan helped connect the Japanese public with Western culture, high and low. Among Japan’s early baseball heroes was Viktor Starffin (1918–1957), the son of Russian refugees, who grew up to be in every aspect Japanese, culturally and linguistically, and pitched for the Tokyo Giants until 1944.²³ Some Russian youths, thoroughly assimilated into Japanese culture, went on to study law and medical science at top Japanese universities.²⁴ Overall, while the image of the United States was tarnished by its anti-Japanese immigration policy, Russia was relatively free from any racist image in the eyes of the Japanese public.

After the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, Japan chose to maintain the Neutrality Pact and declined Germany’s request to attack the Soviet Union. Instead, the Japanese army advanced southward into French Indochina, a choice that led to direct confrontation with the United States. Although Matsuoka is said to have been devastated by the news of Pearl Harbor, the plan for forming the German-Japanese-Soviet alliance remained afloat for some time, supported by both the Imperial Army and the Foreign Ministry. From Japan’s perspective, the Neutrality Pact with the Soviet Union at least dampened the spirit of the Grand Alliance against fascism. At a more subtle level, the rapprochement between Japanese fascism and Soviet communism undercut the ideological legitimacy of Asian communist movements against the Japanese Empire. Even when Germany’s collapse was looming, Japan continued pressing Germany to consider a truce with Moscow and form a Eurasian power bloc against the Anglo-American alliance. For example, in November 1944, Foreign Minister Shigemitsu circulated a confidential pamphlet, “Our Diplomacy” (*Waga gaikō*), and reiterated his early support for the proposal of the four-nation alliance—the Axis powers and the Soviet Union.²⁵ However, the previous September, the subject had never come up at the Supreme War Council.²⁶

By the time the Japanese navy suffered its fatal defeat by U.S. forces at Leyte Gulf in the fall of 1944, the Japanese government had lost any hope that its continental empire would survive intact. While the prospect of unconditional surrender to the United States was difficult to accept, the Japanese government had

²² Sawada Kazuhiko, “Nihon ni okeru hakkei-Roshia-jin no bunka-teki eikyō” [Cultural impact of white (anti-Bolshevik) Russians in Japan], in Naganawa Mitsuo and Sawada Kazuhiko, eds., *Ikyō ni ikiru—Rai-Nichi Roshia-jin no sokuseki* [Living in a foreign land: Traces of Russian residents in Japan] (Yokohama, 2001), 31–46; *Zai Honpō gaikokujin ni kansuru tōkei chōsa zakken* [Miscellaneous statistical data on foreign residents in Japan], vol. 1, K-3-7-0-15, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

²³ Natasha Starffin, *Roshia kara kita ēsu* [An ace pitcher from Russia] (Tokyo, 1986); Ushijima Hidehiko, *Fūsetsu Nihon yakyū—V. Starffin* [V. Starffin: Stormy years of Japanese baseball] (Tokyo, 1978).

²⁴ “Zairyū gaikokujin meibo” [A directory of foreigners residing in Japan] (1942–43), in *Zai Honpō gaikokujin ni kansuru tōkei chōsa zakken*, vol. 4, K-3-7-0-15, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Matsumura Miyako, “Shinbun ‘Manshū no oka nite’ (no. 1–79), ni keisai sareta Nihon kankei kiji o megutte” [On Japan-related articles printed in the newspaper ‘On the Manchurian Hill’ (nos. 1–79)], in Naganawa and Sawada, *Ikyō ni ikiru*, 162–63.

²⁵ Torii Tami, *Shōwa 20-nen*, vol. 1, part 2 (Tokyo, 1986), 232–36.

²⁶ Nakayama, “Nihon no sensō sakusen shidō,” 48.

neither the intention nor the resources to resist a U.S. invasion of the home islands. As far as the decoded Ultra reports were concerned, in which Tokyo's peace negotiations with Moscow were intercepted and deciphered by Washington, the Japanese government, by early to mid-1945, seemed to be desperate for Soviet assistance. In reality, the Japanese leaders did not anticipate Soviet good will. On December 8, 1941, only two weeks after Pearl Harbor, and less than eight months after the conclusion of the Neutrality Pact, General Hata Shunroku reported his conviction that the Soviets would eventually enter the war against Japan, and he added that this was the common understanding among top Japanese military leaders.²⁷ Even Matsuoka Yōsuke himself had no illusions. While in semi-retirement during the Pacific War, he was once asked privately whether the Neutrality Pact with the Soviet Union was a mistake. He rebuked the idea, claiming that he never trusted Stalin anyway; that is, although he knew the Soviet Union was a most untrustworthy nation, he had to conclude the pact because that was the only way to secure Japan's territorial integrity.²⁸

When Stalin called Japan an aggressor on November 6, 1944, in his anniversary speech commemorating the Bolshevik Revolution, Tokyo was thus not much surprised. The Supreme Council for the Direction of the War (*Saikō Shidōsha Kaigi*) met ten days later, and Lieutenant General Hata Hikosaburō, Vice Chief of Staff of the Imperial Headquarters, confirmed to Prime Minister Koiso Kuniaki that, in his view, the Soviet Union would sooner or later nullify the Neutrality Pact.²⁹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs shared the same judgment. Japanese diplomats in Europe sent to Tokyo regular intelligence reports on Soviet intentions and timing concerning an attack on Manchuria.³⁰ Thus when Morishima Gorō, Japanese minister in Moscow, returned to Tokyo in February 1943 with a negative assessment of Soviet intentions of keeping neutrality with Japan for very long, top officials at the Foreign Ministry said that this was already a common assumption in Tokyo. In the fall of 1944 and again in April 1945, when Morishima briefed top Foreign Ministry officials on Soviet readiness to enter the war, he found that his news was considered no news at all. Meanwhile, Satō Naotake, Japanese ambassador to the Soviet Union, was instructed not to try anything new with Moscow.³¹

Caught in the impasse, Japan developed a different plan for the Soviet Union. The Foreign Ministry began making diplomatic efforts to align the Soviet Union (without Germany) into a structure that would prevent unchecked U.S. hegemony in East Asia. In a series of talks with the Soviets between the summer of 1944 and

²⁷ *Hata Shunroku Nikki* [The diary of Hata Shunroku], in *Zoku gendai-shi shiryō* (4) *Riku-gun* [Contemporary history documents (4), the army] (Tokyo, 1983), 329, quoted in Nakayama, "Nihon no senso sakusen shidō," 44.

²⁸ Matsuoka Yōsuke *Denki Kankō-Kai*, *Matsuoka Yōsuke—Sono hito to shōgai*, 1097.

²⁹ See the entry of November 16, 1944, *Kimitsu sensō nisshi*, 2: 608–09.

³⁰ *Dai-Niji Ōshū Taisen kankei ikken—sengo kei'ei mondai* [The Second European Great War: Postwar management], 1944, esp. vol. 3, A-7-0-0-8-43; *Shōwa 19-nen Dai-Niji Ōshū Taisen kankei ikken—sengo kei'ei mondai Ei Bei Soren kankei* [1944, the Second European Great War: Postwar management—U.S.-UK-Soviet relations], A-7-0-0-8-43-1, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

³¹ Morishima Gorō, *Kunō suru chū-So taishi-kan* [The Japanese embassy in Moscow in a dilemma] (Tokyo, 1952), 26–27, 41, 108–10.

June 1945, the Foreign Ministry proposed a wide range of concessions, including turning Manchuria into a bargaining chip.³² In September 1944, when Morishima returned from Moscow and briefed Tokyo on the improbability of Soviet-German peace, he added that the Soviet government had not specified what it hoped to gain from China. The Japanese government considered the omission as a sign that the Soviet Union, hoping to obtain a free hand in future Chinese matters, would keep its eye on a possible Anglo-American return to China after the war.³³ With such input, the Imperial Army leaders moved further to suggest the transfers of the southern part of Sakhalin and northern part of Manchukuo to the Soviet Union. The suggestion even included a possibility of the complete demilitarization of Manchuria. In the same month, the Foreign Ministry proposed the transfer of the northern Kurile Islands to the Soviet Union. Then, in May 1945, Foreign Minister Tōgō Shigenori proposed a list of maximum compromises with the Soviets, which added the concession of the North Manchuria Railway (the same as the Chinese Eastern Railway), leases of Lushun and Dalian, and even the opening of Tsugaru Strait (between Honshu and Hokkaido, both part of Japan proper) for Russian passage. (See Map 1.) The list received approval from the Foreign Ministry and the Imperial Army.³⁴ Finally, in June 1945, during talks with Soviet Ambassador Yakov Malik, former prime minister Hirota Kōki offered a complete neutralization of Manchuria—the biggest wartime concession Japan was willing to make to the Soviets.³⁵ Having agreed to convey the Japanese proposal to the Soviet government, Malik nonetheless refused to meet with Hirota again, citing health problems. In July, Ambassador Satō in Moscow tried to follow up on the talks with Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov but failed.

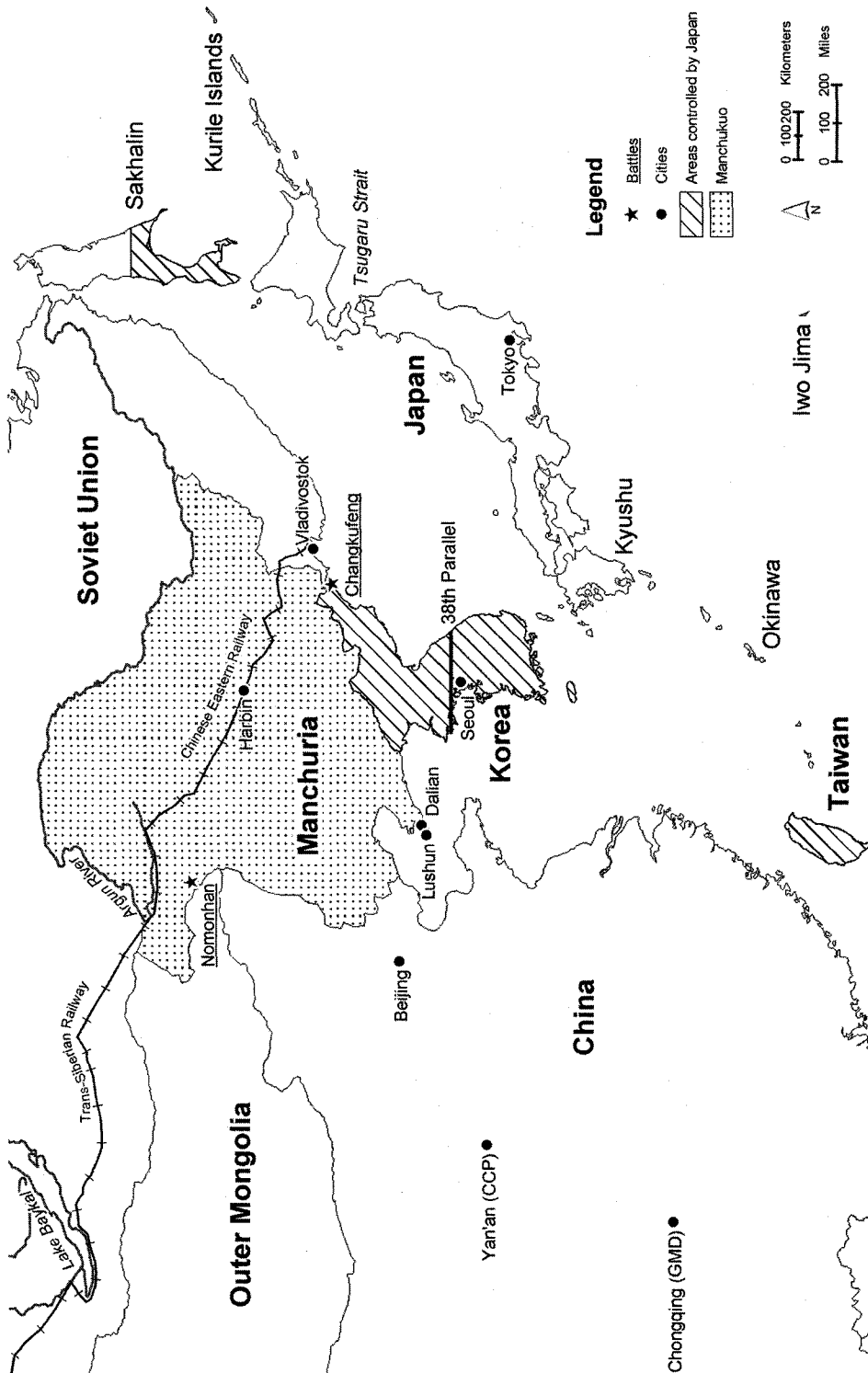
While pursuing these diplomatic guessing games with Moscow, the Japanese policymakers regarded Stalin not as a revolutionary (Lenin II) but rather as a legitimate successor to Alexander III and Nicholas II, the last two tsars of the Romanovs—an imperialist with territorial ambition. They guessed that Stalin would naturally attempt to reestablish a Soviet foothold in Manchuria and also Korea and eventually expand out into the Pacific Ocean, a course that would sooner or later collide with that of the United States. Russian historian Constantine V. Pleshakov argues that the Japanese concessions were similar to what U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt used to try to ensnare Stalin at Yalta and also exactly what Stalin

³² Manchuria's value was in no way negligible. By the summer of 1945, Japanese investments in Manchuria were estimated at eleven billion yen. The main industrial centers had railways, mines, stockpiles of Japanese weapons and equipment, power-generating equipment, transformers, electrical motors, laboratories and hospitals, and the latest and best machine tools. Manchuria meant lucrative war spoils to the Soviet Union. See Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York, 1990), 494–95.

³³ See the entry of September 21, 1944, in *Kimitsu sensō nisshi*, 2: 586–87.

³⁴ Nakayama, “Nihon no sensō sakusen shidō,” 49, 52. Also see George Lensen, *The Strange Neutrality: Soviet-Japanese Relations during the Second World War, 1941–1945* (Tallahassee, 1972), 134–35, esp. note (b). Lensen's argument is classic, in that he claimed that Japan was so desperate that the Supreme Council of the Japanese government was ready to purchase Soviet assistance (134).

³⁵ “NiSso gaikō kōshō kiroku” [Records of Japanese-Soviet diplomatic negotiations], in Gaimushō [Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs], ed., *Nihon no sentaku—Dai-Niji-Sekai-Taisen shūsen shiroku* [Japan's choice: Historical records of the conclusion of World War II] (Tokyo, 1990), vol. 2: 572–75, 579–81.



MAP 1: The Japanese Empire with regard to the Soviet considerations in World War II, based on ESR1 world data. Mapmaker Myongsun Kong, Colgate University.

wanted in order to establish the Soviet sphere of influence in East Asia.³⁶ Even though Stalin no longer responded to these Japanese offers, Japan's new Soviet policy was not illusory.³⁷

PRINCE KONOE FUMIMARO, in his famous Konoe Memorandum of February 1945, alerted Emperor Hirohito to the danger of Japan's reliance on the Soviet Union, saying that Moscow's ultimate aim was to turn Japan toward communism. Prospects of communist revolution were everywhere from Yan'an, Manchuria, and Korea to Taiwan: to prevent such a tragedy, Konoe urged Hirohito to end the war *before* the Soviet entry and make peace with the United States. An aristocrat who once studied socialism in his youth, Konoe became pan-Asianist as he witnessed Japan being denied full access to the Anglo-American-led world order at the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington and London Naval Conferences. For that reason, Konoe had earlier endorsed the four-nation alliance with the Soviet Union. Konoe's turnabout at this late stage of war intrigued the inner political circle.³⁸

Konoe was not alone. By late 1944, Japanese advocates for peace began insisting on making a truce with the United States so as to ward off the Soviet and communist menaces and preserve Japan's traditional national polity under the emperor system. These peace advocates believed that post-surrender Japan should redevelop as a capitalist-industrialized liberal power and claimed that only by integrating itself into a U.S.-led world market could Japan achieve that goal. In spite of this pro-American outlook, their peace feelers for an armistice with the United States had no chance for success, because they insisted that post-surrender Japan, a nation with no natural resources, must be allowed to maintain Korea as a colony, or even Taiwan as well, to secure raw materials and foodstuffs.³⁹ Their demand for colonies as a prerequisite to Japan's surrender was simply unrealistic in light of Washington's refusal to negotiate a conditional peace. Clearly, Japan's

³⁶ Constantine V. Pleshakov, "Taiheiyō Sensō—Sutārin no ketsudan" [Stalin's decision in the Pacific War], in Hosoya Chihiro, *et al.*, eds., *Taiheiyō Sensō* [The Pacific War] (Tokyo, 1993), 185–89, 191–94; also see Pleshakov, "Yaruta Taisei no keisei to Soren" [Formation of the Yalta system and the Soviet Union], in Hosoya Chihiro, *et al.*, eds., *Taiheiyō Sensō no shūketsu* [The close of the Pacific War] (Tokyo, 1997), 412–18.

³⁷ The Japanese Foreign Ministry had been criticized for its naïve anticipation of a break-up of the Grand Alliance, a situation that the government hoped to take advantage of for its own peace-making. After the war, the ministry censured itself in this regard when, in 1952, it edited and published *Nihon no sentaku—Dai Niji Sekai Taisen shūsen shiroku* [Japan's choice: Historical records of the conclusion of World War II], an anthology of primary and secondary sources on Japan's decision-making process inside and outside the government that eventually led to the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. This collection of documents seems to declare that the ministry made a deplorable mistake in underestimating the strong ties of the Grand Alliance. When the ministry printed an updated version in 1990, the basic apologetic stance remained unchanged. But that was not the reality.

³⁸ Torii, *Shōwa 20-nen*, vol. 1, part 2, chap. 7.

³⁹ Fujimura Yoshikazu, the navy attaché in Switzerland who contacted Allen Dulles of the Office of Strategic Services in late April 1945 for possible peace negotiations with Washington, insisted that post-surrender Japan should keep Korea and Taiwan. So did Brigadier General Okamoto Kiyotomi, a former army attaché in Switzerland who attempted to contact Dulles in mid-June for the same purpose. Fujimura spoke of Korea's integration into Japan as being as natural as New Mexico having been successfully annexed by the United States. See Hoshina Zenshirō, *Dai-TōA Sensō hishi—Ushinawareta wahei kōsaku* [A secret history of the Greater East Asian War: A failed peace operation] (Tokyo, 1975), 158.

“decision” to “return” to Wilsonianism after the war would not alone ensure Japan’s reconciliation with America.

What, then, would be the best tactic for minimizing the damage of Japan’s defeat and maximizing the chances for recovery of a post-surrender Japan? Setting aside ideological preferences, Japanese planners, both inside and outside the government, believed that post-surrender Japan would do best to realign itself strategically between the United States and the Soviet Union. Such views existed from the onset of the Pacific War. On December 8, 1941, the day of Pearl Harbor (Japan time), scholars of international relations and international law gathered and established the Association of Scholars of International Law (Kokusai-hō Gakkai), a forum to discuss a peace-keeping mechanism for the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere and beyond. Ever since, Yokota Kisaburō, one of its influential members, had recommended that postwar Japan should participate in a collective security system under the joint leadership of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union.⁴⁰ Ishibashi Tanzan, a liberal pro-capitalist economist, also recommended that postwar Japan join in such a collective peace-keeping organization. In doing so, he suggested that Japan pay extra attention to the intentions of both the United States and the Soviet Union, try to induce a balance of power between the two, and then promote a new open-door policy in the Far East.⁴¹ Such ideas were similar to the notion of the Soviet Union as a deterrent against the hegemony of the United States. The difference was that Japan now searched for its place halfway in between.

Ever since the outbreak of World War II in Europe in 1939, the Japanese Foreign Ministry had conducted comprehensive studies of the Allies’ planning for the postwar world order, based on data and information gathered and dispatched by Japanese diplomats stationed in Germany, the Soviet Union, and other neutral nations or entities such as Sweden, Switzerland, Vatican City, Portugal, and Turkey. These diplomats regularly sent copies of crucial articles printed in major Western (predominantly English-language) newspapers and journals, most of which suggested to Tokyo the complexity of Anglo-American–Soviet rivalries and collaborations in building a postwar world order.⁴²

An article in the June 1, 1944, issue of *Foreign Policy Bulletin* (New York), sent to Tokyo as confidential, predicted an experimental international administration of Korea and possibly Manchuria, but it conceded the difficulty of coordinating the separate national interests of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union,

⁴⁰ Takenaka Yoshihiko, “Kokusai-hō-gakusha no ‘sengo kōsō’—‘Dai-TōA kokusai-hō’ kara ‘Kokuren shinkō’ e” [Postwar visions of international lawyers in wartime Japan: From the pursuit of the Greater East Asian international law to idealization of the United Nations], *Kokusai Seiji* [International relations] 109 (May 1995).

⁴¹ Kasuda Hiroshi, “Dai-TōA Kyōei-ken hitei to henkaku no ronri—Ishibashi Tanzan no baai” [Arguments concerning a rejection of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere and a radical departure from it: The case of Ishibashi Tanzan], in Nakamura Katsunori, ed., *Kindai Nihon seiji no shosō* [Aspects of modern Japanese politics] (Tokyo, 1988), 194–97.

⁴² *Dai-Niji Ōshū Taisen kankei ikken—sengo kei’ei mondai*, vols. 1–4, A-7-0-0-8-43; *Dai-Niji Ōshū Taisen kankei ikken—sengo kei’ei mondai Ei Bei Soren kankei*, A-7-0-0-8-43-1. A list of newspapers and journals included the *New York Times*, *Daily Mail*, *Reader’s Digest*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Observer*, *London Times*, *Sunday Times*, *News Chronicle*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life*, *New York American*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *TASS*, *Pravda*, and *Buenos Aires La nación*, among others.

and China, especially the USSR's security interest in greater East Asia.⁴³ Another article revealed how the United States foresaw problems in achieving such a balance of power in the Far East, because the United States "cannot expect Soviet Russia to underwrite the regime in China which makes war upon Chinese communists." The article cautioned that the defeat of Japan would create a dangerous political vacuum in the rich and vast territory, making the "Pacific peace" an extremely fragile one.⁴⁴ Walter Lippmann's pessimistic outlook, as published in *Dagens Nyheter*, was dispatched as confidential from Stockholm to Tokyo in late November 1944. In light of Russia's "expansionist" policy in China, only a continued Russian-American alliance would prevent turbulence in the northern Pacific, mused Lippmann. But if they should compete for "hegemony in Central and Eastern Europe, or in the colonies, in Asia and Africa," Lippmann speculated, "they [will be] unable to resist united regeneration of Germany's and Japan's military power."⁴⁵

The Japanese government also tracked down, via foreign media, U.S. plans for controlling post-surrender Japan. One of the earliest news reports was sent to Tokyo in May 1944 by Okamoto Suemasa, minister to Sweden. The article in *Svenska Dagbladet* suggested an Anglo-American interest in turning defeated Japan into a bastion of anti-communism in Asia.⁴⁶ In late 1944, another news article was sent to Japan reporting the possible creation of an Allied Pacific Control Council as a governing mechanism for Japan: the chief members of this council would be the United States, Britain, China, and also the USSR, should the Soviets enter the Pacific conflict at all.⁴⁷

Based on analyses of these sources, the Foreign Ministry published and distributed, to a limited audience outside the government, news summaries and digests on international relations.⁴⁸ Subsequently, the Japanese media, including leading national newspapers and intellectual journals such as *Kaizō* (Reconstruction) and *Gaikō Hyōron* (Diplomatic review), updated their readers with relatively accurate information on political dynamics in Europe and Asia. This is contrary to the conventional image of a wartime Japanese public kept in the dark and fed only government propaganda. The level of knowledge available to a wide gamut of Japanese citizens, male and female, with different social, occupational, and

⁴³ "Disposition of the Japanese Empire," *Foreign Policy Bulletin* [Foreign Policy Association, New York] (June 1, 1944), in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—jōhō shūshū kankei" [The Greater East Asian War: Intelligence gatherings], A-7-0-0-99, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁴⁴ Demaree Bess, "What Is Our Future in Asia," *Reader's Digest*, July 1944, in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—jōhō shūshū kankei."

⁴⁵ "Hi: Sutokkuhorumu Okamoto Kōshi yori Honsho" [Secret: From Minister Okamoto, Stockholm, to the Foreign Ministry], November 23-24, 1944, and "Stockholm no. 43 (Hi) [Confidential]," in *Shōwa 19-nen Dai-Niji Ōshū Taisen kankei ikken—sengo kei'ei mondai Ei Bei Soren kankei* [1944, the Second European Great War: Postwar management—U.S.-UK-Soviet relations], A-7-0-0-8-43-1, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁴⁶ "Hi: Sutokkuhorumu Okamoto Kōshi yori Honsho" [Secret: From Minister Okamoto, Stockholm, to the Foreign Ministry], March 21-22, 1944, in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—jōhō shūshū kankei."

⁴⁷ "Plans for a Vanquished Japan," *American Mercury*, January 1944, in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—jōhō shūshū kankei."

⁴⁸ See, for example, Ichikawa Taijirō, Gaimushō Chōsa-kyoku Dai-Ichi Kachō [First Section Chief, Research Department, Foreign Ministry], "Bei-Ei-So sengo taisaku no kenkyū, 1943-nen 7-gatsu yori 1944-nen 2-gatsu ni itaru," February 1944.

geographical backgrounds, explains the kinds of rumors that circulated in towns and villages in the last phase of the war, speculating on Japan's dealings with the United States, the Soviet Union, and also Chiang Kai-shek.⁴⁹ Discussion of Japan's fate in the matrix of world politics was not just for the elites: it was a national project.

The Japanese media often expressed skepticism that the continued U.S.-Soviet alliance could maintain a postwar international order. As early as October 1943, after the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference, Japanese scholars and journalists noted Anglo-American uneasiness with the growing Soviet influence in the Mediterranean Sea, northern Africa, and the Balkans.⁵⁰ They also learned about communist successes in Poland and Egypt, and the rise of Charles de Gaulle in France.⁵¹ They were not naïve enough to believe that a break-up of the Grand Alliance would come to defuse its anti-fascist and anti-Japanese pressure. Rather, the Japanese observers considered FDR, Stalin, and Winston Churchill as three Machiavellian actors who would continue to play out their expected roles as allies, at least until the defeat of Germany. What they were not sure about was whether such a partnership would survive in the Asian theater.⁵²

The Japanese media also paid special attention to how both Washington and Moscow attempted to take leadership of a new world. At the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference, for example, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and also the GMD government of China agreed to establish a security organization for a postwar world based on the principle of equal sovereignty. But the road was rocky from the outset. In December 1944, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov secured the right for his government to send to any international conferences representatives of all sixteen Soviet Republics, with sixteen individual votes. Japanese observers quipped that this was Moscow's new tactic to secure a bloc vote.⁵³ There was a British precedent. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Britain successfully invited members of its empire to join the League of Nations Commission to cast bloc votes in support of Britain's cause. Then, in turn, when the San Francisco

⁴⁹ Investigative reports regularly compiled by the Special Higher Police (Tokkō) in each prefecture demonstrate that the Japanese public held realistic views concerning the war's direction. A report from the Kansai district on July 30, 1945, told of a male acupuncturist discussing with his client that the presence of Chiang as one of the signers of the Potsdam Declaration meant nothing much, given his parasitical relations with Anglo-Americans. Meanwhile, he interpreted the absence of Stalin as a sign of discord among the Allied nations. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Microfilm Collection, M 5041, "Japanese Army and Navy Archives, 1868-1945," roll 220, frames 90937-38. On August 11, 1945, in Hyogo Prefecture, a farmer stated that, now that the Soviets were coming in, Japan would not last more than a month. A factory worker remarked that Moscow's refusal to renew the Neutrality Pact had convinced him long ago that they would attack Japan at the most crucial moment in the war. Awaya Kentarō and Yoshida Yutaka, eds., *Haisenji zenkoku chian jōhō* [National reports on peace preservation at the time of defeat], vol. 6 (Tokyo, 1994), 275-77.

⁵⁰ Matsuda Michikazu, "Mosukuwa Sangoku Gaisō Kaidan" [The Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference], *Gaikō Jihō* [Revue diplomatique], no. 938 (January 1, 1944): 5-12; Yoneda Minoru, "Soren tai-Ei-Bei no ichidai mondai" [The major issue concerning the Soviet Union's relations with Britain and the United States], *Gaikō Jihō*, no. 942 (March 1, 1944): 5-14.

⁵¹ Naomi Zenzō, "Kōsaku suru Bei-Ei-So sangoku no seiryaku" [Clashes of political maneuvers of Britain, the U.S., and the Soviet Union], *Gaikō Jihō*, no. 945 (May 1, 1944): 25-31.

⁵² Suzukawa Isao, "Kebekku kara Mosukuwa made" [From Quebec to Moscow], in Asahi Shimbun-Sha Chūō Chōsa-kai, eds., *Asahi TōA Nempō* [Asahi East Asian annual report] 3 (1944): 191-203.

⁵³ Inabara Katsuji, "Roshia no gaikō kōsei o miru" [Observations of Soviet diplomatic offensives], *Gaikō Jihō*, no. 941 (February 15, 1944): 7-8; Yoneda Minoru, "Soren tai-Ei-Bei no ichidai mondai" [The Soviet Union's big problem with Anglo-America], *Gaikō Jihō*, no. 942 (March 1, 1944): 12.

Conference was set for April 1945 to discuss a peace-keeping mechanism under the leadership of the United Nations, the United States managed to send to San Francisco representatives from twenty-one small nations in the Western Hemisphere to counter Soviet bloc votes. Other Japanese reviewers derided the folly of the two rival powers already starting a bout while discussing a postwar world peace.⁵⁴ Japanese readers were left all the more wary of a choice for their country's postwar course.

Even those Japanese who favored the American system of capitalism over the Soviet system of communism were not sure if Tokyo's unconditional acceptance of U.S. dominance over Japan would ensure Japan's future growth. The Imperial Navy's Rear Admiral Takagi Sōkichi, known to be a pro-Anglo-American pacifist, had since 1943 advocated an end to the unwinnable war and recommended that Japan take note of the rise of Soviet influence in the postwar world. On March 13, 1945, he completed the "Draft Intermediary Report" (*Chūkan hōkoku an*), a study of the best conditions under which Japan might end the war. Even though Takagi predicted that the Big Three would hold together until the end of the war in East Asia, he did not reject the tactic of utilizing the Moscow-Washington power dynamics for achieving the best results for Japan's future. For example, he surmised it would be impossible for the United States to both win the war against Japan and establish monopolistic hegemony stretching over Japan proper, Korea, Manchuria, and northern China. The reason, according to Takagi, was anticipated Soviet interference in the region to thwart such U.S. ambitions, regardless of the way the war ended. As a realist, Takagi insisted that Japan could not possibly omit the Soviet factor from any larger perspective of postwar peace-making, no matter what Japan's chance was for a peace with the United States. As the most satisfactory option, Takagi proposed that Japan consider separate approaches to each of the Big Three nations, by understanding their respective motives, goals, and aspirations in world politics.⁵⁵

Takagi characterized the United States by its ambition to establish a U.S.-centered world organization and capitalist market after the war. With this goal in mind, the United States would very likely aid Japan's reconstruction—both industrial and financial—and incorporate Japan into its own world system. As part of the American system, Japan would quickly recover as a capitalist society and regain credibility in the international community. On the other hand, according to

⁵⁴ Komuro Makoto, "Okashii Han-Sūjiku Ren'mei an" [Ludicrous plan for the anti-Axis league], *Gaikō Jihō*, no. 950 (October 1, 1944): 1–4; Nishizawa Ei'ichi, "San Furanshisuko Kaigi no syōtai" [Truth about the San Francisco Conference], *Gaikō Jihō*, no. 955 (March 1, 1945): 12–14; Komuro Makoto, "Bei-Ei sekai seifuku no gensō" [Anglo-American illusion about world conquest], Matsuda Michikazu, "San Furanshisuko Han-Sūjiku Kaigi no hontai" [True nature of the anti-Axis San Francisco Conference], Tamura Kōsaku, "San Furanshisuko Kaigi ni kansuru kōsatsu" [Reflections on the San Francisco Conference], and Yoshizawa Seijirō, "Danbāton Ōkusu an ni tsuite no ni san no dansō" [Several thoughts on the Dumbarton Oaks Plan], all in *Gaikō Jihō*, no. 956 (April 1, 1945).

⁵⁵ As Japan's partner, Takagi seemed to prefer Britain to the United States due to the former's capitalist system and international prestige as well as what Takagi believed to be its cultural and intellectual proximity to Japan (reflecting Japan's heavy cultural borrowing from Britain since the late nineteenth century). But he was also realistic in admitting Britain's waning power in sharp contrast to the United States and Soviet Union. He also pointed out the impossibility of Britain providing financial support to postwar Japan. Takagi Sōkichi, "Chūkan hōkoku an" [Draft intermediary report], March 13, 1945 [handwritten draft], in *Takagi Sōkichi Shōshō Shiryō* (Kaigun 9-Takagi 3), 35–36, Military Archival Library of the National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo.

Takagi, an apparent disadvantage of America's postwar hegemony in Asia would be its denial of Japan's traditional stake in China and prohibition of Japan's attempt to return to regional leadership after the war. The only chance for Japan to overcome these disadvantages, speculated Takagi, would be when Washington found it impossible to deal single-handedly with Moscow's objection to America's hegemony in Asia: only then might Japan be able to regain ground in Asia with Washington's support.

Takagi then discussed how a rapprochement with the Soviet Union might also benefit Japan's future in several ways. He admitted that Japan could at least learn from the Soviets' advanced system of socialist organizations. Yet he cautioned that the long-term effects of friendship with the Soviet Union would be more difficult to predict, because the Soviet Union still lacked international credibility, and its revolutionary propaganda always had a destabilizing effect on society. Besides, pondered Takagi, once the Soviet Union lost Stalin's leadership, the nation might slip into chaos. Nevertheless, Takagi pointed out that the Soviet-Japanese mutual desire to check Anglo-American expansion in Asia should not be underestimated. As the minimum conditions for Japan's surrender, Takagi listed the following: the preservation of the emperor system, maintenance of an industrial capacity and a police force, and the continuous possession of Korea and Taiwan under Japan's sovereignty. Interestingly enough, Takagi also proposed to make some concessions to the Soviet Union, such as the southern part of Sakhalin. He even suggested that the northern part of Manchuria might be placed under joint Soviet-Japanese control on condition that its sovereignty would eventually be returned to China.⁵⁶ Overall, Takagi seemed to propose the wisdom of risk management in a time of uncertainty, reminiscent of a strategic option among samurai commanders of medieval Japan in choosing one's ally in civil wars: Do not risk all of your fortune by siding with either one of two rivals; side with both.⁵⁷

Most important, the Japanese government had studied Western rumors concerning Japan's surrender tactics, in order to outwit Western war planners, or at least to know what they knew. A report sent from Zurich to the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo quoted the *Washington Evening Post* of May 2, 1945, which argued that Japan had been convinced of a Soviet entry into the war against Japan and its subsequent intervention in the settlement of Asian affairs. Yet, the article surmised, Japan "preferred" to surrender to "Anglo-Americans in Chungking" (Chongqing, GMD headquarters) because Japan desired to salvage its economic power.⁵⁸ Tokyo also learned from a Reuters report, dispatched to Tokyo on May 11, 1945, that the United States was speculating that Japan was scheming to use the Soviet card against it: "[M]ight not Japan, surrounded by enemies, prefer to offer unconditional

⁵⁶ Takagi, "Chūkan hōkoku an," 25–26, 41–43.

⁵⁷ In fourteenth-century Japan, where civil war divided the nation into two camps—the samurai regime and the Imperial court—it was not uncommon for members of the same clan deliberately to take opposite sides. A deliberate division of allegiance within a clan did not have much to do with conflicts of principle; rather, it guaranteed one part of the family would be on the winning side regardless of the outcome. Therefore, beneath seeming family breaches, there was a basic understanding between the two camps, and the familial conflict was superficial. George Sansom, *A History of Japan, 1334–1615* (Stanford, Calif., 1961), 53, 74.

⁵⁸ "Peace Rumors Concerning Japan (U.S. collection), Zurich, May 2 (Dōmei)," in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—jōhō shūshū kankei."

surrender hoping by shortening the war to secure better terms? The difficulty here is that Russia's Far Eastern Policy is still unpredictable and that the Japanese Government has some reason to hope that profound disagreements between the Allies may create a diplomatic situation in which Japan can maneuver and bargain its way toward conclusions."⁵⁹

Obviously, as the Japanese policymakers read this article in Tokyo, they knew Japan could not "bargain" for its defeat with either the Soviet Union or the United States. A two-front war against both the United States and the Soviet Union was looking like an impossible scenario; the Soviet attack alone would be the end of Japan's war in Asia and the Pacific. However, Japan's surrender tactic was now to have the United States and the Soviet Union compete against each other in their planning for the future of East Asia. Thus Japan's plan for surrender and beyond, both politically and militarily in the Eurasian context, was made assuming a Soviet attack beginning in Manchuria and assessing its impact on the United States. In fact, by mid-April 1945, when the Imperial Headquarters acknowledged the rapid reinforcement of Soviet forces in the Far East, the Army War Operations Plans Division made no recommendations for preparations for counterattack. Instead, it made the following observation: the key to accomplishing the goal of the Greater East Asian War was to predict precisely when the Soviet attack would occur and to complete by then a quick and proper response and measure concerning it. The "quick and proper response and measure" seems, in this context, to mean Japan's surrender. But nowhere in the observation did it hint that Japan should do so *before* the Soviet attack.⁶⁰

THOUGH UNDER THE NEUTRALITY PACT, the Japanese army had kept studying the timing and manner of possible Soviet attacks. In late November 1943, the Imperial Headquarters' Fifth Section (the Russian intelligence section) conducted a comprehensive survey of the Soviets' preparation for war against Japan. Subsequently, the Imperial Headquarters began working on Operation Otsu-gō, a plan for a two-front defense against U.S. and Soviet forces.⁶¹ In the summer of 1944, when Soviet troops provoked the Kwantung Army by repeatedly crossing the Argun River, a Soviet-Manchurian border, neither the Imperial Army nor the Kwantung Army reciprocated. Rather, they heightened their intelligence operations on the timing of a Soviet attack on Manchukuo.⁶²

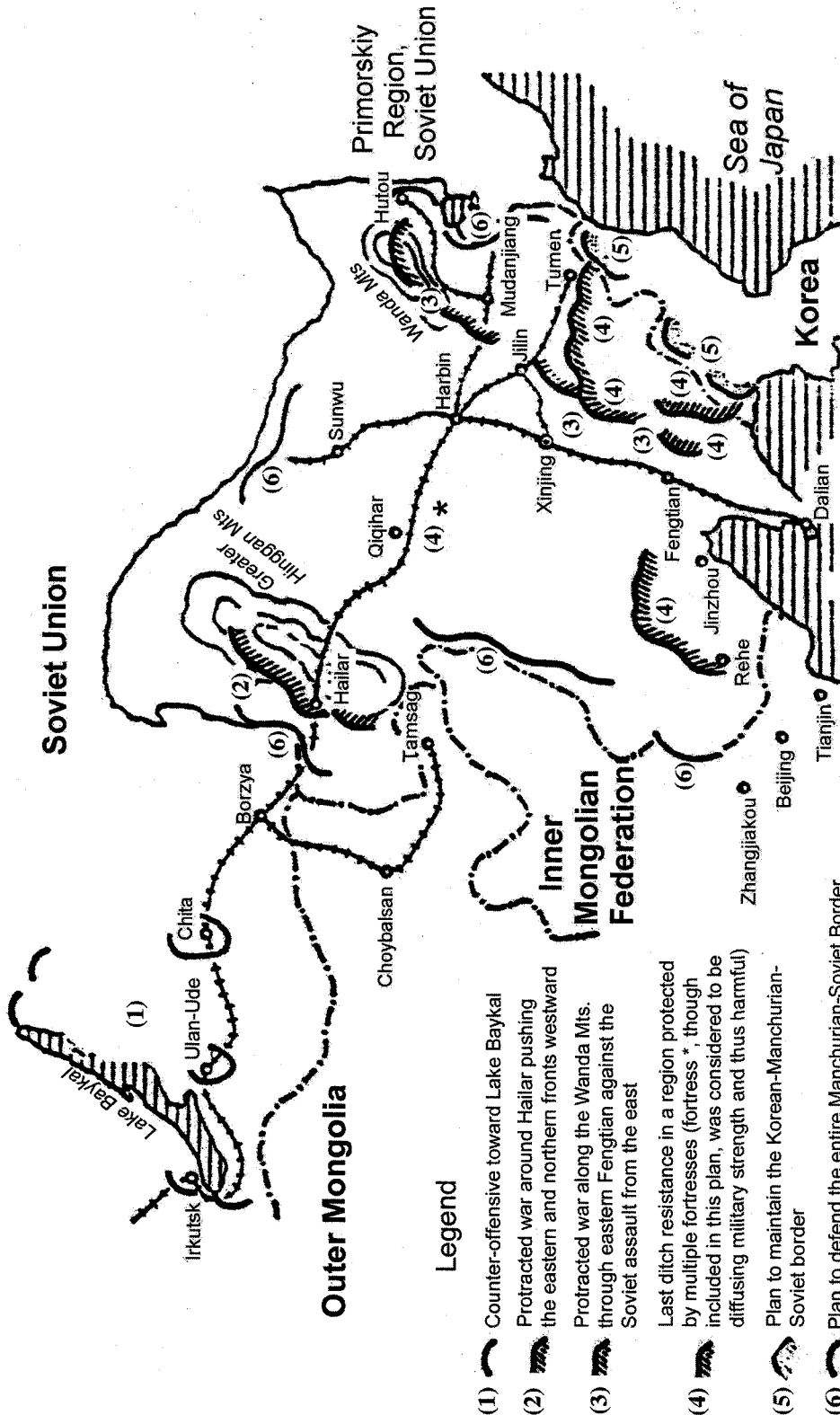
By early August 1944, Lieutenant Colonel Kusachi Teigo, chief of the Kwantung Army Operations Plans Division, presented to the Imperial Headquarters a set of six strategic plans against anticipated Soviet assaults on Manchuria and beyond. (See Map 2.) None was very desirable. Plan 1 proposed a counteroffensive to push the Soviet army back over the Manchurian-Mongolian border toward Lake Baykal,

⁵⁹ "Peace Rumors Concerning Japan (U.S. collection)," in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—jōhō shūshū kankei."

⁶⁰ See the entry of April 16, 1945, in *Kimitsu sensō nisshi*, 2: 702–03.

⁶¹ See the entry of November 26, 1943, in *Kimitsu sensō nisshi*, 2: 453.

⁶² Bōei-chō Bōei-Kenshū-jo Senshi-shitsu [Military History Department, the National Institute for Defense Studies], ed., *Senshi sōsho: Kantō-Gun* (2) [War history series: The Kwantung Army (2)] [hereafter, *Kantō-Gun* (2)] (Tokyo, 1974), 282–83, 322–23, 338–39.



a strategy based on the pre-Nomonhan concept of an aggressive war, and as such it was out of serious consideration. Plan 2 also suggested a westward offensive along the eastern and northern fronts, which was not considered very plausible, either. The remaining four plans all suggested passive defensive actions, although Plan 6 to defend the entire border of Manchuria against Soviet attack was rejected as impossible. Of Plans 3 and 4, both of which suggested withdrawal from the Manchurian plains, Plan 4 was specific about last-ditch resistance in only the Kwantung region and Korea. Plan 5 even suggested withdrawing completely from Manchuria and defending only the Korean-Manchurian-Soviet border. The plan to abandon all of Manchuria posed a serious danger to the million Japanese settlers residing in Manchukuo, not to mention abnegating the self-imposed responsibility for the defense of Manchukuo.⁶³ But the possible defenders of Manchuria were thinning, and a successful defense became less likely as the elite division was transferred to fight in the Philippines, leaving a serious void behind.

The inertia toward the predicted Soviet attack did *not* mean that the Japanese army was more prepared to fight the final battle against the United States, either. The Imperial Headquarters had drawn up *some* plans to meet a U.S. invasion of Japan proper. On January 20, 1945, it completed "A Grand Proposal for the Imperial Army-Navy Strategic Maneuver" (*Teikoku Riku-Kai-Gun sakusen keikaku taimō*), which set a timeline to complete preparations for Operation Ketsu-gō, the final homeland battle against the United States, by the early fall of 1945. Another report, issued on July 1, 1945, gave more specific estimates of the U.S. mainland invasion, both aerial and coastal, to occur between late fall of 1945 and early spring of 1946, calculations based on the current U.S. navy's capacity.⁶⁴ These Japanese predictions of the U.S. plans for the landing were near perfection in terms of the timing, specific locations of landing points, and also strategic purposes, as laid out in the U.S. army's "Olympic," a plan for the Kyushu invasion scheduled in November 1945, and "Coronet," a plan for the Kanto (greater Tokyo metropolitan region) invasion in the spring of 1946.⁶⁵ The Japanese army mobilized an increased number of troops in Kyushu as preparation for the final battles. Notwithstanding, as top military leaders repeatedly and openly pointed out, the preparations in Kyushu were far from satisfactory in terms of equipment, training, and building of fortresses.⁶⁶ Most crucially, the prospect of the Soviet invasion of Manchuria was more imminent, estimated to occur *a few months prior to* the estimated U.S.

⁶³ The critical issue to note is the government's sheer lack of attention to the defense of civilian settlers in Manchuria and Korea, a topic passionately debated in postwar Japan. The Imperial Headquarters War Operations Plans Division considered the early evacuation of Japanese civilian settlers inappropriate, as it would contradict Japan's basic policy of preserving the status quo with the Soviet Union and arouse people's suspicions of an impending crisis. As a result, of 1.5 million civilian settlers in Manchuria, some 180,700 died amid the chaos surrounding Japan's surrender. *Kantō-Gun* (2), 278–79, 339–40, 353–55.

⁶⁴ "Shōwa 21-nen goro o medo to suru jōsei handan" [Analysis of situations as of the spring of 1946], Bōei-chō Bōei-Kenshū-jo Senshi-shitsu, ed., *Senshi sōsho: Hondo kessen junbi* (2) [War history series: Preparation for Mainland Battle (2)] [hereafter, *Hondo kessen junbi* (2)] (Tokyo, 1972), 432–33.

⁶⁵ "OLYMPIC and CORONET: G-II Estimate of the Enemy Situation," April 25, 1945, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, Operation Division (RG 165), National Archives II, College Park, Maryland. Also see Alvin Coox, "Needless Fear: The Compromise of U.S. Plans to Invade Japan in 1945," *Journal of Military History* 64 (April 2000): 411–38; *Hondo kessen junbi* (2), 442–43.

⁶⁶ *Hondo kessen junbi* (2), 447–49.

invasion of Japan proper in late fall. Without serious preparation to hold back the decisive Soviet assaults on Japan's holdings on the continent, the mainland battle against the United States was doomed to be pointless by the time of the Soviet military operations. The Soviet entry into the war meant to the Japanese army the end of the war.

From a different perspective, the Japanese also saw that a Soviet thrust into Manchuria would play havoc with Chinese politics, specifically defusing the momentum gained by the CCP, and also preventing an otherwise victorious China from becoming a threat to postwar Japan. The aforementioned Japanese "offer" of its Manchurian interests to the Soviet Union was meant to deter U.S. hegemony in China. Now the anticipated Soviet attack on Manchuria would have two effects: not only hamper such U.S. ambitions but also crush any hope for a GMD-CCP united front. Due to the complex nature and development of China's republican revolution of 1911, the Soviet Union was the official ally of Chiang Kai-shek's GMD government, though Stalin and Chiang were never close to each other. Of course, the Soviet Union was also the ideological motherland of the CCP. But in terms of ideological lineage, Stalin never treated Mao Zedong with respect, either. Therefore, anticipated Soviet military presence in Manchuria would not be particularly good news for the CCP, especially in light of the fact that Korean and Chinese communists fighting in Manchuria identified themselves with Stalin, not Mao, insofar as their leaders were hand-picked by Moscow for their non-Maoist revolutionary goals.⁶⁷

In the earlier phase of the Sino-Japanese War, Japan's top priority was the war against Chiang Kai-shek's army. Then, to root out guerrilla activities under the communist leadership, the Japanese army deployed the atrocious "3-alls" campaigns (*sankō*)—kill, burn, and destroy all.⁶⁸ By 1943, however, the Japanese army conceded the impossibility of containing CCP guerrillas in northeast China. During the spring of 1944, the Imperial Headquarters acknowledged that the CCP was establishing a semi-independent regime as a rival to the GMD government. On July 5, 1944, as Operation Ichi-gō devastated wide areas under the GMD's holdings, the Japanese army released a new policy that declared that, from then on, it would recognize the CCP's headquarters as the Yan'an regime (or sovereign [*seiken*]) and avoid blatantly anti-communist propaganda in its fight against the Yan'an regime.⁶⁹ Extending this logic, Foreign Minister Shigemitsu Mamoru even went so far as to suggest the formation of a Tokyo-Yan'an-Moscow alliance as a check on the Anglo-American forces.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Suzuki Masayuki, "Manshū Chōsen no kakumei-teki renkei: Manshū kō-Nichi tōsō to Chōsen kaihō-go no kakumei naisen" [A Manchurian-Korean revolutionary linkage: The anti-Japanese movement in Manchuria and the post-liberation civil war in Korea], in *Iwanami Kōza Kindai Nihon to Shokumin-chi*, vol. 6, "Teikō to Kutsujyū" [Iwanami lecture series on modern Japan's colonial history, vol. 6, "Resistance and submission"] (Tokyo, 1993), 29–59.

⁶⁸ Bōei-chō Bōei Kenshū-jo Senshi-shitsu, ed., *Senshi sōsho—HokuShi no chian-sen (2)* [Peace preservation war in North China (2)] [hereafter, *HokuShi no chian-sen (2)*] (Tokyo, 1971), 319–34, 504–12, 523–26.

⁶⁹ *HokuShi no chian-sen (2)*, 523–25. Akashi Yōji, "Taiheiyō Sensō makki ni okeru Nihon gunbu no En'an seiken to no wahei mosaku—Sono haikai" [In search of peace: The Yan'an alternative and the Imperial Japanese Army], *Gunji Shigaku* 31, nos. 1–2 (September 1995): 176.

⁷⁰ Hatano, "Shigemitsu Mamoru to Dai-TōA Kyōdō Sengen," 47–48. Also see Akashi, "Taiheiyō Sensō makki ni okeru," 175–85.

The appeasement policy with the CCP had a further strategic advantage beneath the guise of the Moscow appeasement. Through intelligence activities in China, the Japanese government had learned about growing tensions between Moscow and Yan'an, and concluded that communist movements in East Asia were not monolithic under the Soviet Union's leadership. In August 1944, Lieutenant General Hata Hikosaburō, Vice Chief of Staff of the Imperial Headquarters, stated that the CCP's ideological foundation had "outgrown" communism and rapidly "transformed [or, progressed]" into nationalism, distancing itself from Moscow.⁷¹ One November 1944 intelligence report told the Imperial Headquarters about the CCP struggle to secure military assistance, especially in the air war against Japan, from the United States, not the Soviet Union. Only after that attempt, the report said, did the Soviet Union step in, agreeing to provide the CCP with aircraft, ammunition, and technological support. The Imperial Headquarters interpreted this episode as an example of how the United States and the Soviet Union checked each other, vying for future control of the CCP. Moreover, this episode showed a predicament the CCP had with its "ideological motherland" in obtaining as much aid as it wanted.⁷²

Indeed, serious discord soon erupted between Yan'an and Moscow. In April 1945, in a meeting with Patrick Hurley, FDR's special envoy to Yan'an, Stalin called the Chinese communists, including Mao, "margarine communists," disparaging them as simply agrarian reformers and not real communists. In a secret meeting with White House adviser Harry Hopkins on June 25, 1945, Stalin reaffirmed his belief that Chiang Kai-shek was a more desirable leader than Mao for unified China. Stalin even promised Hopkins that, should the CCP's army enter Manchuria and other areas of China, he would still support Chiang, not Mao, for administering regional civil politics. Stalin pledged the same thing to Japan: in early 1945, he denied his support for the CCP because of the latter's lack of ideological authenticity.⁷³

Nor did the Japanese government anticipate that the Moscow-Yan'an tension would either push Chiang and Mao toward coalition or push the CCP closer to Washington. In the spring of 1944, the Japanese army had learned about a possible

⁷¹ See the entry on March 17, 1944, in *Kimitsu sensō nisshi*, 2: 505–06. Also see Hata Shunroku, "Tai-En'an seiken senden bōryaku jisshi yōryō" [Memorandum on conducting propaganda and intelligence campaigns toward the Yan'an regime], cited in Torii, *Shōwa 20-nen*, vol. 1, part 3, 40.

⁷² Imperial Headquarters, "Saikin Bei-En gunjiteki torikime seiritsu to So-En gunji dōmei teiketsu setsu ni tsuite" [Observations on the recent U.S.-Yan'an military deals and alleged Soviet-Yan'an military alliance], November 29, 1944, in Usui Masami and Inaba Masao, eds., *Gendaishi Shiryō*, 38, *Taiheiyō Sensō* 4 (Tokyo, 1972), 328–31.

⁷³ Katō Kōichi, "Chūgoku Kyōsantō no tai-Bei ninshiki to Soren no tai-Nichi sansen mondai, 1944–1945" [CCP's views of the United States and the Soviet entry into the war against Japan, 1944–1945], *Rekishigaku Kenkyū* [Journal of Historical Studies], no. 751 (July 2001): 38. In *Revolutionary Struggle in Manchuria: Chinese Communism and Soviet Interest, 1922–1945* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), Chong-Sik Lee argued that, even before Pearl Harbor, the Soviet Union was not willing to assist the anti-Japanese Chinese guerrillas in Manchuria because such assistance could aggravate sensitive diplomatic relations with Japan (320–21). Also see Sergei Tikhvinskii's comment in Hosoya, *et al.*, *Taiheiyō Sensō*, 644–45. For Stalin's comment on "margarine communists," see Gordon Chang, *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union, 1948–1972* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 10; Dieter Heinzig, *The Soviet Union and Communist China, 1945–1950: The Arduous Road to the Alliance* (New York, 2004), 22–23.

rapprochement between the CCP and the United States.⁷⁴ When U.S. observer groups headed for Yan'an in July and November 1944, however, the Imperial Headquarters did not consider that a signal of their cross-ideological honeymoon period. Instead, they discovered some uneasiness among the CCP leaders toward the United States. In fact, as the CCP expanded its control across China, its leaders grew frustrated with Washington's continuing aid to the GMD government. The Imperial Headquarters in Tokyo obtained information that Zhu De and Peng Dehuai, two top CCP leaders, discussed via telegram that the United States aiding the GMD was part of a covert operation by the former: by helping Chiang Kai-shek build military industry in areas rich in natural resources, the United States hoped to prepare him to attack the CCP and eventually the Soviet Union.⁷⁵ Japan's final strategy for China, therefore, consisted of two incongruous principles: support for Soviet interests in Manchuria and acquiescence in the rise of the CCP. One clear objective of this scheme is that, either way, it allowed the United States less room for intervention in China. But the synergistic effect of such incompatible principles would also be a Soviet-CCP discomfort with each other's presence in the vacuum left by Japan's defeat, which would theoretically neutralize each other's influence.⁷⁶

Japan's surrender tactics for Korea also reflected its observations of international intrigues, especially regarding the severely polarized Korean independence movement.⁷⁷ Since July 1942, Korean communists had incorporated themselves into the CCP and fought against Japan in Manchuria and northern Korea. As the war dragged on, they became increasingly divided into two factions—one under Soviet and the other under CCP leadership. Furthermore, exiled Korean nationalists formed the Korean Provisional Government at Chongqing, headquarters of the GMD government. Syngman Rhee, another exile, founded the Korean National Association in the United States, where he received only tepid support for his leadership.⁷⁸ In the summer of 1944, the governor general of Korea reported to the

⁷⁴ Imperial Headquarters, "Jyūkei no haisen ni tomonau En'an gawa no seijiteki kōsei" [Political rise of Yan'an and decline of Chungking], February 22, 1944, in Usui and Inaba, *Gendaishi Shiryō*, 38, *Taiheiyō Sensō* 4, 326–27.

⁷⁵ Imperial Headquarters, "Saikin Bei-Ei gunjiteki torikime seiritsu to So-En gunji dōmei teiketsu setsu ni tsuite," 330.

⁷⁶ As Michael Hunt argues in *The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy* (New York, 1996), Mao anticipated Japan's defeat in the Pacific War but also feared that it would be followed by the rise of American and Soviet powers in the Far East. Moreover, Mao worried that his collision with Soviet ideology as well as Soviet military strategy in East Asia would harm his party's survival and growth. Subsequently, while he noticed the gradual collapse of the Grand Alliance, Mao hoped to utilize U.S. power to his advantage. Yet Mao was careful *not* to allow the United States any chance for imperialistic expansion, not to mention obtaining complete command of the Pacific (see 145–50 and 155–57). In this regard, there emerged a stunning parallel between Mao and Tokyo's planners in sensing the need to control the U.S. and Soviet rises in power in East Asia.

⁷⁷ Between 1936 and 1940, the Imperial Headquarters of the Korean army (Chōsen-Gun Sanbō-bu) submitted to Tokyo semi-annual reports on Korean attitudes and thought trends concerning Japan and Korean independence against the background of their knowledge of world affairs. See Miyata Setsuko, ed., *Chōsen shisō undō gaikyō* (Jūgo-nen Sensō gokuh shiryō shū, vol. 28) [Survey of Korean thought movements (Anthology of top secret documents concerning the Fifteen-Year War, vol. 28)] (Tokyo, 1991). Also see Morita Yoshio, "Chōsen ni okeru Nihon tōchi no shūen" [The end of Japanese rule in Korea], *Kokusai Seiji* [International relations], no. 2 (1962): 83.

⁷⁸ The Japanese Foreign Ministry's knowledge of Washington's stale relations with Rhee was recorded in a series of entries in the August–December 1944 file "DōmeiTsūshin Sha-nai Jōhō-kyoku, Tekisei jōhō" [Domei News Agency, Information Bureau—Enemy Information], in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—jōhō shūshū kankei."

Eighty-fifth Imperial Diet held in Tokyo on ever-intensifying international intelligence activities in Korea. The Soviet Union, the CCP, the United States, Britain, and the GMD government all conducted covert operations with the same goal of “assisting” Korea’s “independence” movement strictly under their respective influence.⁷⁹ In August of that year, the Japanese authority in Seoul discovered that Korean communists had high hopes for a Soviet attack on Japan so that their revolutionary movement would gain momentum toward liberation.⁸⁰

Washington and Moscow had not made any overt commitment to the peninsula’s future, but it was clear they increasingly feared each other’s growing interest in Korea. The concept of a divided Korea was nothing radical: it had historical precedents. Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, a British official proposed to the Japanese government that Japan should occupy southern Korea and China occupy northern Korea, with Seoul being a neutral zone. In 1896 and again in 1903, the Japanese and Russian governments, in an effort to avert a military confrontation, discussed dividing Korea along the Thirty-eighth Parallel.⁸¹ In fact, at Yalta, the United States and the Soviet Union seemed to endorse the idea of “balance of power” in postwar Korea. They vaguely agreed on FDR’s proposal for a joint trusteeship of the peninsula. But at Potsdam, they avoided the issue of stationing forces during the trusteeship and exchanged only sketchy information on each other’s military planning to “liberate” Korea, leaving the postwar status of the peninsula largely undecided.⁸²

In early 1945, the Imperial Headquarters began studying respective U.S. and Soviet military plans for the peninsula. On February 6, 1945, the Imperial Headquarters disbanded the headquarters of the Korean army and established the new Seventeenth Area Army to take charge of Korean defense. The commander of the Seventeenth was instructed to resist any U.S. landing and also, in cooperation with the Kwantung Army in Manchuria, to “prepare” for any Soviet operation. By May, the Imperial Headquarters had become convinced that the Soviet army, once it attacked Manchuria, would quickly advance into northern Korea as well. It also predicted a case in which such an attack might occur simultaneously with a U.S. advance into southern Korea as part of the invasion of mainland Japan even prior

⁷⁹ See Chōsen Sōtoku-fu, *Dai-85-kai Teikoku Gikai setsumei shiryō* [The Governor-General of Korea, documents submitted to the 85th Imperial Diet session], August 1944, rpt. in Kondō Kin’ichi, ed., *Taihei-yō Sensō shūmatsu-ki Chōsen no chisei* (Chōsen kindai shiryō-Chōsen Sōtoku-fu kankei jūyō bunsho senshū [2]) [Politics of Korea in the last period of the Pacific War (Modern Korean documents—Selected documents of the Governor-General of Korea (2))] (Tokyo, 1961), 73–81.

⁸⁰ Kondō, *Taihei-yō Sensō shūmatsu-ki Chōsen no chisei*, 2: 67, 69–70. Also see Miyata, *Chōsen shisō undō gaikyō*, vol. 28: 9, 73, 171.

⁸¹ See Morita Yoshio, *Chōsen shūsen no kiroku: Bei-So ryōgun no shinchū to Nihonjin no hikiage* [A record of the war’s end in Korea: Advances of the U.S. and Soviet armies and the Japanese reparation] (Tokyo, 1964), 157. See Nagaoka Shinjirō, “Nan-Sen to Hoku-Sen—Sono shiteki kōsatsu” [Examining the historical backgrounds to southern and northern Koreas], *Nihon Rekishi* 64 (September 1953). Also see Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945–1947* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 121.

⁸² Kathryn Weathersby, “Soviet Aims in Korea and the Origins of the Korean War, 1945–1950: New Evidence from Russian Archives,” Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (Washington, D.C., 1993), 8. Also see *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, *The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference)*, 1945, vol. 2 (Washington, 1945), S 1.1/3:P 84/v.2: 345–53, 408.

to autumn 1945.⁸³ Concurrently, Takagi Sōkichi, in his aforementioned “Draft Intermediary Report” of May 13, 1945, predicted that the United States, once it was winning the war decisively, would try to establish hegemony over northern China, Manchuria, and Korea, and that the Soviet Union would then intervene to thwart such attempts.⁸⁴

Although Japan’s new military planning for Korea ostensibly aimed to coordinate a two-front attack, the Japanese army had no resources or objectives for fighting the United States in southern Korea and the Soviet Union in northern Korea. By late February 1945, based on intelligence reports from Europe and the Soviet border, the Japanese army confirmed that the Soviet army had already sped up procurement of troops and ammunition for the Soviet Far East, but added that the Kwantung Army could in no way stop the Soviets.⁸⁵ It was shortly after Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov’s announcement on April 5, 1945, concerning Moscow’s intention not to renew the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact in the following year that the Imperial Headquarters estimated the Soviet entry into the war would take place in the fall of 1945 or after.⁸⁶ By May 30, 1945, the Imperial Headquarters ordered the Seventeenth Area Army and the Kwantung Army to further divide responsibility for *resisting* the U.S. army in southern Korea and the Soviet army in northern Korea.⁸⁷ But the report issued on July 1 bluntly repeated the prediction that the Soviet army would quickly capture all the strategic locations in Manchukuo and secure routes toward northern China and Korea.⁸⁸

The Soviet government was intrigued by the diminishment of Japanese defenses in Manchuria. According to a TASS news agency report on July 3, 1945 (which was intercepted by the Imperial Headquarters in Tokyo), Soviet leaders questioned why the Japanese army did not transfer a million Japanese soldiers currently stationed in China to prepare the Manchurian defense for a Soviet attack.⁸⁹ Ryū Shintarō, European correspondent for the *Asahi* newspaper, wrote to Shimomura Hiroshi, director of the Cabinet’s Information Bureau, in early July 1945, saying that the Soviet Union would demand Sakhalin, Manchuria, and Korea anyway, whether as a result of the victory against Japan or a condition for keeping neutrality with Japan. Rather than giving them up to the Soviets, urged Ryū, just surrender to the United States immediately and let them all fall under the U.S. sphere of influence.

⁸³ The Imperial Headquarters estimated that the Soviet army would deploy its forces should the U.S. army adopt one of the following moves: land in central and northern China and spread over the continent; land in southern Manchuria and quickly advance northward; or penetrate into the Sea of Japan, from which to land on Japan proper. Morita, *Chōsen shūsen no kiroku*, 13–15, 20–22; Nakayama, “Nihon no sensō sakusen shidō ni okeru Soren yōin, 1941–1945,” 51–53. For the reproduction of the military planning made by the Imperial Headquarters, see Dai-17-Hōmen-Dan [The Seventeenth Area Army], *Hondo Sakusen Kiroku* [Records of plans for the mainland], vol. 5, in Miyata Setsuko, ed., *Chōsen-Gun gaiyō-shi—15-nen Sensō gokuhi shiryō-shū* [A survey history of the Korean Army—Top-secret documents on the Fifteen-Year War], vol. 15 (Tokyo, 1989), 214–16, 223, 231–44.

⁸⁴ Takagi, “Chūkan hōkoku an,” 25, 42–43.

⁸⁵ *Kantō-Gun* (2), 325.

⁸⁶ Nakayama, “Nihon no sensō sakusen shidō,” 52.

⁸⁷ Morita, *Chōsen shūsen no kiroku*, 20–21.

⁸⁸ *Kantō-Gun* (2), 325–27.

⁸⁹ See the confidential telegram, dispatched on July 2 from Shanghai and received on July 3, in Dai 17-Hōmen-Gun Sanbō-bu Sakusen-han [The Seventeenth Area Army Staff Operations Plans Division], *Kimitsu sakusen nisshi (Otsu tsuzuri)* [Top secret war planning journal (2)], July 1945, Military Archival Library of the National Institute for Defense Studies.

Ryū hoped that such readiness would move the United States to grant Japan a conditional surrender.⁹⁰ Obviously, that was not the final option.

ON AUGUST 7, 1945, ONE DAY AFTER the first atomic bomb was detonated over Hiroshima, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) of the U.S. government intercepted a Japanese message and learned that the bomb had not precipitated Japan's decision to surrender. Indeed, that day, the Japanese Foreign Ministry was still making a diplomatic attempt, sincere or not, to forestall war with the Soviet Union. On August 8, the Soviet army began a massive attack on Manchukuo. On the morning of August 10, one day after the second atomic bomb was dropped, on Nagasaki, Yakov Malik, the Soviet ambassador to Japan, delivered to Foreign Minister Tōgō a declaration of war, only to find out that Japan was now accepting the Potsdam Declaration.⁹¹

The focus of the final stage of World War II was the U.S.-Soviet confrontation in Asia. The Soviet Union continued its massive attack, moving quickly to Korea, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands, and the United States deterred further Soviet advance in Korea within a month, making the Thirty-eighth Parallel a dividing line for U.S. and Soviet occupation. Immediately after the Soviet advance into Manchuria, CCP soldiers marched into Manchuria far ahead of the GMD army. The United States rejected Stalin's demand for Soviet joint occupation of Japan and even positioned itself to "defend" Japan proper from any Soviet ambitions.⁹² By the time the U.S. occupation force was on its way to establishing a military government in Tokyo, the Japanese government had requested that the U.S. government halt the Soviet advance in Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, which continued until August 30.⁹³

After August 15, a long silence began on the part of Japanese officials concerning their view of the American use of atomic bombs and the Soviet entry into the war. Emperor Hirohito made two separate statements on two different reasons for his decision to surrender—one on August 14 mentioned the atomic

⁹⁰ The copy of Ryū's letter was transmitted top-secret to Tokyo by Kase Shun'ichi, minister to Switzerland. See "Kase Kōshi yori Tōgō Gaimu Daijin" [A memo from Minister Kase to Foreign Minister Tōgō], July 9, 1945, in "Dai-TōA Sensō kankei ikken—Suwēden, Suisu, Bachikan nado ni okeru shūsen kōsaku" [Reports on the Greater East Asian War—Peace operations in Sweden, Switzerland, the Vatican, etc.], A-7-0-0-9-66, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁹¹ Ōmori Minoru, *Sengo hishi—Ten'nō to genshi bakudan* [A secret history of the postwar years: The emperor and the atomic bombs] (Tokyo, 1975), 167–68.

⁹² For the Moscow-Washington talks on the Soviet occupation of Japan, see Averell Harriman Papers: Moscow files, 1945, Manuscript Division, the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. For Soviet plans to occupy Hokkaido, see David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939–1956* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); David Glantz, "The Soviet Invasion of Japan," *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 7, no. 3 (Spring 1995). Holloway argues that Stalin decided not to clash with the United States over Hokkaido and hence withdrew the proposal (131).

⁹³ A growing body of recent Japanese works on Japan's final military battle against the Soviet Union include Nakayama Takashi, *Manshū—1945.8.9: Soren-Gun shinkō to Nihon-Gun* [Manchuria, August 9, 1945: Advance of the Soviet army and the Japanese army] (Tokyo, 1990); *1945-nen natsu saigo no NiSso sen* [Summer 1945: The final Soviet-Japanese War] (Tokyo, 1995); Handō Kazutoshi, *Soren ga Manshū ni shinkō shita natsu* [The summer when the Soviets invaded Manchuria] (Tokyo, 1999).

bombs and another on August 17 mentioned the Soviet entry into the war.⁹⁴ Back in June 1945, Ashida Hitoshi, foreign minister in the pre-war period and prime minister in 1948, had expressed his sense of confusion in his journal: "I have no clue as to who [which political bloc] will carry on Japan's future, a few years from now."⁹⁵ When the Potsdam Declaration was issued, the Japanese Foreign Ministry debated the implications of the Soviet absence among the signers. But Shigemitsu Mamoru, who was reappointed as foreign minister in August–September 1945, defined his mission as accepting the Potsdam Declaration as a document of U.S.-Soviet accord, and carrying out its terms as such, not as an exclusive commitment to the United States. He remained cautious on Japan's future direction in the wake of growing rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.⁹⁶

Only a month after the war's end, the Japanese Foreign Ministry issued a report stating that the Japanese were currently divided into two groups: those who hoped they could depend on the United States and Britain for reconstruction of Japan, and those who wanted to check U.S. power and influence in Asia by an alliance with CCP-led China and the Soviet Union. There was no knowing at that time which group of people—pro-U.S. or pro-Soviet—would become influential in postwar Japanese politics.⁹⁷ Yet even under the U.S. Occupation, the Japanese people did not turn abruptly and completely pro-American and anti-Soviet. Indeed, socialists and communists regained influence and popularity for their wartime opposition to the war of imperialism. In May 1947, Katayama Tetsu, the chief secretary of the Japan Socialist Party, became the first socialist prime minister in Japanese history. A brief decade or so later, Japan, under the leadership of the Liberal Democratic Party, began experiencing unprecedented prosperity. That did not mean disappearance of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, or even the two Koreas from postwar Japan's world, ensconced as it was in the U.S. defense perimeters. But the Foreign Ministry mapped a new diplomatic course for a new Japan along the principles of the United Nations, where there was no approved prerogative of a hegemonic power. Thus, even at the height of the Cold War, so-called "all-around equi-diplomacy" (of economy and culture) with the Soviet Union and other communist nations became Japan's signature style, in spite of the constraint of the U.S.-Japan security alliance. Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru began the "two-Chinas" diplomacy (one China, one Taiwan) as a pragmatic measure to deal with both regimes.⁹⁸ Yoshida himself once commented that Japan did better as a loser after World War II than as a victor after World War I.⁹⁹ Indeed, in light of Japan's rapid growth into a leading industrial power, Japanese people questioned with

⁹⁴ For the English texts of "Shūsen no Shōsho" [The Imperial Rescript of the Termination of the War, also known as "Emperor Hirohito's broadcast to the Japanese people on surrender"], August 14, 1945, and "Riku-Kai gunjin ni tamawaritaru chokugo" [The Imperial Rescript to the Japanese troops], August 17, 1945, see <http://www.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/~knagai/GHQFILM/links.html>.

⁹⁵ Hatano Sumio, "Sengo gaikō to sengo kōsō," in Hosoya, *et al.*, *Taiheiyō Sensō no shūketsu*, 30.

⁹⁶ Omori, *Sengo hishi—Ten'nō to genshi bakudan*, 138; Hatano, "Sengo gaikō to sengo kōsō," 24.

⁹⁷ Hatano, "Sengo gaikō to sengo kōsō," 24.

⁹⁸ For the latest work on Japan's "pragmatic" two-Chinas policy, see Chen Zhao-bin, *Sengo Nihon no Chūgoku seisaku—1950-nen-dai Higashi Ajia kokusai seiji no bun'myaku* [Postwar Japan's China policy: A contextual analysis of East Asian international politics in the 1950s] (Tokyo, 2000).

⁹⁹ Yukiko Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (New York, 1999), 44.

bewilderment what the nation's total loss of the empire and subsequent unconditional surrender meant to them at all.

In the last phase of World War II, Japan was investigating the best way for the empire to collapse in a new configuration of power and searching for the best strategy toward the Soviets while observing the spatial and temporal origins of the Cold War in Asia. Once the war was over, defeated Japan quietly withdrew into a niche, away from the new rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, and devoted its resources to the nation's reconstruction. It seems that Japan survived and recovered in the way these Japanese wartime strategists hoped. In this regard, however, it is also crucial to remember that Japan was not held responsible for the aftermath of its abandonment of Manchuria and Korea, not to mention the nature and level of Japan's commitment to pan-Asianism. The search has just begun as to whether Japan's end game in World War II proved right or tragic, brought long-term benefits or damage, and to whom, in the larger historical framework of the twentieth century and beyond.

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Review Essay

Empires, Borderlands, and Diasporas:
Eurasia as Anti-Paradigm for the Post-Soviet Era

MARK VON HAGEN

THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION and its extended European and Asian empire—together with the related, ongoing, and still uncertain transformation of the global rivalry known as the Cold War into a new geopolitical order—has provoked several crises of identity for historians of the region, as they try to relocate their subject in the broader intellectual contexts of a changing academic culture of historical writing. Thanks in part to the remarkable and welcome new levels of scholarly interaction among historians of Russia, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe—including indigenous historians and their counterparts in North America, Western Europe, and Japan—the identity crises and responses to them are shared in ways that would have been unthinkable even a dozen years ago. Many of the responses recall the familiar ones of assigning the region to either Europe or Asia, but one designation (by no means the only one) that has emerged in many corners is Eurasia. An exciting journal, *Kritika*,¹ was one of the first to appear with “Russian and Eurasian” in its subtitle; it has been followed by both *The Slavic Review* and *The Russian Review*. Recently, Harvard’s Davis Center has been the latest institution to proclaim its adherence to this redesignation.² Because of the recent and relatively sudden character of the geopolitical and geo-imaginary transformations, the

This essay has been long in gestation and has benefited from the critical response of many colleagues and friends in several countries. Much of the intellectual debts will be clear from the footnotes, but I am especially grateful to the anonymous reviewers for the *American Historical Review* and Michael Geyer, Sergei Glebov, Peter Holquist, Yaroslav Hrytsak, Andreas Kappeler, Alexander Semenov, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Michael Stanislawski, Anders Stephansson, Gale Stokes, Frank Sysyn, Elizabeth Valkenier, and Richard Wortman.

¹ *Kritika*’s inaugural issue appeared as Winter 2000; it is based at the University of Maryland but has assembled a genuinely international editorial board and record of contributors. The journal’s subtitle is “Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History.” This journal is discussed more fully later in this essay, as will be other journals, notably *Ab Imperio* and *Nationalities Papers*, which share many of the thematic and methodological concerns of *Kritika*, even when they do not explicitly include Eurasia in their titles/subtitles. Outside the scholarly world, the U.S. State Department was among the first institutions to replace all the designations of “former” (as in former Soviet Union) and “newly” (as in newly independent states) with Eurasia.

² It is important to note that the center retains Russia in its most recent renaming (Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies); this would appear to acknowledge not only the overwhelmingly Russia-centered expertise of the scholars traditionally (and currently) affiliated with Russian and East European studies in the United States but also the still relatively preponderant role in the international relations of the Eurasian space that Russia might continue to play, however diminished that power is today.

boundaries of Eurasia remain ill-defined and dynamic. This essay is an effort to determine what might and might not fit into this emerging new designation for much of the region.

Most immediately, historians (and other scholars and policymakers who seek to understand the region) need a name that offers a place for the histories of fifteen new states that were recognized after 1991 (and, therefore, is most definitely not "Russia") but that also rethinks the place of East-Central and southeastern Europe as they try to exit from state socialism and their former attachments to the Soviet bloc. The use of Eurasia signals a decentering of historical narratives from the powerful perspectives of the former capitals, whether imperial St. Petersburg or tsarist-Soviet Moscow. In ways that frequently mirror the strivings of post-Soviet states and societies to escape the isolation of decades of domestically and internationally reinforced division and containment, historians are seeking to overcome the isolation that many of us have felt from our colleagues in European and world history. In most American departments of history during the second half of the twentieth century, Russian (and to a lesser degree East European) history occupied an ambivalent place between Europe and "the world" (a common euphemism for East Asian, South Asian, Middle Eastern, and African history). Russian history was characteristically perceived by many Americanist and Europeanist colleagues as little different from the Third World quasi-histories, with all the assumptions and consequences of that intellectual peripheralization. The search for a new "place" for historians of the Russian and Soviet empires also coincides with the resurgence of interest and burgeoning scholarship in the fields of global, world, and transnational history.³

In large part, the difficulty of locating Russia between Europe and the "world" was the recognition that Russia (and the Soviet Union) was not fully European because it did not conform to the criteria of the model nation-state. But what exactly it might have been was less clear to both outside observers and inside practitioners. While no serious historian would deny the importance of those national and state-centered narratives of the past, our recent experience has rendered us considerably more skeptical about the self-evident wisdom of organizing historical scholarship exclusively or primarily around national narratives.⁴ Historians on both sides of the former Iron Curtain have been eyewitnesses to (and occasionally participants in) the construction of "new" nations/states and their historical narratives out of the rubble of the Soviet empire. A rich social-science literature on nation-building appeared nearly simultaneously with the reappearance of new states across Eurasia and served to remind historians of their profession's origins in nineteenth-century German (Herderian and Hegelian) projects of national and state affirmation.⁵

³ See especially the issues of *Journal of World History* but also essays and discussion forums in such mainstream publications as the *AHR*.

⁴ I have addressed some of these issues in a more preliminary form in two essays, "Does Ukraine Have a History?" *Slavic Review* 54, no. 3 (1995): 658–73; and "Writing the History of Russia as Empire: The Perspective of Federalism," in *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire*, B. Gasparov, et al., eds. (Moscow, 1997), 393–410.

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*:

Since the end of the 1980s, several themes have emerged in the new scholarship that suggest some exciting responses to these intellectual dilemmas and international geopolitical transformations—and possibly some content for the still-amorphous Eurasia. Besides the appearance of many new works, older works that had in many cases languished at the margins of the historiographical canon have been rediscovered and returned to a more central place in the current debates.⁶ First, despite the nomenclature of imperial Russia itself and the likely continuities connecting it to Muscovite Rus before it and the Soviet Union after it, most mainstream historians avoided referring to the object of their study as an empire. Lately, however, rather than trying to squeeze the histories of the region into the nation-state ideal type of modern Western Europe, historians have begun to recognize the crucial role of empires in central Eurasia and their important interactions with one another—beginning with the Russian and Soviet cases but also extending frequently to the Mongol, Byzantine, Iranian, Chinese, Ottoman, and Habsburg imperial states, to name the most obvious examples.⁷ (Of course, the British, French, and German empires in the nineteenth century and the American empire in the twentieth and twenty-first have also played crucial roles in Russian and Soviet history.)

Second, in place of the Cold War images of iron curtains and ideological containment, historians have begun to acknowledge the relative porousness of the boundaries between those empires in their attention to the borderlands that have taken shape historically at the outer limits of the empires' political and military control. In an era of multiple globalizations, such a perspective based in the borderlands draws attention to the myriad economic, cultural, and ecological interchanges that have been far more characteristic of the history of the region than the hermetically sealed state borders that one or another state projected from its imperial capital. People, goods, and ideas have moved across political boundaries with far greater ease historically than the ideal self-image of metropolitan control (and the documents generated by the metropolitan bureaucracies) would allow. The focusing of historians' gazes on the borderlands is also a response to the decentering of the imperial narratives and has allowed for a revival of regional history as well.⁸

Programme, Myth, Reality (Cambridge, 1990); Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge, 1985).

⁶ This has been particularly true for the histories of non-Russian nations of the empire. Harvard's Ukrainian Research Institute and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, for example, have been publishing excellent works of scholarship for nearly a quarter-century each, but they failed to be integrated into mainstream teaching on Russian and Soviet history until fairly recently.

⁷ The number of works devoted to rewriting the history of Russia/the Soviet Union as empire is large, and many will be discussed in what follows. For a recent, characteristic example of such attention, see the conference "History of Empires: Comparative Approaches to Research and Teaching," Moscow, June 7–9, 2003, and the web site www.empires.ru.

⁸ American historians of Russia have been influenced by their colleagues in American history who focus on the American "borderlands." For American historians' emerging new self-conceptions, see two special issues of the *Journal of American History*: September 1999 (86, no. 2), "Rethinking History and the Nation-State: Mexico and the United States as a Case Study"; and December 1999 (86, no. 3), "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History," esp. the introductory essay by editor David Thelen, "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States

Third, the new focus on diversity and mobility, reinforced by the new sense of skepticism of historians toward traditional national narratives of the past, has attracted historians' attention to the importance of diasporas in the history of the region. Here, diasporas refers primarily to those ethnic, confessional, and economic groups that moved about the empires and their borderlands and were not always or primarily members of the dominant Russian nationality.⁹ These groups' identities were often constructed as situational, hybrid ones of multiple loyalties.¹⁰ The new attention to diasporas also highlights the critical importance of cultural and intellectual communities whose members at various periods found themselves exiled from their erstwhile homelands and took on new roles as translators of their "native" historical cultures to their newly adopted cultures. With the end of the Soviet-era anathemas on these "traitors," their works are now being rapidly reintegrated into Russian, Ukrainian, Baltic, and other historical writings. The repatriation of exile or émigré historians and writers (and often their archives) has considerably enriched the historical imagination and helped construct a far more pluralist intellectual life in the new conditions of scholarship.¹¹ It has also emphasized the connections of the societies and states of Eurasia to the worlds beyond it.

"Eurasia," finally, signals a determined effort by historians to free themselves from some of the limitations of the former reigning paradigms in the field, and in this sense Eurasia today is deployed as an anti-paradigm. To explore how this anti-paradigm is shaping the production of new historical scholarship, a brief survey of the two dominant (and still remarkably tenacious) paradigms of the recent past follows. I summarize those two paradigms as Russia/Orient and Soviet Union/modernization. As is generally true of intellectual paradigms, voices of dissent often made themselves heard within one generation and were then taken up by subsequent generations of scholars in their challenges to their predecessors; cross-generational alliances of interpretation have not been uncommon. Moreover, even within the general outlines of one paradigm or another, influential historians have disagreed on serious matters of emphasis or omission. Following that review, I turn our attention to the attempts by the "classical" Eurasianists to address some of the intellectual blind alleys that historians faced as they chose Russia's place between Europe and Asia, and finally I describe an emerging *reconquista* of this part of the Eurasianist mission with new post-Soviet intellectual (and political) agendas.

History." A classic of borderlands history is Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner, and Charles E. Rankin, eds., *Trails: Towards a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kans., 1991).

⁹ For early work on this theme, see John A. Armstrong, "Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas," *American Political Science Review* 70 (1976): 393–408; and Armstrong, "Mobilized Diaspora in Tsarist Russia: The Case of the Baltic Germans," in Jeremy R. Azrael, ed., *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices* (New York, 1978), 63–104.

¹⁰ Hybrid identities are explored most influentially by Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (Spring 1984): 125–33; and "Dissemination: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," *Nation and Narration*, Bhabha, ed. (London, 1990), 291–322.

¹¹ Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919–1939* (New York, 1990); Symon Narizhnyi, *Ukrains'ka emigratsiia: Kul'turna pratsia ukrains'koi emigratsii 1919–1939* (Kyiv, 1999). See earlier studies of the emigration, including Walter Laqueur, *Russia and Germany: A Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1965).

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE END OF WORLD WAR II, even though historians outside the Soviet bloc framed Russia in various ways, the dominant trend was the "orientalization" of Russia and of Eastern Europe more generally.¹² Although Edward Said, in his classic *Orientalism*,¹³ had the Middle East at the foreground of his argument about the constitution of the West's self-image and self-representation (and the role of the United States in the Middle East as the legatee of the British and French empires before them), it is clear that the United States and Europe have similarly perceived Russia in ways that helped them define themselves against a radically different "Other" and construct a corresponding episteme of the "Occident" or "Occidentalism."¹⁴ During this period of greatest confrontation between Joseph Stalin's iron dictatorship over the Soviet bloc and the "West," the late 1940s and early 1950s, most historians of Russia wrote in a highly essentializing way about Russian traditions of despotism and imperial expansion, understanding despotism and expansion to be mutually reinforcing prerequisites of state survival. An emblematic text was Karl Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism*, which became required reading for all historians of Russia; Wittfogel advanced a theory of technological (hydraulic, in this case) determinism that tied Russia to China and ancient Egypt as political orders of a peculiar kind.¹⁵ Wittfogel's biography as a former Communist was representative of the origins of many of the intellectual leaders of this first postwar generation in Eastern and Central Europe. Many exiled and émigré scholars wrote with the zeal of converts to a new faith: anticommunism (often interlaced with anti-Russianism).¹⁶

Wittfogel's ideas intersected neatly with another version of comparative despotism, totalitarianism, which placed Stalin's tyranny in the same genus as Hitler's Third Reich but also with other Communist dictatorships around the world.¹⁷ Comparative communism looked for commonalities and differences in the Soviet bloc, but it generally assumed greater unity than diversity (and produced, incidentally, much solid research); major research universities and foundations established

¹² Although Russia and the Soviet Union have been the main foci of West European and American scholarship, much but not all of what I argue has been true for perceptions of East and East-Central Europe, to varying degrees and at different times.

¹³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

¹⁴ See Martin E. Malia's history of Western conceptions of Russia/Soviet Union, *Russia under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). On Occidentalism, see James Carrier, "Occidentalism: World Turned Upside-Down," *American Ethnologist* 19, no. 2 (1992): 195–213; and Carrier, *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford, 1995).

¹⁵ Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, Conn., 1957). Not all scholars accepted Wittfogel's relegation of Russia to the species of Oriental despotism; see the polemics in *Slavic Review* 22, no. 4 (December 1963): 627–62, starting with Wittfogel, "Russia and the East: A Comparison and Contrast," followed by Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, "'Oriental Despotism' and Russia," Bertold Spuler, "Russia and Islam," and "Reply" by Wittfogel.

¹⁶ The classic text of this phenomenon was a collection of confessional essays by prominent intellectuals, R. H. S. Crossman, ed., *The God That Failed* (New York, 1949). But even historians who did not abandon their leftist politics often fell prey to the orientalizing overtones of the period. Isaac Deutscher, for example, in his provocative and long persuasive biography of Stalin, shared the powerful temptation to identify Russia/the Soviet Union with the Orient, in his case, one would suspect, largely from an agenda of defending European (read Western) socialist traditions from the Stalinist "aberration" or deviation. See Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography* (Oxford, 1949).

¹⁷ One of the classic statements of this interpretation was Zbigniew Brzezinski and Carl Friedrichs, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (New York, 1956); see the recent history of the concept in Abbott Gleason, *Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War* (New York, 1995).

the first interdisciplinary centers for the study of the Soviet bloc and Communist China.¹⁸

In the climate of mutual isolationism and hardening of bloc boundaries that was characteristic of this age, culture—and cultural difference—was taken very seriously but generally was assumed to be static and unchanging. That culture was most often identified as Russian but also, it is important to note, as not European. The roots of Soviet dictatorship were thereby to be found in the centuries-old legacies of Muscovy (at least), if not Byzantium and the Mongol horde, a view reinforced by the convictions of influential refugee and émigré scholars that Russia was the real beginning of Asia (and, alternately, Germany, Poland, or Ukraine was the eastern boundary of Europe).¹⁹ Richard Pipes remains one of the most articulate spokesmen of this generation's perspective for his insistence on the importance of patrimonialism and the absence of private property to understanding the longer durée of the Russian past. Although Pipes sees the immediate origins of Soviet dictatorship in the late imperial period (the reign of Alexander III), the longer-term Muscovite origins are the crucial ones for shaping Russia's non-European character.²⁰

Curiously, at least in retrospect, the history of the non-Russian nations and communities of the empire and Soviet Union was largely relegated to the status of footnotes or margins to the grand narrative of Russian imperial, autocratic consolidation in fulfillment of its medieval manifest destiny.²¹ This approach dominated in an intellectual and political environment of hostility and mutual suspicion, of self-imposed Soviet inaccessibility and Stalin's annexation of Eastern Europe, with the West's response in its policy of containment. Inside the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, under the slogans of combating rootless cosmopolitanism and the *Zhdanovshchina*, ideological watchdogs relentlessly hounded Jewish, Ukrainian, East European, and even Russian intellectuals for expressing any doubts about the unique and "progressive" role of the Russians in world history.²² Outside the Soviet bloc, these Cold War hostilities helped shape the first generation of professional historians (and allied Slavic literature scholars) in what appeared to be a revived form of neo-Slavophile or neo-Slavist essentialism that emphasized Russia's uniqueness (or exceptionalism) and was probably partly reinforced by the perceived need to establish disciplinary legitimacy for Russian and East European

¹⁸ The first such center was the Russian Institute (today's Harriman Institute) at Columbia University, founded in 1946; Harvard University's Russian (today's Davis) Research Center followed in short order. During the same postwar years, both universities joined forces with private foundations to found institutes devoted to the study of communist East Asia, with China at the center of their attention.

¹⁹ Where scholars drew the boundary between Europe and Asia often coincided with the national history with which they were most identified.

²⁰ See Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime* (New York, 1974), for the fullest statement of this position. For another classic statement of the radical continuity thesis from Harvard's distinguished medievalist, see Edward Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45 (1986): 115–81.

²¹ On expansion as a constant in the Russian past, see Taras Hunczak, ed., *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1974); Michael Rywkin, ed., *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917* (London, 1988); and Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917–1923* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

²² For the history of the postwar cultural climate in the Soviet Union, often summarized as the *Zhdanovshchina* after Stalin's chief ideological officer, Andrei Zhdanov, see Werner Hahn, *Postwar Soviet Politics: The Fall of Zhdanov and the Defeat of Moderation* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969).

history within university departments. Such tendencies, incidentally, were by no means unique to the fields of Russian and East European history; these were also the years that most historians of the United States ascribed to a firm myth of the exceptional character of the American experience, while German historians debated the special developmental path, or *Sonderweg*, to explain the rise of the Nazi dictatorship. The main divergence from the classic Slavophiles of the nineteenth century, however, was that these earlier writers (Ivan Kireevsky, Aleksei Khomiakov, Konstantin, and Ivan Aksakov) cast Russia's difference from Europe in a positive light and decried its over-westernization beginning with the traumatic reforms of Peter the Great, whereas the Russia/Orient paradigm took Russia's otherness to be tragically and immutably negative.²³

THE MOST IMPORTANT CHALLENGES TO THE RUSSIA/ORIENT PARADIGM emerged from the legacy of émigré Russian liberalism that survived in American and European universities and posited a distinctly European path for Russia that was progressive, if state-led. The school of Michael Karpovich at Harvard University, the legatee of the state school of imperial Russia, sought to distance imperial Russian history from its Soviet despotic successor, so that the equation of Soviet Union with the Orient could be safely maintained. The powerful Russian state-school narrative of Russian nation-building by a progressive bureaucracy had its origins in Nikolai Karamzin's *History of the Russian State* and was developed in the writings of Sergei Soloviev, Boris Chicherin, Vasilii Kliuchevskii, and Pavel Miliukov.²⁴ Perhaps the most articulate contemporary spokesman for this latter position has been Martin Malia, who, together with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and other influential voices, has seen World War I as the beginning of Russia's abandonment of its European path and descent into oriental despotism.²⁵ But 1917 was the real moment of truth. For Malia, ideology, and socialist ideology in particular, was the original sin that explained why the Soviet period was still to be relegated to the great Others in terms of which the civilized world was obliged to define itself; his mission has been to disabuse the reader of communism's myth that it was—or had ever been—the new face of eternal Russia.²⁶ He is of the same generation as Pipes (and shared the same teacher at Harvard, the distinguished Russian émigré Mikhail Karpovich), but his disagreement with Pipes represents a transitional position rather than a new paradigm as such.

²³ For the history of the Slavophiles, see Nicholas Riasanovsky, *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952); Andrzej Walicki, *The Slavophile Controversy: History of a Conservative Utopia in Nineteenth-Century Russian Thought* (Oxford, 1975); works by Peter K. Christoff on individual Slavophile thinkers (The Hague, 1961, 1972, 1982); and Abbott Gleason, *European and Muscovite: Ivan Kireevsky and the Origins of Slavophilism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

²⁴ On the state school in Russian history, also known as the juridical school, see Anatole Mazour, *Modern Russian Historiography*, rev. edn. (Westport, Conn., 1975), 113–27; J. L. Black, "The 'State School' of Russian Historians," in *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History* (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1984), 37: 118–25.

²⁵ See Martin E. Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991* (New York, 1994).

²⁶ For a recent Russian history with a strong debt to this liberal defense of imperial Russia, see Boris Mironov, *Sotsial'naiia istoriia Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII-nachalo XX v.): Genezis lichnosti, demokraticheskoi sem'i, grazhdanskogo obshchestva i pravovogo gosudarstva*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1999).

The mid-to-late 1950s and 1960s marked a new stage in the Cold War that was framed by the death of Stalin and the coming to power of Nikita Khrushchev and other post-Stalin East European reformist Communist Party leaders. The U.S.-Soviet superpower rivalry expanded beyond the original arenas of Europe and Asia to the postcolonial world in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, with each side offering an ideal-type version of its own historical development as the path most suited to progress and modernization. Modernization theory encouraged scholars to put Russian and Soviet history in the context of Third World development studies and thereby began to "normalize" the Soviet experience; from this vantage point, it was the rise of the NATO West that called for explanation and appeared to be exceptional against the backdrop of most of the rest of the world's historical experience, even though the assumed endpoint of political and economic development remained the U.S.-led NATO/OECD "West."²⁷ The starting point for this new paradigm, "Soviet Union" (now vaguely distinguished from Russia)/modernization, was the Great Reforms of the 1860s, beginning with the emancipation of the serfs; the Soviet Union was recast as a modernizing state taking up the task started by imperial bureaucrats to pull peasant, backward Russia into the industrial, urban, and technological age. Change was emphasized over continuity, and social change in particular was offered as one of the explanations of Soviet success and "social support." Social history asserted its legitimacy against the former dominance of intellectual and institutional history.²⁸ The Stalin period, however cruel, was also acknowledged as one of substantial progress; massive investments in the welfare state (education, health care, pensions) and upward mobility for many helped explain the Stalinist "social contract" that underlay the apparent stability of Soviet society.²⁹ Some observers, both in the USSR (notably, the dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov) and outside it, took the logic of modernization theory more seriously and went so far as to predict

²⁷ In both the United States and the Soviet Union, research institutes devoted to Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia were organized; in the Soviet Academy of Sciences, a USA and Canada Institute and Institute for Europe also brought together considerable intellectual resources for the study of the NATO-bloc countries and societies. For a discussion of the politics of knowledge regarding modernization theory, see Carl E. Pletsch, "The Three Worlds, or the Division of Social Scientific Labor, circa 1950–1975," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 4 (October 1981). For some interesting parallels and contrasts with South Asian studies, see Nicholas B. Dirks, "South Asian Studies: Futures Past," *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines*, David L. Szanton, ed., University of California International and Area Studies, Edited Volumes, 3.

²⁸ Theodore H. von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin?* (Philadelphia, 1964); Cyril Black, *The Transformation of Russian Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960). E. H. Carr's monumental multi-volume history of the Bolshevik Revolution and Soviet state focused more on institutional history than was characteristic of the dominant trends among scholars, but he shared the general philosophical acceptance of the Soviet state and its modernizing project. See *A History of Soviet Russia*, 4 vols. (New York, 1951–72). A formulation of the modernization paradigm that is ground in social history is Teodor Shanin's two-volume survey, *The Roots of Otherness: Russia's Turn of Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1986).

²⁹ Probably the most persuasive advocate of the modernization approach has been Moshe Lewin; see *The Making of the Soviet System* (New York, 1985); and *The Gorbachev Phenomenon* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988). Other influential voices included Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1921–1934* (New York, 1979); and *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1932* (New York, 1982); Jerry F. Hough and Merle Fainsod, *How the Soviet Union Is Governed* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); and Vera Dunham, *In Stalin's Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction* (Cambridge, 1976).

convergence between an increasingly bureaucratized capitalist West and a modernizing Soviet East.

Above, I ventured to compare the Russia/Orient stage with the Slavophiles' views on Russia's future and past (though with inverted values assigned to those comparisons); similarly, the Soviet Union/modernization paradigm suggests parallels with the Slavophiles' protagonists, the westernizers, in the intellectual debates of the mid-nineteenth century. Much as the application of modernization theory was meant to overcome the essentializing and putative stasis of the Russian past by re-situating it in a global history of political and economic development, so, too, the Russian westernizers posited the endpoint of that global development to be Euro-American institutions and practices. Like adherents to the modernization paradigm, the westernizers' preferred focus was on a shorter-term modern period (Peter the Great, as one important outward limit, more immediately the Great Reforms).³⁰ During the relatively liberal Khrushchev "Thaw" of the late 1950s and early 1960s, an analogous and parallel debate about Russia's place in the world occurred among Soviet historians under the rubric of the "general laws of historical development" (*osobennosti* and *zakonomernosti* in its Russian variant).³¹

An important feature of this paradigm was its sharing in modernization theory's assumption of the global homogenizing effects of modern industrial, secular, and technological societies. Ethnic, national, and religious differences were optimistically forecast to have less meaning in the emerging world. Culture was no longer perceived as static and monolithic but as dynamic, changing, and fractured in the modern (and modernizing) world. Still, culture was also viewed as less important (certainly less essentializing) and was often neglected in the largely social histories of the region that were the hallmark of this generation's scholarship. From this perspective, nationalism and the evolution of religious, national, and regional cultures were treated as less important trends than macro-systemic ones of industrial revolution, professional specialization, mass literacy, and secularization. Accordingly, Russia was conflated with the Soviet Union and Russians with all Soviet citizens; a powerful underlying assumption of eventual homogenization prevailed. Here, too, curious parallels emerged with Soviet social sciences that presumed the "resolution of the national problem," by which was meant the creation of a *homo sovieticus* unmarked by racial, national, and confessional differences.³² Still, the framework of the nation-state was mostly unquestioned; it was assumed to be the natural endpoint of modern history.

The emergence and virtual triumph in mainstream academic institutions of the

³⁰ On the westernizers, see Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Stanford, Calif., 1979), 135–51.

³¹ See *Osobennosti agrarnogo stroia Rossii v period imperializma: Materialy sessii Nauchnogo soveta po probleme "Istoricheskie predposylki Velikoi Oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii"* (Moscow, 1962); *Ob osobennostiakh imperializma v Rossii* (Moscow, 1963); *Istoricheskaia nauka i nekotorye problemy sovremennosti: Stat'i i obsuzhdeniia* (Moscow, 1969). The "osobennosti" referred to here are the peculiarities or special features of Russia's development, stressing national uniqueness. For a recent history of this "Thaw"-era discussion, see Roger D. Markwick, *Rewriting History in Soviet Russia: The Politics of Revisionist Historiography, 1956–1974* (New York, 2001).

³² For an authoritative statement of this position, see *Present-Day Ethnic Processes in the USSR* (Moscow, 1982); this collective monograph was chaired by the dean of Soviet ethnography, Iuly Bromlei, then director of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Science.

Soviet Union/modernization paradigm was accompanied by often fierce intellectual struggles with the Russia/Orient rival. The 1917 revolutions became one touchstone of intellectual and political disagreements. Historians divided over the democratic credentials of the February and October takeovers and the degree of legitimacy and popular support each regime (the Provisional Government and the Bolshevik Sovnarkom) could claim, among other issues. How historians viewed 1917 was part of a larger discussion about the degree of continuity and culpability between Lenin's and Stalin's dictatorships and the meaning of socialism itself.³³ The other intellectual, political, and moral touchstone of the period became the Gulag and whether Communism was relatively "worse" or "better" than Nazism and other forms of dictatorship. Historians compiled comparative lists of atrocities and victims and staked out their positions.³⁴

IF THE RUSSIA/ORIENT PARADIGM highlighted the radical alterity of Russian and East European history, and the Soviet Union/modernization paradigm, by contrast, emphasized normalcy and commonalities (at least with the Third World majority, if not eventually with the West in the most optimistic versions of convergence theory), the emerging Eurasia anti-paradigm privileges neither part of this binary opposition but attempts to address some of the shortcomings of both by recasting the ways we think about similarity and difference in historical comparisons. In other words, the Eurasia anti-paradigm rejects the monolithic and static cultural determinism of the Russia/Orient paradigm, though it also tries to account for the importance of longer-term ecological, demographic, economic, and cultural structures for understanding the processes and outcomes of tremendous change that have been the focus of the Soviet Union/modernization paradigm.

Historians can live with the uncertain boundaries of the Eurasia anti-paradigm, but what we cannot avoid addressing head-on is the important historical and contemporary baggage that is both evoked and critiqued by the notion of Eurasia as anti-paradigm. After all, there is the legacy of a group of brilliant and original interwar émigré intellectuals affiliated with the ideas of Eurasianism.³⁵ Since the end of the Soviet Union, the writings of these formerly proscribed émigré thinkers

³³ Ronald Grigor Suny summarizes the evolution of these debates in two review/historiographical essays: "Toward a Social History of the October Revolution," *AHR* 88 (February 1983): 31–52 (Supplement); and "Revision and Retreat in the Historiography of 1917: Social History and Its Critics," *Russian Review* 53 (April 1994): 165–82.

³⁴ See *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*, Stéphane Courtois, et al., Jonathan Murphy and Mark Kramer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). Jerry Hough's chapters on the Terror in *How the Soviet Union Is Governed* provoked some of the most heated outrage because of the low numbers of victims and relatively small place the terror occupied in his overall narrative. See Martin Malia, "Judging Nazism and Communism," *National Interest*, no. 69 (Fall 2002): 63–78.

³⁵ For the history of the Eurasianist movement, see Nicholas Riasanovsky, "The Emergence of Eurasianism," *California Slavic Studies* 4 (1967): 39–72; Ilya Vinkovetsky, "Classical Eurasianism and Its Legacy," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 125–40. The best English-language introduction to their writings is N. S. Trubetzkoy, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan, and Other Essays on Russia's Identity*, A. Liberman, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992). It is also important to acknowledge that earlier generations of American and European historians were influenced by the ideas of the interwar émigré Eurasianists, especially George Vernadsky, who taught at Yale University and authored an influential multi-volume history of Russia.

have enjoyed a vigorous rehabilitation, including anthologies of their most important essays and roundtable discussions of their conceptual worlds. Not all the attention has been favorable, but there is general recognition that their originality of thought was rarely matched in other circles.³⁶ These men, who came from fields as distant as linguistics, physical geography, Orthodox patristic theology, and Oriental studies, evolved generally from liberal-left and liberal-center points on the Russian political spectrum toward the right as they tried to make sense of the murderous years of world war, revolution, and civil war in Europe and Asia. After generations of Russian intellectuals had praised the progressive West and insisted that Russia follow the European path of science, technology, capitalism, and democracy, the prolonged "time of troubles" provoked the original Eurasianists (Nikolai S. Trubetskoi, Petr N. Savitskii, Petr P. Suvchinskii, and others)³⁷ to challenge this liberal consensus and subject to a profound critique what they insisted was a myopically Eurocentric view of Russia's history and destiny.

Among other consequences, this critical stance allowed them to form a less dismissive or hostile judgment on the influence of Asia on Russia, even going so far as to assert beneficial influences that Russia inherited from the Mongol empire in particular but also a more positive view of Russians' and Slavs' interaction with the Finno-Ugric and Turkic-Mongol steppe peoples.³⁸ The idea of Russia-Eurasia challenged an essentialized Russia and Russians by drawing attention to the boundaries and mixings of sub-communities and identities that were shaped by and that helped shape the Russian and Soviet empires. Still, even while acknowledging in an unprecedented manner the non-Slavic and non-Orthodox components of Eurasia, they reasserted other mythologies in their search for a Eurasian nationalism. Their intellectual ties to earlier Russian movements, especially the Slavophiles and the pan-Slavism of Nikolai Danilevskii, inclined them to messianic views of Russia-Eurasia as unique and somehow privileged and Europe as doomed to decline. Their apocalyptic view of European civilization, especially in the years of war and revolution they witnessed, was not unique to Russian intellectuals at the time and shared significantly in the fin-de-siècle Nietzscheanism and popularity of Oswald Spengler's philosophy of European decline. The anti-modernist politics that runs deep in classical Eurasianism (and its contemporary successors) is an important part of what the anti-paradigm of Eurasia means to repudiate.³⁹

Another important intellectual context for the classical Eurasianists was the

³⁶ See, for example: L. V. Ponomareva, *Evrasiia: Istoricheskie vzgliady russkikh emigrantov* (Moscow, 1992); L. I. Novikova and I. N. Sizemskaiia, eds., *Rossia mezhdu Evropoi i Aziei: Evraziiskii soblazn; Antologiiia* (Moscow, 1995); Novikova and Sizemskaiia, *Mir Rossii—Evrasiia: Antologiiia* (Moscow, 1995); and the roundtable discussion "Evraziistvo: Za i protiv, vchera i segodnia," in the Russian Academy of Science journal *Voprosy filosofii* 6 (1995): 3–48. For a sympathetic treatment of the classical Eurasianists' views of Russian statehood, see N. V. Narbaev, *Rossia i Evraziia: Problemy gosudarstvennosti; Vtoraia polovina XIX-nachalo XX veka* (Moscow, 1997).

³⁷ Other important contributors to the Eurasian discussion, some of whom later distanced themselves from the movement, include Georges Florovsky, Roman Jakobson, L. P. Karsavin, G. V. Vernadsky, and P. M. Bitsilli.

³⁸ The joint manifesto of this group appeared after World War I and the Russian Revolution as *Iskhod k vostoku: Predchuvstviia i sversheniia; Utverzhdenie evraziitsev* (Sofia, 1921), but their remaking of Slavophile, pan-Slav, and European geopolitical thinking dates to the immediate pre-war and wartime years. See also *Na putiakh: Utverzhdenie evraziitsev* (Sofia, 1922).

³⁹ Riasanovsky comments, in "The Emergence of Eurasianism," 53, that the "Eurasians had a catastrophic view of history," perhaps not so surprising considering what they had lived through.

geopolitical thinking of the British geographer H. J. Mackinder, the American admiral Alfred Mahan, and the Germans Karl Haushofer and Friedrich Ratzel, in particular their notions of the global rivalry of land-based empires with maritime-based ones and the importance of “heartlands” for domination of the world’s resources.⁴⁰ The Eurasianists’ messianic geopolitical projects and visions, like those of their British, American, and German contemporaries, deserve rigorous scrutiny and radical critique. Those projects and visions remained for the most part intellectual rehabilitations of the Russian Empire and its Great Power status after the disastrous decline of the “time of troubles.” Furthermore, geopolitics reinforced the classical Eurasianists’ faith in the significance and power of the state and, by extension, their increasingly authoritarian solutions for Russia-Eurasia. For example, one of the most important “positive” legacies of Genghis Khan was to make imaginable for the first time a large continental empire-state like his Mongol empire; it set a standard for subsequent Russian state-building. This, too, is part of the legacy that historians affiliated with the anti-paradigm of Eurasia have subjected to critical scrutiny: the state’s power is taken as a problem rather than a positive fact in most historical investigations.

A final source of the persistent anxieties raised by the political content of “Eurasia” is the presence and continuing attraction of present-day Eurasianist political movements and parties in Russia, Ukraine, Central Asia, and elsewhere, which advocate the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Soviet empire (or some parts of it) and its authoritarian, anti-liberal political economy and ideological values.⁴¹ In particular, this contemporary Eurasianist version of the “Asian values” model is the reason I characterize the Eurasia that several contemporary historians have adopted as an anti-paradigm. These historians reject the conservative, often xenophobic, and neo-imperialist politics of the contemporary Eurasianists; instead, they posit various alternative paths of development in the past that challenge the essentializing and exceptionalist rhetoric of these political and intellectual forces.

GIVEN THESE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS about the political content of much Eurasianist thought, the most important legacy of historic Eurasianism for the new formulation remains its determination to deconstruct ideologized notions of an enlightened, dynamic Europe and a backward, static Asia in opening up new ways of investigat-

⁴⁰ Mackinder’s most influential book is *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, A. J. Pearce, ed. (New York, 1962); Alfred Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (Boston, 1890). For Friedrich Ratzel, see *History of Mankind* (London, 1896); and *Politische Geographie* (Munich, 1923); Karl Haushofer, *Der Kontinentalblock: Mitteleuropa, Eurasien, Japan* (Munich, 1941).

⁴¹ For the most succinct and revealing statement of this new post-Soviet geopolitical agenda, see Alexandr Dugin, *Osnovy geopolitiki: Geopoliticheskoe budushchee Rossii* (Moscow, 1997), trans. as “Foundations of Geopolitics.” Dugin was elected leader at the founding congress of the “Pan-Russian Political Social Movement ‘Eurasia’” in April 2001. See John Dunlop, “Alexandr Dugin’s *Foundation of Geopolitics*” (unpublished paper, delivered at the Liechtenstein Colloquium on the Future of the Russian State, March 14–17, 2002), for an extensive analysis of the ideas and origins of this work. In the late Soviet period, the perspectives of the classical Eurasianists were popularized in the works of Lev Gumilev. His writings serve as a bridge between the classical period of Eurasianist thought and the contemporary political invocations of its legacy. For a Ukrainian statement of the Eurasianist position, and one coming from the immediate entourage of President Leonid Kuchma, see Dmytro Vydrin and Dmytro Tabachnyk, *Ukraina na porozzi XXI stolittia: Politychnyi aspekt* (Kiev, 1995).

ing Russian and East European history. Today, in the aftermath of both the linguistic and cultural turns in history and the rise and spread of postcolonial studies, such ideas seem considerably less revolutionary. One of the features of the new Eurasia anti-paradigm is the unprecedented interest its adherents share in geopolitical imaginaries, their historical contexts, social origins, and dynamic evolutions; many such efforts acknowledge their debt to Said's *Orientalism*, one of the foundational texts of postcolonial studies.⁴² The reconfiguration of Russia and Eastern Europe has also been reinforced by the agendas of East and Central European intellectuals who have fundamentally challenged the German and Russian imperial (as well as West European liberal and conservative) narratives that have governed their lives so often and so long in the twentieth century.⁴³

If we are fair to the "classical" Eurasianists, after all, they disagreed in important ways on the consequences of Russia's Eurasian character; most advocated unashamed Great Power expansion in the spirit of geopolitics and domination of the heartlands, whereas a minority advised repentance and expiation of guilt as the new Russian national idea. It is this latter sensibility that especially recalls the postcolonial scholars' stances, which have infiltrated historians' writings with their theoretical, intellectual, and in many cases political and ethical perspectives from other humanities (particularly national and comparative literature scholars). Those perspectives are identified in these allied departments as deconstruction, postcolonial studies,⁴⁴ or, in a recent critical reformulation by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, transnational cultural studies.⁴⁵ Even though few of the historians I discuss below explicitly cite the work of these scholars,⁴⁶ their critiques of the previous paradigms of Russian and Soviet history, whether implicitly or more self-consciously pursued, bear comparison with contemporary critiques of the mainstream canon in literature

⁴² See Marc Bassin, esp. "Russian between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geography," *Slavic Review* 50 (1991): 1–17; and *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865* (Cambridge, 1999). Also Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, 1997). And, more recently, the discussion of Orientalism and Russia in *Kritika* (Fall 2000) by Adeeb Khalid, Nathaniel Knight, and Maria Todorova, where, once again, the issues are posed as the distinctiveness or universalism of Russian history.

⁴³ Jacques Rupnik, "Central Europe or Mitteleuropa?" in Stephen Graubard, ed., *Eastern Europe . . . Central Europe . . . Europe* (Boulder, Colo., 1991). The title of the volume and article convey the search for new organizing principles and boundaries. See also Iver B. Neumann, "Russia as Central Europe's Constituting Other," *East European Politics and Societies* 7, no. 2 (1993): 349–69.

⁴⁴ In the field of comparative literature, Marko Pawlyshyn was among the pioneers in characterizing post-Soviet Ukrainian literature as postcolonial; see "Postcoloniality and Ukrainian Literature," *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 6, no. 2 (1992). For a more complete statement of this position, see Myroslav Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times* (Montreal, 2001).

⁴⁵ Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). Spivak is my main "native informant" for postcolonial studies and commented on earlier drafts of this essay. Spivak describes her spirit of deconstructive reading as "unaccusing, unexcusing, attentive, situationally productive through dismantling" (81) and one that results in a rigorous critique of institutions and ideas. Elsewhere, she describes the challenge of deconstruction as "not to excuse, but to suspend accusation to examine with painstaking care if the protocols of the text contain a moment that can produce something that will generate a new and useful reading" (98).

⁴⁶ Among historians, those who work on Muslims, Central Asia, or the Caucasus come closest to a self-consciously postcolonial approach; see *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917*, Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1997), esp. the contributions of Lazzerini and Adeeb Khalid.

departments. Another important intellectual collaborator for historians in these new agendas has been social and cultural anthropology, which has been suffering its own disciplinary crisis of identity for several decades—a crisis at least partly rooted in the fraught origins of modern, academic anthropology in the service of Empire and Nation but also in the epistemological dilemmas of gaining and transmitting knowledge about societies presumed to be significantly different from our own experience.⁴⁷ What unites these new approaches in history, anthropology, and cultural studies is a heightened sensitivity to the complicity of scholars in the making of empires and nations, whether they are citizens of Russia, Ukraine, Germany, or the United States. This ethical dimension acknowledges the brutality and inequalities in power and wealth that were present from the start as the darker sides of the European projects of exploration, discovery, and Enlightenment.

In this spirit, Eurasia serves as a displacement—or deflection—of the question of whether Russia belongs to Europe or Asia. This sort of “normalization” of Russian and East European history has become possible in part because of the parallel conceptual “de-normalization” of European history that has occurred in the meantime, whether thanks to postcolonial critiques, deconstructionism, European integration, or any number of other causes. Michael Geyer, for example, has made a powerful argument for transferring Europe “from a universal state of mind to a regional condition of power.”⁴⁸ In any event, it is clear, when Eric Hobsbawm titles his history of twentieth-century Europe *The Age of Extremes* while a representative of a younger generation, Mark Mazower, paints with even more ominous tones the *Dark Continent*, that Europe is no longer the Europe of uncritically triumphant Enlightenment values and the virtues of the nation-state, against which a conflicted Russia could never adequately measure up.⁴⁹ One of the other originary texts in the tradition of totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt’s *Totalitar-*

⁴⁷ Not surprisingly, perhaps, empire and colonialism is an important focus of much contemporary anthropological research. See Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992). As one sign of the intellectual affinities in Russian and Soviet history, see the case of Paul Werth, a historian also trained (at University of Michigan) as an anthropologist; Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance, and Confessional Politics in Russia’s Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002).

⁴⁸ Michael Geyer, “Historical Fictions of Autonomy and the Europeanization of National History,” *Central European History* 22 (1989): 16–43. In a similar vein, at a 1982 conference in Essex on Europe and its Others, Spivak proposed an alternative title, “Europe as an Other” (which was rejected, according to Spivak, because it was still premature at that time), by which she meant to focus on “how Europe had consolidated itself as sovereign subject by defining its colonies as ‘others,’ even as it constituted them, for purposes of administration and the expansion of markets, into programmed near-images of that very sovereign self . . . That would indeed be a disavowal of a trace of that other, ‘Europe’ by vague proper name, in our own hybrid history—a Europe that is today called upon to acknowledge its own hybrid past” (*Critique*, 199). By 2000, however, Spivak’s arguments had won some adherents; see *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, Bo Stråth, ed. (Brussels, 2000).

⁴⁹ E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York, 1994); and Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999). Among the younger historians of Russia/Soviet Union who share Mazower’s more critical understanding of the legacies of modern Europe is Peter Holquist, a founding co-editor of *Kritika*. See Holquist, “‘Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work’: Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context,” *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 415–50. Mazower in turn acknowledges the influence of the ideas of Stephen Kotkin, whose history of the Stalinist showcase city Magnitogorsk also places the Soviet experience of modernity in European context. See Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); and “1991 and the Russian Revolution: Sources, Conceptual Categories, Analytical Frameworks,” *Journal of Modern History* 70 (June 1998): 384–425.

ianism, saw the problem of modern dictatorship not as one of East versus West but as one with firm origins in the colonial practices of the British and other European empires, as well as in European antisemitism.⁵⁰

European—and even American—history is becoming more international in its awareness of its past and present ties to diasporas, colonies, empires, allies, and trading partners. Asia, in turn, has become a more blurred, variegated, and dynamic idea in the modern world. (And, the world historians would remind us, this was true in earlier periods as well.) The histories of Japan, China, Turkey, and a host of non-European economic, political, and cultural powers suggest alternate, multiple paths to modernity or modernities. In this sense, the anti-paradigm of Eurasia can serve to remind Europe (and Asia) of its colonial pasts and legacies, among which the Russian/Soviet variant can no longer be seen as so peculiar or unique, but neither does the Russian/Soviet historical path lead inexorably to the telos of NATO-OECD.

To return once again to the ambiguous place that Russian history occupied in American university departments and the related sense of “weak” nationhood in Russian history, the Eurasia anti-paradigm highlights the sensibilities of historians who have undergone a disenchantment with the nation, both as a political project in the past and as an organizing principle for academic departments of history and knowledge in the present.⁵¹ The exceptionalist ideologies that have generally lurked behind national histories (and area studies) are now more transparently exposed and critically examined in the new divisions of labor that are emerging in university history departments and allied social-science and humanities disciplines. As part of its implicit challenge to the nation-state and its fixed boundaries as the primary organizing principle of historical research, the Eurasia anti-paradigm privileges comparative and interactive histories of peoples, ideas, and goods. Our concept of Eurasia thereby repudiates the Eurasianists’ faith in the Russian Empire’s self-sufficiency, its “exceptional path,” and their understanding of Eurasia as a closed system of interrelationships. Still, the Eurasia anti-paradigm does not deny the power of the nation-state or the influence of nationalism in history, but neither does it automatically privilege those phenomena as causal explanations for all historical questions across all periods.

Eurasia also appears to acknowledge the territorial preoccupations of historians. The spatial dimensions of the emerging Eurasian anti-paradigm have their origins in the post-Soviet geopolitical system, but they are not limited to those borders, and they are not to be identified exclusively with either the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union. The chronological dimension of Eurasia is less clearly demarcated than it was for the Russia/Orient or Soviet Union/modernization paradigms or, for that matter, for the spatial dimension I just described. The fact that Eurasia is not identified with a previous state formation allows the new generation of historians remarkably greater freedom to range across previous temporal boundaries, whether 1917, 1989, or 1861, and even to reach back to the

⁵⁰ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951).

⁵¹ For a representative statement of this perspective, see Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, “Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation,” in Eley and Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, 1996), 3–37; and Suny and Michael D. Kennedy, eds., *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1999), introduction.

relatively neglected eighteenth century and the early modern and medieval periods. The research questions—increasingly ones with comparativist ambitions—are allowed to frame the historical period that the scholar demarcates for study, in contrast to an earlier generation's segregation into Soviet and imperial specialists. Lurking not too far below this chronological promiscuity lies a serious challenge to the sacred divisions of history departments (and allied humanities and social sciences) into pre-modern, early modern, modern, and, now, postmodern. It throws down a gauntlet to presentist social scientists who operate within a narrowly contemporary set of cases. Some of the most interesting work in world and global history is similarly challenging the once-rigid boundaries separating early modern/modern and medieval/modern periodizations of historical narratives.⁵² The historians associated with this set of questions clearly seek to contribute to a new world history for a global age, or to add to, in the words of Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "a braid of intertwined histories" for a globe that is at once increasingly integrating and simultaneously proliferating differences, "because, in a global age, the world's pasts are all simultaneously present, colliding, interacting, intermixing—producing a collage of present histories that is surely not this history of a homogeneous global civilization."⁵³

WHAT FOLLOWS CAN ONLY BE A VERY CURSORY SURVEY of some of the important work that is helping give content to the Eurasia anti-paradigm. Its genuinely international scope ought to bolster the case that this is not an isolated American or West European phenomenon. A manifesto of sorts has been the synthetic work of Professor Andreas Kappeler in *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, the first survey to place at the center of its attention the "imperial" character of the Russian Empire, above all, its multinational subject populations. His aims are "to place the problems of nationality and the disintegration of the Soviet Union into a larger historical context," "to broaden our view of the history of Russia, which is widely construed as Russian national history," and to make a "contribution to a general history of multiethnic empires, which have been neglected by the kind of historiography that takes its bearings from the nation state." His account is indeed comparative and international; he reminds us that the disintegration of the Soviet Union "forms part of the universal process of the dissolution and dismemberment of multiethnic empires and the rise of nation states."⁵⁴

⁵² See the *AHR Forum* with Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," *AHR* 101 (June 1996): 749–70; and Patrick Manning, "The Problem of Interactions in World History," 771–82; Jack Goldstone, "The Problem of the 'Early Modern' World," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 3 (1998): 249–84. See also the collection of essays treating the early modern period, particularly the contributions by editor Victor Lieberman and by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, in Lieberman, ed., *Beyond Binary Histories: Re-imagining Eurasia to c. 1830* (Ann Arbor, 1999).

⁵³ Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "World History in a Global Age," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1034–60, see 1038, 1042.

⁵⁴ Swiss-born, German-socialized, and currently Vienna-based, Kappeler is a historian with works on early modern and modern Russia, its Muslims, and now important contributions on Ukraine to his considerable credit. This work first appeared in German as *Russland als Vielvoelkerreich: Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall* (Munich, 1992); then in Russian, French, and now an English-language translation, by Alfred Clayton, 2001. My quotations are from the Clayton translation, 1–3. Kappeler, it is important

Whereas Kappeler succeeded in decentering (away from the imperial capitals of Moscow and St. Petersburg) and “de-russifying” (with more attention to the non-Russian peoples) Russian history in his synthetic account, a distinguished British historian, Geoffrey Hosking, has returned our attention to the Russian majority and questions of empire, state, and nation in *Russia: People and Empire, 1552–1917*.⁵⁵ Hosking has chosen to focus on the Russians in the empire but nonetheless sets that focus in context by devoting considerable attention to the non-Russian populations as well. In some measure, he has reversed the priorities of Kappeler, yet he shares Kappeler’s sensitivity to the need to interrogate the concepts of Russia, Russians, and “Russianness” throughout.

In post-Soviet Eastern Europe, the literature on nationalism and nation-building has also begun to make its impact and be tested against local material. In the field of Ukrainian history, one of the most exciting scholars whose work shares features with the Eurasian anti-paradigm is Yaroslav Hrytsak. His survey of modern Ukrainian history⁵⁶ rethinks that history from comparative and multi-ethnic perspectives; his narrative crosses borders and critically engages the multiple historiographical claims on Ukraine’s past, including those important voices from the European and North American diasporas, in a refreshingly cosmopolitan vision of Ukraine in the modern world. Alexei Miller, a Russian colleague of Hrytsak’s at the Central European University in Budapest, has written about comparative empire and nationality policy in Austria-Hungary but also about Ukrainian policy in the Russian Empire, in an archivally based study.⁵⁷ Leonid Gorizontov, from an earlier work on Poles in Russia and Russia in Poland, has now turned to “Russianness” and its historic constructions and reconstructions.⁵⁸ In all this work, empire and nation are constantly scrutinized for their effects on one another and for the subjects who lived under their sway. In a related development, it has become commonplace for historians of the Soviet Union to explore its “imperial” aspects in the wake of the resurgence of interest in the pre-1917 multinational dynastic state and a growing acknowledgement of greater continuities across 1917 than were previously perceived. Ronald Grigor Suny, one of the pioneers of the study of ethnic politics in the revolution, is a good example of a scholar who avoided referring to the Soviet Union as empire until recently.⁵⁹ For historians to the

to note, does not find the Eurasia anti-paradigm entirely acceptable to characterize his own work, although he acknowledges the important early influence of George Vernadsky’s understanding of Russian history on his own. As a historian of Muscovy’s conquest of the Kazan’ khanate, Kappeler embraces medieval, early modern, and modern history.

⁵⁵ Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire, 1552–1917* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997). On Russian nationalism, see also Andreas Renner, *Russischer Nationalismus und Öffentlichkeit im Zarenreich 1855–1875* (Cologne, 2000).

⁵⁶ Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Narys istorii Ukrainy: Formuvannia modernoi ukrans’koi natsii XIX–XX stolittia* (Kyiv, 1996).

⁵⁷ A. I. Miller and T. M. Islamov, eds., *Avstro-Vengriia: Opyt mnogonatsional’nogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1995); Miller, “Ukrainskii vopros” v politike vlastei i russkom obshchestvennom mnenii (vtoraia polovina XIX v.) (St. Petersburg, 2000).

⁵⁸ L. E. Gorizontov, *Paradoksy imperskoi politiki: Poliaki v Rossii i russkie v Pol’she* (Moscow, 1999).

⁵⁹ See Ronald Grigor Suny, “The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, ‘National’ Identity, and Theories of Empire,” in Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford, 2001); see also Martin’s own treatment of Soviet nationality policy

reshaping of boundaries and societies through invasions, occupations, evacuations, mobilizations, and mass loss of life.⁶⁵ The revitalization of military history and the study of wars and their social, economic, and cultural consequences have also been important components of the critical studies of the modern welfare state in the twentieth century. The three major conventional wars that Russia/the Soviet Union fought in that century, the Russo-Japanese, World War I, and World War II, have brought Russian historians together with their European (East and West), Japanese, and North American counterparts in several seminars and conferences.⁶⁶ Even more distant wars (Napoleonic, Caucasian, Crimean, Russo-Turkish) are garnering new scholarly attention, not least because of the ongoing Chechen war and other Caucasian and Central Asian combat.⁶⁷ The Cold War History Project is another example of the internationalizing of the study and writing of history, and another beneficiary of the enhanced access to archives in Russia and even more so in Eastern Europe and elsewhere.⁶⁸

If the literature exploring the complex and often contradictory relations among empire, nation, and state power in Eurasia has matured sufficiently quickly to begin to frame new debates among historians, the scholarship that treats the other two parts of our triad, namely, borderlands and diasporas, is not far behind. Several senior scholars have made important programmatic interventions that are illustrated with their own and younger colleagues' archival research. The most ambitious attempt to revise the notion of Eurasia, at least Inner Eurasia, from a perspective shaped by some of the tenets of geopolitics, is that of David Christian, who asserts that "the political history of Inner Eurasia shaped the rhythms not just of Inner Eurasia but of the entire Eurasian world-system." He reminds his readers that the Mongol empire remains the largest land empire known to mankind, and that historians are remarkably ignorant about its sources of stability and power. Christian, by way of definition of Inner Eurasia, includes the lands ruled by the Soviet Union in 1990, plus Mongolia and with some qualifications Xinjiang. His is an approach that emphasizes ecology, demography, and interchanges. "If the history of the Eurasian landmass has coherence, it arises because genes, commod-

⁶⁵ Among the many recent examples of this new kind of scholarship are Peter Gatrell's study of refugees during World War I, *A Whole Empire Walking* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999); Irina Bakhturina's study of Russian occupation policy in Galicia during World War I, *Politika Rossii v Vostochnoi Galitsii v gody Pervoi mirovoi voyny* (Moscow, 2000); Irina Novikova's study of German-Russian rivalry over Finland, "Finskaia karta" v nemetskom pas'ianse: *Germaniia i problema nezavisimosti Finliandii v gody Pervoi mirovoi voyny* (St. Petersburg, 2002); Norman Naimark's study of Soviet occupation policy in eastern Germany, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Peter Holquist, *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of Crisis, 1914–1921* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); Joshua A. Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905–1925* (DeKalb, Ill., 2003); Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan* (DeKalb, 2001).

⁶⁶ Whereas the Civil War and World War II (in its guise as the Great Patriotic War) had been major subfields in Soviet historical writing, World War I had been consigned to virtual oblivion until recently. See *Rossia i pervaiia mirovaia voina*, Nikolai Smirnov, ed. (St. Petersburg, 1999), proceedings of an international conference convened in St. Petersburg.

⁶⁷ For a sampling of some of the latest scholarship, see the renamed *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* (formerly *Journal of Soviet Military Studies*), the Soviet, then Russian, journal *Voenna-istoricheskii zhurnal*, and a couple newer entries into the field, *Voennye arkhivy Rossii* (since 1993) and *Rodina*.

⁶⁸ See the *Journal of Cold War Studies* and *The Cold War History Project Bulletin*.

ities, ideas, and diseases have all traveled through the Inner Eurasian borderlands.” But he concludes that the twentieth century might spell the end of Inner Eurasia as a distinctive unit of world history because of the technological changes that have “erased the ecological differences between Inner and Outer Eurasia.”⁶⁹

Alfred J. Rieber, in contrast to Christian, argues against the geopolitical ideas of both the German school and its Anglo-American protagonists but seeks to “identify those persistent conditions specific to the Russian context that have over long periods of time confronted the ruling elites and the mass of the population with both a range of possibilities and a set of constraints in their dealings with other states and peoples.” Besides the more generally expected explanation of economic backwardness, Rieber adds Russia’s multicultural society, cultural marginalism, and permeable frontiers. Especially the last feature leads Rieber to develop the concept of the frontier zones first identified by Owen Lattimore.⁷⁰ In a subsequent essay, Rieber suggests that most of the major continental conflicts of recorded history have been fought around these unstable frontier zones.⁷¹ Finally, John LeDonne subtitles his history of the Russian Empire from 1700 to 1917 “the geopolitics of expansion and containment” and acknowledges his debts to Mackinder, Admiral Mahan, Geoffrey Parker’s concept of “core areas,” and Lattimore’s influential paradigm of frontier zones.⁷²

Some of the first signs of this renewed interest in Russia’s “borderlands” came in scholarship about Russia’s “Orient.”⁷³ The “discovery” of Russian and Soviet ethnography also drew attention to Siberia and “inner Russia” and the relationship of the metropolitan centers to the provinces and regions.⁷⁴ These are narratives of the centers’ relations with their variegated borderlands and frontier zones and, increasingly often, of the impact of those borderlands and frontiers on the centers. The focus of much of this scholarship is on territory and space and their intellectual and material conquest.⁷⁵ By now, there is a rich literature on the “western

⁶⁹ David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, Vol. 1: *Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Oxford, 1998), 182; see also his programmatic articles, “The Case for ‘Big History,’” *Journal of World History* 2, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 223–38; “Inner Eurasia as a Unit of World History,” *Journal of World History* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 173–211.

⁷⁰ Alfred J. Rieber, “Persistent Factors in Russian Foreign Policy: An Interpretive Essay,” in Hugh Ragsdale, ed., *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 1993), 322.

⁷¹ Alfred J. Rieber, “The Comparative Ecology of Complex Frontiers” (unpublished paper, “History of Empires” Moscow conference, see n. 7 above). Rieber’s forthcoming work is “Russia and Its Borderlands: The Cold War as Civil War.”

⁷² John P. LeDonne, *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917: The Geopolitics of Expansion and Containment* (New York, 1997).

⁷³ Daniel Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds., *Russia’s Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997). For more recent work, see Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001); Michael Khordarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca, 1992); and his *Russia’s Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington, 2002); Charles Robert Steinwedel, “Invisible Threads of Empire: State, Religion, and Ethnicity in Tsarist Bashkiria, 1773–1917” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1999); and Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy*.

⁷⁴ Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); Francine Hirsch, “Empire of Nations: Colonial Technologies and the Making of the Soviet Union, 1917–1939” (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1998).

⁷⁵ See a collection of essays by Russian historians that place space and region at the center of their concerns, *Prostranstvo vlasti: Istoricheskii opyt Rossii i vyzovy sovremennosti* (Moscow, 2001). Jane Burbank, Anatolii Remnev, and I are co-editing a similar volume of essays that highlight territory and region, “Geographies of Empire: Ruling Russia, 1700–1930” (submitted for publication).

borderlands" of the empire⁷⁶ as well as its Far East.⁷⁷ There has even been a revival of historical (and contemporary) interest in that quintessential border people, the Cossacks, who fled from imperial centers' efforts to dominate them but continued to present challenges of integration until their ruthless elimination by the Bolsheviks.⁷⁸

Although the Cossacks are not usually perceived as a diaspora, if we expand that definition broadly enough, it can include the millions of people who at any given time are displaced from where the state authorities would like them to be (or they themselves would like them to be). The classic diaspora in Russian and Soviet history remains the Jewish one, whose historians have written some of the most sensitive accounts of multiple, hybrid, and contested identities in multinational empires.⁷⁹ We can add important Armenian and Tatar diasporas, whose members performed commercial services in several empires. The Baltic German nobility also served the empire across its breadth until their loyalty came under question in the early twentieth century. And missionaries have been the subject of several books and volumes.⁸⁰ But these sorts of communities are different from those formed in, say, conditions of wartime evacuation or captivity. Historians are now writing about large groups of people who are precisely not where the state authorities would like them to be: refugees, prisoners of war, enemy aliens.⁸¹ The upshot of much of this research is that the populations of these empires, not only on their borderlands, were far more mobile than the image projected from the imperial capital would have its subjects (and subsequent historians) believe. Once historians have access to local archival materials, instead of having to rely on central bureaucratic documentation, the perspective can often change quite dramatically.

The ultimate challenge to any imperial regime was an opposition diaspora that posed alternatives to the political and intellectual order of the Old Regime, whether Muscovite, imperial, or Soviet. All three major historical regimes devoted

⁷⁶ Edward C. Thaden, *Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710–1870* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Theodore Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914* (DeKalb, Ill., 1996); T. Polvinen, *Imperial Borderland: Bobrikov and the Attempted Russification of Finland* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004). Not all those histories that describe borderlands or frontiers include the word in their titles. See Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven, Conn., 2003). For historians of Poland, the eastern borderlands, or *kresy*, have a venerable and contested historiographical tradition of their own. These historic borderlands are parts of contemporary Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine.

⁷⁷ David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1999); John J. Stephan, *Russian Far East: A History* (Stanford, 1994).

⁷⁸ See Shane O'Rourke, *Warriors and Peasants: The Don Cossacks in Late Imperial Russia* (New York, 2000); on decossackization, see Peter Holquist, "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia," in Suny and Martin, *State of Nations*, 111–44. For an earlier work on the Cossacks, see Robert McNeal, *Tsar and Cossack, 1855–1914* (New York, 1987).

⁷⁹ For an excellent recent revisionist contribution to the history of Russia's Jews, see Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); see also the work of John Doyle Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the 'Jewish Question' in Russia, 1772–1825* (DeKalb, Ill., 1986); and *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855–1881* (Cambridge, 1995); with Shlomo Labroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge, 1992).

⁸⁰ Most recently, *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia*, Robert Geraci and Michael Khodarkovsky, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001).

⁸¹ See Peter Gatrell's *Whole Empire Walking*; Eric Lohr's *Nationalizing the Russian Empire*; Alon Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front* (Oxford, 2002).

considerable (and growing) resources to monitoring their exiled critics; they in turn were part of the conduit of ideas between the empire and the outside world during periods of intense official intolerance of criticism. The point, however, of the diaspora component is to leave open the possibility that several important communities in the multinational empires crossed borders within and outside those empires in a multitude of ways for a variety of motives. This story reinforces the multinational character of the empires that have occupied this part of Eurasia, but it also highlights their historic involvement with other empires and state formations on the territory.

In short, the historiography of the emerging Eurasia anti-paradigm is allowing for the framing of new debates set in longer perspectives on Russian and Soviet history. Many of those debates are happening in three remarkable new journals, *Kritika*, *Ab Imperio*, and *Nationalities Papers*. (A fourth journal to appear since the end of the Soviet Union, *Vestnik Evrazii*, comes closest of the three new journals in the editors' manifesto to the founders of the "classical" Eurasianist movement, featuring articles devoted to their thought and legacies,⁸² whereas *Kritika* and *Ab Imperio* explicitly polemicize with some of the features that the editors of *Vestnik Evrazii* attribute to Eurasia and remind us that Eurasia is a contested space, both geopolitically and terminologically.) *Kritika* is a U.S.-based, English-language international journal that was launched in 2000. It takes for its title a russified version of a Greek root and a subtitle, "Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History," which declares its belonging to this emerging anti-paradigm. By invoking both Russian and Eurasian history, the founding editors also mean to open up a space between those concepts and repudiate their automatic identity.⁸³ *Ab Imperio*, by contrast, a Kazan'-based,⁸⁴ largely Russian-language international journal that takes Latin for its title, "from empire," has a similarly revealing subtitle: "Theory and History of Nationalities and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Realm." The editors have not adopted Eurasia as a formal designation but nonetheless share most of the methodological and intellectual assumptions of the editors of *Kritika*.⁸⁵

⁸² See the first issue of the "independent scholarly journal," *Vestnik Evrazii*, no. 1 (1995), esp. "K chitateliu"; I thank my colleague Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier for bringing this journal to my attention. The journal describes itself as multidisciplinary and multigenre; it has editorial board members from Russia, Kazakhstan, the U.S., and U.K. Despite an insistence that the journal's editors have every intention of restraining authors from a priori apologetics or invective concerning the phenomenon of a Eurasian common space, nonetheless they insist on one essential assumption, that "a historical Eurasia has existed in the past and does exist in the present." The journal's base is the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies (*Vostokovedeniia*).

⁸³ "From the Editors," *Kritika* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 3–4. In their second issue, the co-editors explained their choice of Russian and Eurasian history as the subtitle for their journal; the reasons were many—"geographical, historical, methodological, and political" and called forth by the "flourishing of studies of empire, borderlands, and non-Russians on that space." The politics behind this comes through in the polemical and somewhat defensive stance they take: "In our opinion, one should be wary of blocking the emergence of this new usage of Eurasia merely to appease new nationalisms of the part of the world we study, especially if in transit they are linked to the terminological piety of contemporary political correctness." They acknowledge that the term Eurasian is primarily a project of North American academic circles, *Kritika* 1, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 233–35, but I think it might apply as well to the agendas of *Ab Imperio* at least; and outside of history to the Association for the Study of Nationalities, an interdisciplinary, inter-generational, and international body of scholars and other experts at work on the list of problems discussed above.

⁸⁴ Kazan' is the capital of Tatarstan, one of the eighty-nine republics of the Russian Federation.

⁸⁵ *Ab Imperio* 2 (2000): 7. Their opening credo warns that empire is not meant to be a political

Both journals are committed to internationalization and innovative research, comparative and international history approaches, cross-disciplinary explorations and transcending “‘national’ blinders . . . to bring medieval, early modern, and long-term perspectives into the mainstream of our deliberations, as an antidote to chronological short-sightedness.”⁸⁶

Remarkably quickly, the concept of Eurasia as anti-paradigm has emerged as a genuinely inter-generational set of questionings. Both *Ab Imperio* and *Kritika* were founded by colleagues who are at a career stage roughly equivalent to recently tenured associate professors. Not only do their international editorial boards list middle-level and senior colleagues, but the journals’ issues feature reviews and articles by those colleagues as regularly as they do from younger ones. Another example of both the international and inter-generational characteristics of the new historiographical trends is a recent collection of essays, *The Historiography of Imperial Russia: The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State*.⁸⁷ European, North American (including Canadian), and Russian scholars collaboratively explore the Russian imperial and national historical traditions, the theme of Russia’s separate path (and exceptionalism), the diaspora/émigré contributions to knowledge of the Russian past, as well as Ukrainian and other non-Russian historical visions.⁸⁸ In his concluding essay, the long-time practitioner of “imperial” history, Marc Raeff,⁸⁹ compiles a list of the kinds of history that had been overlooked, suppressed, or otherwise excluded by the workings of the former state-centered (and nation-centered), secular teleological paradigms: sensitivity to the multi-ethnic and multicultural features of the empire, local and regional historical studies, Russia’s history as church and religion, medieval and popular traditional culture, the role of individuals and the vagaries of human behavior, counter-factual and alternative histories.⁹⁰ Much of what Raeff fairly points out has begun to be addressed in new scholarship that I include within the Eurasia anti-paradigm (though Raeff does not use this term and doubts the appropriateness of paradigms in general for historians).

In conclusion, the Eurasia anti-paradigm does not pretend to be a hegemonic new paradigm that excludes the development of other approaches or questions; and, as described above, it leaves out much of what historians of Russia and the Soviet Union are working on and are likely to work on in the future. Moreover, it

slogan (though not all the editors and contributors share the view that Russia can or has to abandon its imperial past); still, “there is little doubt that the Russian empire and its complex continuity with the Soviet Union are worthy of historical analysis as well as that the imperial tradition plays an important role in Russian history.”

⁸⁶ *Kritika* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 3–4.

⁸⁷ Thomas Sanders, ed., *The Historiography of Imperial Russia: The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State* (Armonk, N.Y., 1999).

⁸⁸ In fact, the collection is remarkable for including four chapters on Ukrainian historiography, three focusing on individual historians (Mykola Kostomarov, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and Volodymyr Antonovych) and one synthetic essay by Zenon Kohut.

⁸⁹ Bakhmeteff Professor Emeritus of Russian studies at Columbia University; see his classic essay, “Patterns of Russian Imperial Policy toward the Nationalities,” in Edward Allworth, ed., *Soviet Nationality Problems* (New York, 1972), 22–42.

⁹⁰ Marc Raeff, “Toward a New Paradigm?” in Sanders, *Historiography of Imperial Russia*, 481–86; note here, too, the postcolonial agenda of excavating alternate histories, often self-conscious “misreadings” of former narratives.

is far too premature to characterize these developments as a paradigm. Nor, once again, is the use of the term Eurasia meant to prejudice any post-Soviet state's chances of entering the European Union, NATO, or, for that matter, Asian organizations, or their conceptual and intellectual equivalents. Rather, it is meant to indicate an opening up of the horizon of historical scholarship to new framings, topics, and dynamics and to "return" the Eurasian space to world history after nearly a century of Cold War isolation. What we used to know as Russian/Soviet history is not only positioning itself anew in the various subfields of academic history writing but posing challenges in the broader historiographical discussions to many of our disciplines' founding principles and methodological assumptions.

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

D. R. WOOLF. *Reading History in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 360. \$69.95.

Much historiographical research has concentrated on historians themselves, analyzing their approaches, sources, and conceptions of the past. D. R. Woolf aims to “combine historiography with the history of books, readers, and libraries” (p. 5). Instead of exploring the historical texts themselves, he investigates the ways and means by which history reached its early modern audience and what use people made of it. The result is an innovative piece of research that draws on both traditional minor disciplines, such as the history of the book, and modern critical approaches such as audience reception studies.

Woolf opens with a chapter on “The Death of the Chronicle,” in which he casts doubt on the customary explanation for the decline of this historical genre. Rather than attributing the passing of the chronicle to the rise of humanist historical writing, he offers a rather more complex analysis, arguing that the rise of printing soon led to a usurpation of its varied functions by a range of new genres, such as diaries and biographies, newspapers, history plays, ballads, and almanacs, as well as Renaissance political histories. He also reminds us that the chronicle never really died, becoming a historical source to be edited by the end of the sixteenth century.

This chapter is succeeded by the most interesting one in the book: a study of the contexts and purposes of history reading in the early modern period. Woolf reminds us that history books were frequently read aloud, annotated, interleaved with pictures and other material by readers, and perused during eating or drinking, or when recovering from too much eating or drinking (the vignette of the apprentice Roger Lowe reading John Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* after a boozy night out is a memorable one). The image of the Renaissance humanist reader of history gravely digesting his book in search of exemplary and cautionary tales that might shape his political and civic conduct is overturned. Woolf suggests a pattern of far more episodic and frivolous reading, in which the reader

read intermittently and in search of amusing anecdotes and curious facts as much as improvement. In particular, he stresses the increasingly social purposes of historical knowledge through the reading habits of Dudley Ryder, who aimed to pepper his conversations with interesting historical facts in the hope of attracting women.

In chapters three and four, Woolf moves on to consider less interesting but equally important issues: who owned history books, what sort of books were they, and who had access to them in the early modern era? The results are unsurprising in the main. Ownership of history books increased within the predictable clientele of clergy, scholars, the gentry, and professionals over the period, and the percentage of British and European history increased in comparison with classical and religious history. The question of access produces interesting material on advantages and problems of the borrowing and lending of books, and on the growth of “community” libraries, such as borough or parochial libraries.

In chapter five, Woolf considers issues of publication, such as censorship and licensing and publication costs, pricing, and rates. Here he exposes some of the difficulties the determined history book purchaser could face: print runs, which stood at an average of about 1,000 to 1,500 in the early sixteenth century, did not increase until the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, history books became an increasingly large percentage of all books published, and publishers became sensitive to the demand for historical works of all kinds. Chapter six considers the marketing of history books, the rise of advertising, and the use of strategies such as serial publication and publication by subscription.

Some of the potential pitfalls of Woolf’s project are clear—in chapters three through six, for instance, the author runs the risk of presenting a history of the early modern book trade in general, rather than the history book in particular—but he is careful to avoid them. I would like to have seen more exploration of the contemporary political context of history reading—in particular, the impact of the Reformation and the war of the triple kingdoms on the sort of history published and read—and rather less muted consideration of the issues of class and gender (Woolf has, after all, pio-

neered research in this latter area in "A Feminine Past? Gender, Genre and Historical Knowledge in England, 1500–1800," *American Historical Review* 102:3 [June 1997]: 645–79). But these are ungenerous caveats; this is a meticulously researched study in which analysis is ably supported by a range of impressive statistical data and well-chosen (and sometimes entertaining) case studies of individual readers, publishers, and publications.

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J. G. A. Pocock. *Barbarism and Religion*: Volume Three, *The First Decline and Fall*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 527. \$60.00.

In reviewing for this journal the first two volumes of J. G. A. Pocock's *Barbarism and Religion*, the present reviewer observed that there is a symphonic quality to Pocock's writing, as polyphonic lines in the form of concepts are spun out, developed, inverted, and brought into counterpoint with others. This third movement offers a *scherzo* reminiscent of the author's 1975 book, *The Machiavellian Moment*, and it sounds some of the same chords (republicanism, political cycles, civic virtue, arms vs. commerce).

The subtitle of volume three is deceptively simple: it refers to the first (and best-known) volume of Edward Gibbon's masterpiece, which he published in 1776. That book commenced (after a very brief account of the structure of the Augustan principate) with the "Five Good" Antonine emperors from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, and concluded (narratively) with Constantine's defeat of Licinius and restoration of a unified rule—a temporary resolution immediately followed by two chapters on Christianity that seem jarringly out of place, given the fact that Christians are scarcely mentioned through the previous fourteen chapters. Gibbon's readers had to wait until 1781 for the story to pick up again. Exposition of this "first decline and fall" in fact occupies only the last hundred pages of Pocock's volume and therefore serves as both a climax to the Pocockian story so far, and a bridge to the next volume.

Volume one of *Barbarism and Religion* situated Gibbon intellectually within a number of different European "Enlightenments"; volume two located him on a different axis, among the various writers of "narratives of civil government" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (We are still missing the parallel vector running through ecclesiastical historiography, although Eusebius, Augustine, Orosius, and Otto of Freising figure prominently here. Christianity only begins to signal its importance with chapter fifteen of Gibbon; where he used ecclesiastical authorities, up to that point, it was to document civil rather than sacred history.) Volume three moves in a third, diachronic dimension, tracing the transformations of key themes, in particular the idea of "decline and fall" itself, from very ancient origins up to the Scot Adam

Ferguson's *Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (which appeared seven years after Gibbon's first volume and is thus offered for comparison rather than direct influence). The flight of concepts and motifs is dizzying, the lengthy quotations apposite, and as with the previous volumes, one can scarcely miss a sentence without losing a nuance or a parenthetical qualification. The theme of decline and fall, which informs the conception and beginning of Gibbon's book, would eventually yield to "barbarism and religion" as its principal causes in later volumes (along with over-taxation, which Gibbon mentions at the close of chapter fourteen). But behind that idea, which only gradually emerged from Polybian political cycles via medieval notions of the *translatio imperii*, lay much else, including sequential recognitions of crucial turning points in Roman history going back to Gracchan land reforms in the late second century B.C.E.

The core problem, historiographically, remains how to explain why Gibbon, committed from an early stage to a Tacitean narrative, chose to begin his account not with the Julio-Claudians but instead at the "Antonine moment" of imperial zenith achieved by Trajan. (As he once did with *cinquecento* Florence, Pocock inclines to define major turning points or episodes, both historical and intellectual, in terms of "moments"—a historical Constantinean and historiographical Zosiman moment lie ahead, and the Machiavellian version even puts in a cameo appearance when this volume reaches the early eighteenth century.) Gibbon knew intimately the character of Augustan rule and the flaws of the late republic; he had read his Sallust as well as Tacitus. The later imperial historians, especially Appian of Alexandria and Ammianus Marcellinus, also figure in this account as historians of decline, but of a decline that takes a great deal of time—all the way to the "Illyrian" recovery of the late third century—really to become unmistakable.

The subjects confronted by Gibbon's nearly two millennia of predecessors include the military problem of restless troops settling in an empire that has conquered all its rivals and closed itself off from further expansion; the civic conflict between virtue and corruption (or rather, the way in which virtue leads to military conquest and empire, which in turn produce an oriental softness); the role of the soldiers in making emperors and especially the legions' realization, in the Year of Four Emperors (68/69 C.E.), that emperors could be made "elsewhere than Rome"; the place of the Augustinian-Orosian "two cities" view of history; the vicissitudes in republicanism (an issue revived in the fifteenth century by Leonardi Bruni, who as a non-Roman concerned mainly with Florence was able to see the empire's *longue durée* for the first time as *declinatio* rather than *translatio* and to initiate, though not complete, a gradual transition in historiography from the latter to the former); and the extension of citizenship to the provinces, along, soon, with the capacity of provincials to be proclaimed emperor. All of these streams converge, not entirely satisfactorily

from either Gibbon's or Pocock's point of view, in the making of the first volume of the *Decline and Fall*.

In Pocock's summary of Gibbon, the Augustan principate was a system that bumped along for a quarter millennium until, following fifty years of military anarchy, the Illyrian Diocletian divided the empire into two halves ruled by two senior and two junior emperors. Diocletian himself abandoned any remaining pretence that the emperor was merely *princeps* and *imperator*, openly assuming virtually an Asiatic despotism, styled *dominus* and secluded from public access. This set the stage for the establishment of an entirely new kind of regime under Constantine in the next generation. The very resilience of the Augustan-Antonine system up to that point posed narrative and explanatory challenges for Gibbon in itself, since it occurred despite runs of weak emperors, intermittent monsters (Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla), the progressive emasculation of the senate (effectively completed by Septimius Severus early in the third century), and the growing independence of the military. Gibbon's flowing *récit* is bracketed by *peintures* (the gallicisms are Pocock's) of Antonine civilization at the start and of Christianity in chapter fifteen. In between the beginning and end of his volume, Gibbon appears to have realized that he had, in a way, painted himself into a corner, given that he had over a thousand years still to narrate, and a radical shift in priorities and design proved necessary. Future volumes of the *Decline and Fall* would give both the foreign tribes and the Christians much greater prominence, and before the last volume's conclusion, a Tacitean account of the decline and fall of western antiquity would evolve into an "enlightened narrative" of the triumph of barbarism and religion, recovery from which had only really begun in Gibbon's own age of civility.

This volume is every bit as persuasive as its predecessors and, perhaps because it is as much *récit* as the others were *peintures*, it is also rather more compelling a read. More than the first two volumes of his work, volume three of *Barbarism and Religion* leaves one hanging; like Gibbon and his first readers, we are only at the Milvian Bridge, pondering what will follow with Constantine. One hopes that, unlike those readers, we will not have to wait five years for the next episode.

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LAWRENCE W. MCBRIDE, editor. *Reading Irish Histories: Texts, Contexts, and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2003. Pp. 233. \$55.00.

The final essay of this collection closes with the following sentiment from Sean Farrell Moran: "Like Socrates and Plato who stood firmly against the influence of myth in Athenian democracy, academic historians will step in to attempt to correct the misconceptions of Irish citizens" (p. 218). In the previous essay, one such "academic historian," Ben Novick, stepped

into the breach in the following fashion: "Writing, as discussed throughout this book, is a primary means of disseminating information" (p. 211). Socrates and Plato have indeed met their match.

It is perhaps unfortunate that this collection, edited by Lawrence W. McBride, closes with one of the most arrogant pieces of scholarship that I have ever had the displeasure of reading. The conceit of the comparison quoted above, and the condescension of statements such as "Perhaps we should pity the peasants. They made the mistake of remembering their past incorrectly" and "The common Irish man and woman must then be re-educated about Ireland's past and abandon their memories" (p. 218), make it difficult to commend the essay as a fine conclusion to an exceptional book. One can only hope that Moran is trying to be ironic. But it would be unfair to condemn this book on the basis of one author's misguided faith in the powers of the "academic historian." Indeed, the book, although most worthy at times, has enough problems without that. The intention of the collection is clearly established in the editor's preface: to "examine how a variety of historical narratives were delivered through the written word, but with special attention paid to how readers might have reacted to these texts" (p. 13). The difficulty is that the reader is the one consistent absentee from the essays that follow. From Paul Townend's chapter on the reading rooms of the national movements of the late nineteenth century to Novick's chapter on the newspaper of the Irish Volunteers, the reader is little more than a shadowy figure. Even the most basic details are ignored; there is no attempt to estimate circulation figures for books or newspapers. Anne Kane's attempts at "reconstructing" (p. 46) what a newspaper reader during the land war might have felt amounts to little more than an essay in speculative sociology. Paul Ricoeur and Clifford Geertz seem to get more attention than the actual people who "may have" (p. 46) and "could well have" (p. 56) responded to the newspapers examined. It also seems unlikely that any farmer facing eviction could have conceived of the land war as a "ritual process" (p. 45).

But Kane's essay is not the only one at fault in this fashion. The extent of the readers' absence almost begs one to question why the editor made such a particular point of drawing "special attention" to the reader at all. This is not a fault particular to this book or to these essays. Beyond specific accounts by a reader reacting to a text, which in turn have all the inherent linguistic and interpretative pitfalls of any other text, there are very few ways to interpret the readers' response to any type of narrative. Timothy McMahon is one of the few authors in this collection who actually quotes from the men and women who attended the Gaelic Summer Colleges that he examines. His essay is one of the collection's most valuable as a result. Colin Barr's piece on university education, again valuable in its factual content, has nothing to say about the students or how the changes in the universities effected them

and their learning. The academic career of one Galway student, H. Fitzwalter Kirker, is traced in its entirety, but only in a footnote. The reader gets at least something approximating a lifeline in the piece by McBride on the young reader and the teaching and learning of Irish history. That "young people are by nature curious" (p. 114), however, seems an inadequate point on which to hang a conclusion.

The book is at its strongest in the essays by José Laners and Gregory Castle, which focus on the work of T. W. Rolleston and Standish O'Grady, respectively. Both historians are examined in the context of their contemporaries; both essays actually attempt to fulfill the claims they make for themselves in their opening pages. The same cannot be said, however, for Eileen Reilly's piece on J. A. Froude. Its bland rehearsal of his life is punctuated with references to his visits to Ireland and quotations from some of his more offensive diatribes on the Irish people. She offers little or no comment on the bigotry that billowed forth from his pen. For example, one is told of Froude's dislike for Daniel O'Connell but not the reason why.

Novick's piece on the military education of the Irish Volunteers begins with an interesting description, but it is rather disappointing thereafter. Although the material is fascinating, the author's conclusions are not. At one point, he deduces that "The pattern of military education seen in the *Irish Volunteer* and the *Workers' Republic* lends weight to the idea of the Rising as blood sacrifice, since the key strategist, Joseph Plunkett, never wrote military columns for the *Irish Volunteer*" (p. 198). At no point does it occur to Novick that the rebels might not have printed their plans in the paper because letting the authorities in Dublin Castle know in advance was not really part of the plan. How useful, indeed, is an examination of the *Irish Volunteer's* role in the training of the rebels when even the author concedes that details of training on urban insurrection were "left to the writers of the *Workers' Republic*" (p. 210); when the author gives approximately nine lines of consideration to what he adjudges to be the more important source? Throughout there is little sense of the eye of Dublin Castle watching over what was published and curtailing what could be written.

This is a worthy but a frustrating book. There is a lot of value in each essay in terms of the material that is brought to light, but there is also the crushing weight of the artificial framework under which the essays are forced to labor. Like Froude, it is perhaps this book's "portion in life to please no one faction" (p. 140).

ANNE DOLAN
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COLIN NEWBURY. *Patrons, Clients, and Empire: Chieftaincy and Over-Rule in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 328. \$72.00.

It is a brave historian nowadays who admits that his or her current academic preoccupations began in the 1950s, but an unrepentant Colin Newbury tells us that imperial history at Oxford University is peculiarly marked by continuity. He says that literary theory has dominated the study of discourse for too long (although presumably not at Oxford), and it is time to get back to the study of political discourse using the time-honored model of patron-client relations.

Drawing on his extensive knowledge of African and Pacific imperial history, with the addition of material on South and Southeast Asia, Newbury presents a well researched and cogently argued case for the persistence of precolonial clientage networks in certain British and French colonies. Patron-client modeling was refined by social scientists in the 1960s and 1970s, when it became a useful way of explaining why independence had brought relatively little change to the administrative systems of former colonies. That political and economic relations in some colonies can be analyzed effectively using this theory is clear; whether the exercise speaks to wider debates about empire is another question. The omission of colonies of settlement, along with almost all of the Portuguese, Dutch, and German empires, weakens the case considerably.

Newbury draws on a wide, although extremely selective, range of secondary literature to supplement his own research, wisely conceding that authors may not like the use he makes of their material. He feels no need to address the epistemological and methodological concerns raised by authors whose work he mines for empirical detail. He excludes pioneering cross-disciplinary studies, such as Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (1991) and Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (1994), which have done so much to shape current debates in postcolonial anthropology. Newbury calls for more interaction between social scientists and historians, but he does surprisingly little to encourage it. If patron-client brokerage really is the best model, Newbury should be able to tackle other theories with confidence, demonstrating their inadequacies through constructive engagement. Instead he revives battles won long ago, such as the critique of "collaboration" and "indirect rule" analysis. There are still some historians who work with these terms, but far more interesting is the much larger number of scholars tackling more recent debates.

This book's contribution to imperial historiography is therefore difficult to assess. Newbury hopes that it will help to determine whether imperial rule succeeded or failed "in 'preparing' [its colonies] for the exigencies and responsibilities of devolved government" (p. viii). One wonders whether this is still a pressing question, however. It has been a long time since independence for many of the countries Newbury discusses. Scholars posing broader questions about colonialism's legacy will wonder about the cost of Newbury's ruthlessly exclusive approach. While discussing the influence of indigenous networks, Newbury

invokes a public school metaphor to call for a better understanding of “the influence of the ‘fags’ on the ‘prefects’” (p. 15). This revealing statement cries out for deconstruction. We do indeed need to know more about the influences of class and gender on the administration of empire, especially with regard to the public schools that did so much to shape British imperial administration—and its historians. Unfortunately we will not learn about them here.

Newbury’s empires are pragmatic, needing little use of military force because they were so useful and profitable to indigenous networks. Imperial administrators accommodated indigenous modes because this was the best way to collect the taxes. This picture of sensible chaps working to mutual advantage was occasionally marred by violence as the inversion of patron-power struck home. Newbury wants us to keep our eye on the longevity of the structures, however. In Hawai’i, for example, a catastrophic indigenous population decline enabled the confiscation of land by American sugar planters. “But then Hawai’i’s aristocracy never had been generous towards commoners . . . The new *haole* aristocracy was not so different in its commercial endogamy from the old *ali’i* caste” (p. 214). This interpretation is convincing only if commercial endogamy is the whole story, erasing, for example, the question of race. The new aristocracy was mainly European, not Hawai’ian, and its new Chinese and Filipino clients were imported to replace a vanished indigenous labor force. However exploitative the old *ali’i* rulers had been before the Europeans came, they had not presided over the near-extinction of their own people or the dispossession of their own land. Is modern imperialism really just business as usual?

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DAVID W. NOBLE. *The Death of the Nation: American Culture and the End of Exceptionalism*. Foreword by GEORGE LIPSITZ. (Critical American Studies.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2002. Pp. xlvii, 352. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$19.95.

David W. Noble draws on Thomas Kuhn’s notion of “paradigm shifts” to explain the decisive changes in the orientation of the field of American Studies that have taken place over the past seventy years. Kuhn argued that a paradigm shift occurs when the anomalies that cluster around a dominant paradigm result in contradictions that require the construction of an alternative paradigm. The interpretive community that emerges in the wake of the new paradigm is composed of members who define problems according to hypotheses designed to resolve the impasses effected by the preceding paradigm. According to Noble, from the time of its founding in the 1930s, American Studies underwent three major transformations in the conceptual models coordinating the direction of scholarship in the field.

Noble argues the first of these paradigm shifts

transpired in the 1940s when counterprogressive historians and critics overthrew the cultural hegemony of the perspectives fashioned by the progressive historians Charles Beard and Vernon Louis Parrington. Beard and Parrington fashioned this hegemony through their retrieval of a pre-existing structural distinction between virtuous space and corrupt time that permitted them to correlate the United States’ republican virtue with the national landscape and the United States’ imperial ambitions with the nation’s emulation of corrupt European traditions. But whereas these progressive historians were isolationists who deployed republican theory to criticize capitalism, Richard Hofstadter and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., represented the counterprogressive school of historians who emerged in the wake of World War II to advocate a version of international capitalism that repudiated the vision of the United States as a particular expression of timeless natural laws.

In Noble’s estimation, World War II constituted a decisive moment of historical transformation in which bourgeois elites of the Atlantic nations rejected most elements of the bourgeois nationalism underwriting Beard’s and Parrington’s accounts—the national landscape and the nation’s people—and embraced a culture of international capitalism. Whereas Beard and Parrington underscored the conflicts between the market demands of international capitalism and the core democratic values upon which the United States was founded, in the aftermath of World War II, counterprogressive historians like Schlesinger and Hofstadter came to think of equality and fraternity as threats to market freedoms.

Throughout his account of the transformation in American historians, Noble focuses on the definitions of space—both geographical and cultural—used by American historians from the 1930s onward to explain how the conversion that took place in the 1940s was related to the defeat of both bourgeois nationalism and Marxism by the new culture of international capitalism. Noble claims that scholars in American literature who lived through World War II underwent an even more profound questioning of the beliefs that had buttressed their scholarship than had American historians. Perry Miller and F. O. Matthiessen were representative of this more pervasive crisis, Noble observes, in that both scholars had lost faith in the possibility of anything but the triumph of the international marketplace over the United States as the embodiment of nature’s higher laws. But after representing this shift in historical attitude, Noble enters the paradigm drama that he had previously described.

The dramatis persona Noble fashions for himself overlaps in its chronology with the 1950s scholars in the so-called “myth/symbol” school of American Studies, but his political commitments coincided with the vanguard Americanists of the 1990s. Situating the beginnings of his own remarkable career within the contours of the monumental shift in the paradigmatic representations of American literature and American

history, Noble takes pains to explain why he could not embrace the scholarly presuppositions of the members of the myth/symbol school of American Studies who were his contemporaries. Noble's account of the change in the scholarly stance of Parrington's and Matthiessen's disciples Henry Nash Smith and Leo Marx is remarkable for the pathos evident in his characterization of the profound losses that took place at this moment of transition. In Noble's opinion, Smith and Marx knew that Miller and Matthiessen had lost faith in the progressive values of American culture, and the myth/symbol school originated out of Smith's and Marx's desire to enshrine the values in which their mentors had believed within a timeless realm kept apart from the incursions of the marketplace.

When they idealized the United States as an exceptional nation, myth/symbol scholars drew on the foundational assumptions concerning the national anthropology that distinguished "authentic rational cultures" from "inauthentic irrational cultures." But by idealizing the national culture as authentic, myth/symbol studies scholars dismissed as inauthentic all of the cultures that had not sprung from the national landscape. The members of the myth/symbol school also constructed literary canons that supposedly represented the purity of the national identity but that in fact justified the exclusion of Anglo-Protestant women from the precincts of authentic national culture as well as American Indians, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Catholic and Jewish Americans.

Following his exposition of the limitations in the myth/symbol school paradigm, Noble identifies his lifelong scholarly project with the questions that their graduate students addressed to the exponents of the myth/symbol school. These disenchanted successors desacralized the myths of the United States as a virgin land and the national history as a providential errand into the wilderness. They also fostered a new paradigm that Noble calls "postnational" American Studies and that his book aspires to authorize as the dominant disciplinary perspective in the present configuration of the field.

As Noble explains it, "postnational" Americanist scholarship replaces the state of nature anthropology with a cultural constructivist model that undermines the aesthetic authority of the national landscape and subverts the literary canon as an instrument of Americanization. The new paradigm emerged from interventions of feminist and gay and lesbian scholars, as well as students of the black Atlantic and members of Latin American subaltern studies groups who wrote out of a powerful sense of the relationship between their academic projects and their involvement in international and transnational movements.

Throughout this lucid and broad-gauged account, Noble writes from the position of a cultural critic who has grasped the core assumptions and values of the driving paradigms of the American Studies movement; he also writes as a scholar for whom these paradigms matter personally as well as professionally. "Perhaps,

then, we can finally free ourselves from those metaphors that encourage us to flee the timeful complexity of a locality to find liberty in the timeless abstractions of the marketplace. Perhaps, then, we will be able to construct metaphors that will allow us to live at home in the circle of the earth" (p. 301).

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CHARLES TILLY. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. (Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 276. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.00.

In this ambitious new work, Charles Tilly seeks to account for significant variations in the quantity, character, and intensity of collective violence across time, place, and social setting. He also proposes answers to some important real-world puzzles. Why do people who have lived in relative peace for years suddenly start to kill each other? Why do certain kinds of political regime appear to host different levels and forms of collective violence? Building on his own and other scholars' work on large-scale social change, "contentious politics," and "social inequality," Tilly sets out to address these questions by proposing an unusual two-dimensional typology of collective violence. The key variables in this typology are the "salience" of violence in the overall interaction among contending parties, and the degree of "coordination" among violent actors (pp. 14–16). Using this schema, Tilly identifies six broad categories of collective violence, which he names according to their most typical manifestations: violent rituals, coordinated destruction, opportunism, brawls, scattered attacks, and broken negotiations. The unique characteristics of each type are then examined in separate chapters, each of which draws fruitfully upon a wide range of historical examples.

Tilly advances two principal arguments in the book. The first is that significant variation in the form and incidence of collective violence can best be explained by reference to a number of crucial causal "mechanisms" and "processes." The book identifies several such mechanisms, including, for example, "category formation," "boundary activation," "polarization," and "brokerage." It also usefully highlights the key roles played by "political entrepreneurs" and "violent specialists" (i.e. soldiers, policemen, gangsters) in these processes.

The second major argument is that collective violence varies significantly by regime type. To make this case, Tilly proposes another two-dimensional typology in which regimes are categorized according to their "capacity" (high or low) and whether they are "democratic" or "undemocratic" (pp. 41–42). He then seeks to demonstrate how the character of collective violence is shaped by different regime types and by specific regime behaviors. Tilly's main conclusion is that "the most extensive violence [is found] in the

low-capacity undemocratic regime . . . the least extensive violence in the high-capacity democratic regime . . . with the others in between" (p. 75).

This is an important book that accomplishes most of what it sets out to achieve. It is destined to become essential reading for any serious scholar of violence, and it will serve as a valuable guide to new research. Like every important book, it will also stimulate debate and criticism. Some readers will ask whether "salience" and "coordination" really are the most important dimensions of collective violence. Others will take issue with the book's depiction of alternative approaches to the subject, noting in particular its somewhat dismissive treatment of the role of ideas, norms, and ideology. Concern will also be raised about the absence of a sustained discussion on the significance of international institutions and law in shaping violence.

The most lively controversy, however, is likely to center on Tilly's argument that there is a significant relationship between regime type and variations in collective violence. The claim is repeated often in the book, but, as Tilly concedes, the evidence is somewhat ambiguous. By Tilly's own account, the relationship does not appear to be significant in the cases of "brawling" and "opportunism," and he accepts that "scattered attacks" represent a "partial exception" to the general rule (p. 128). A close reading of the chapters on "violent ritual," "coordinated destruction," and "broken negotiations," moreover, suggests that for those types, too, the similarities across regime type are sometimes as important as the variations. The chapter on "violent ritual," for example, highlights patterns of gang warfare in the United States that are not easy to distinguish from the patterns observed in other types of regime.

Even where a significant correlation does appear to exist, the evidence is not clear cut, and Tilly is able to save the argument only by introducing a number of significant qualifications. For example, the proposition that serious collective violence is least likely to occur in "high-capacity democratic" regimes is only true, Tilly notes, if one leaves aside the violence that such regimes perpetrate "against their external enemies" (p. 44). This is an important caveat, and Tilly is right to point it out. Rather than being a mere exception to the rule, however, it arguably points to a fundamentally different kind of argument, in which international power imbalances, imperial ambition, and ideological difference are at least as significant in shaping collective violence as regime "capacity" and "democracy." After all, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, India, Nicaragua, Iraq, and many other countries that have suffered terrible violence in the past century share not only a (debatable) status as "low capacity undemocratic" regimes but also the experience of being objects of violent intervention by some of the world's most powerful "high capacity democratic" regimes.

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JOHN LEWIS GADDIS. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 192. \$23.00.

On May 10, 1941, the French historian Marc Bloch wrote a letter to his friend Lucien Febvre, in which he informed him that, amid the "sorrows and anxieties" of life under German occupation, he resolved to write a book on what both of them had long been working for: "a wider and more human history." He believed that the new critical methodology, which he and Febvre had devised in order to determine more objectively, even scientifically, what happened in the past, would enable his readers to come to terms with what was happening in the present. The book, which Bloch did not live to complete, was edited from manuscripts and eventually published by Febvre under the title *Apologie pour l'histoire; Ou, Métier d'historien* (1949). When an English translation appeared four years later, it retained only the latter part of the title, *The Historian's Craft*, as if to indicate that victory in the war had vindicated history and relieved its scholars from the need to defend their vocation.

John Lewis Gaddis, the distinguished historian of the Cold War, tries to shake off this complacency. "Like J. R. R. Tolkien's hobbits," he writes of his fellow historians, "they're for the most part content to remain where they are, and are not much interested in what goes on around them" (p. 92). The audience at Oxford University, to whom Gaddis presented the lectures that comprise this book, must have gotten the message, recalling, no doubt, that Tolkien modeled his imaginary creatures on his academic colleagues. Historians and other readers of this book should likewise be alert to the acute contentions in its many cute allusions (to Harry Potter and such like popular novels and films). Whether it was the apparent failure of fellow historians and other scholars in the related disciplines of political science and international relations to anticipate the end of the Cold War, or, more generally, the attacks of both hard social scientists and soft postmodernists on the viability of historical truth, Gaddis is adamant that historians "might better justify their own existence. Historians ought to be as adept as the practitioners of other disciplines are at defending their methods—but they aren't" (p. 50). Hence his new apology for history, which he offers as an updating of Bloch's old book, as well as of another classic of modern historiography, E. H. Carr's *What is History?* (1961).

According to Gaddis, modern historians have largely ignored what these two venerable "methodologists," and some contemporary scholars—chiefly William McNeill, who is repeatedly cited—have argued: that the study of history is, or at least ought to be, as sturdy in its theoretical and practical procedures as are the so-called "hard" physical and biological sciences. Although this claim may seem fairly old—after all, that ancient historian of war, Thucydides, saw fit to model his historiography on the hardest science of his time,

Hippocratic medicine—Gaddis revises its basic assumption by arguing that historians must not so much imitate what natural scientists are doing as recognize and rationalize what they are doing in their own practice, which, as Gaddis would have it, is remarkably similar, and may even be superior, to what is happening in the new evolutionary and non-laboratory sciences of cosmology, geology, paleontology, zoology, and biology. For, much like the practitioners of these new elastic sciences, and in contrast to the champions of social science whom Gaddis dismisses rather summarily as mired in the static and statistical models of the old sciences, what historians are actually looking for when they “trace the rise and fall of empires, the beginnings and the endings of war, the diffusion of ideas and technologies, the outbreaks of plagues and famines” (p. 86) are certain dynamic patterns that, however differently they seem to recur in historical reality, are nevertheless systematic enough to reveal its basic structure and processes. And to those wary historians who might doubt whether the diversities, irregularities, and singularities they detect in human affairs defy all generalizations about them, Gaddis replies that “without generalization historians would have nothing whatever to say” (p. 62). He duly acknowledges that free agency and contingency in human affairs are liable to invalidate any attempt at a scientific theory of history replete with accurate calculations and predictions, but he adds, so also are the scientific theories that now prevail in modern natural sciences.

The author devotes many pages to explain basic features of the new scientific thought as it evolved from Albert Einstein’s notion of relativity and Werner Heisenberg’s principle of uncertainty to the more recent theories of fractal geometry, chaos, complexity, and criticality. His main aim is to show how this revolution, or rather revision, in the ideology and methodology of modern science has radically changed the very notions of causality, factuality, representation, generalization, and much else in the world of natural scientists, and how these new norms and forms of scientific research might equally—and quite easily—be employed by historians. “Without our having had to do anything different—indeed without even realizing, for the most part, what’s happened—we find ourselves, at least in metaphorical terms, practicing the new sciences of chaos, complexity and even criticality” (p. 88). On these premises, a trivial observation by Carr, that different views of the shape of a mountain do not imply that “it has objectively either no shape at all or an infinity of shapes,” draws the portentous conclusion that “without having a word for what he was describing, Carr instinctively understood the concept of fractal geometry and saw its connection to history” (p. 83). In the same vein, a hypothetical biographical-historical study that concentrates on those incidents in the life of Joseph Stalin that reveal his murderous character is made out to be a “fractal geometry of terror” (p. 118).

Such assertions, even if only half serious, mar an otherwise proficient discussion of important issues in

modern historiography. They might also divert attention from Gaddis’s more paradigmatic, and more problematic, conception of history as essentially scientific, even if, on his terms, this adjective has now shed the mechanistic and other deterministic connotations of the old sciences. Still, his basic assumptions—that “what historians do” or should do is “to interpret the past for the purposes of the present with a view to managing the future” (p. 10); that the contentious problem of “representation” in historiography is “simply the rearrangement of reality to our purposes” (p. 20); that historians “begin with structures and then derive the processes that produced them” (p. 95); and, more generally, that the quasi-scientific jargon of sentences like “the frequency of events is inversely proportional to their intensity” (p. 85)—betray certain positivistic pretensions that many historicists, who are not necessarily postmodernists, have come to distrust. While some readers of this book, including this reviewer, would welcome its unfashionable commitment to the verity of historical reality—for here is that rare treatise on historical methodology that does not reduce all history to mere memory and story, and does not even mention the trinity of gender, class, and race—it is rather disconcerting that it fails to notice, let alone to practice, the subtler modes of exposition that the so-called “new historians” have adopted and adapted from cultural anthropology and other interpretive social sciences. Following their path, many historians no longer believe that it is possible or desirable to explain social life and history by the universal laws and models of evolution or any other grand scientific theories. Hence, if historians really need or wish to “justify their own existence” by “defending their methods,” they might find more adequate methodologies in the modern cultural rather than natural sciences. Or, to rephrase the alternatives in Bloch’s original terms, the convergence of history with evolutionary biological and physical sciences, as Gaddis proposes, might produce a “wider” history, much wider than Bloch ever imagined, but this, alas, will not be a “more human” history.

JOSEPH MALI

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DAVID M. HALPERIN. *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. 208. \$30.00.

David M. Halperin reads his critics. With extraordinary perception, he absorbs their accounts and attends to their interventions. He disputes faulty reasoning—at moments generating considerable heat—but he also honors productive provocations, yielding ever greater levels of analytical precision. As a result, in both the text proper and the elaborate notes to this book the reader discovers the contours of vibrant scholarly communities in pitched engagement, particularly in the fields of classics and lesbian and gay studies. As he chronicles and extends key debates,

Halperin helps destabilize traditional disciplinary boundaries while insisting on the utility of bedrock historical practices.

This is a volume of revised and expanded essays, each of which has appeared in print from one to three times before. Highly influential, cohering around themes in the politics and philosophy of history, they do not, together, constitute "an instruction manual so much as a series of reflections on the interpretive quandaries and intellectual pleasures of doing the history of homosexuality" (p. 2). Halperin's now trademark "How To" formulation serves other ends. It recalls his controversial class, "How To Be Gay," at the University of Michigan, and its distinctive political project. It pays tribute to intellectual compatriot Arnold I. Davidson and his similarly titled *Critical Inquiry* article, "How to Do the History of Psychoanalysis" (1987). And, crucially, Halperin's title acts as what he refers to in another, related context as a "deliberate anachronism" (p. 174). Homosexuality—a present-day category—fuels an investigation into elements of the past that are, Halperin argues, irreducibly different, specific, other.

The heat arises foremost in critiques by Halperin and others of Bernadette J. Brooten's *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homosexuality* (1996) and subsequent commentaries and exchanges. Halperin strives to save concepts such as homoeroticism from essentializing, universalizing depictions. Whatever the authorial intent, he maintains, the concepts often function as ahistorical or transhistorical realities, outside culture or a priori. Halperin champions the radical historicizing of desire, pleasure, and erotic subjectivity. In numerous close readings, he explores seemingly minute subtleties of language to expose their broader implications, often challenging in the process translations of both ancient texts and postmodern theorists such as Michel Foucault—the subject of Halperin's last book, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (1995) and an important if overstated influence on its predecessor, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: And Other Essays on Greek Love* (1989). That book's principal argument summoned a critique by queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick that Halperin clearly respects. It occasions some of his freshest insights here.

At the vanguard of social constructionism, Halperin has proven the distinctively modern quality of the heterosexual/homosexual binary. He concurs with the view that sexuality itself is a product of European bourgeois modernity, and he crisply articulates twentieth-century homosexuality as a unique nexus, an unprecedented confluence of psychiatric orientation, psychoanalytic sexual object choice, and sociological deviant behavior. If Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990) deduces therein a problematic "Great Paradigm Shift," an exaggerated rupture, Halperin is spurred on to develop and refine ever more complex theories of historical accretion and overlay.

Injecting needed energy into moribund disputes

from the late 1980s, Halperin proposes to modify constructionist approaches. Radical difference over time does not foreclose continuities, he concedes. Further, "a genealogy of contemporary homosexual discourse—which is to say, a historical critique of the category of homosexuality . . . can significantly support and expand Sedgwick's influential discursive critique . . . and provide it with an overdue and much-needed historical grounding" (p. 109). Such a genealogy begins necessarily with today's dominant but contested notions of male homosexuality and connects them to models from the past. The book's last chapter, thus, is given over to the convincing elaboration of four distinct but often contemporaneous strands, described without contradiction as "pre-homosexual traditions of homosexual discourse": effeminacy, pederasty or active sodomy, friendship or male love, and inversion or passivity.

If this volume's appendix—a panel response to three paper presentations—is insufficiently contextualized and integrated, the new introduction masterfully interweaves the individual chapters' chief concerns and historiographical preoccupations, honed over a ten-year period. In sum, the work showcases a scholar at the height of his interpretive powers, with a writerly flair and shrewd wit reaching crescendo in chapter three, where Halperin even hazards a universal, his oft-cited maxim "there is . . . no orgasm without ideology" (p. 103). Matching his well-earned confidence, however, is a striking humility, such that the author gives the last word to playwright and novelist Neil Bartlett, whose *Who Was That Man? A Present for Mr. Oscar Wilde* (1988) contains "arguably the most brilliant and original exploration of how to do the history of male homosexuality" (p. 137). That said, Halperin nonetheless will surely be remembered as one of the most insightful historians and theorists of his generation.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

PEREZ ZAGORIN. *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 371. \$29.95.

This work is true to its title: it is concerned exclusively with the idea, rather than the practice, of religious toleration, and nothing said or done east of Saxony (aside from one paragraph on the kingdom of Poland) appears in its pages. Perez Zagorin presents a decidedly whiggish interpretation of the rise and spread of theories of religious toleration in Western Europe and America from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Dismissing recent scholarship that suggests that ideas about toleration were already circulating in the Middle Ages, he instead locates its origins among certain thinkers of the Protestant Reformation, espe-

cially Sebastian Castellio. From there he follows a familiar narrative (first traced by Joseph Lecler in his magisterial *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la Réforme* [1955]) through the writings of Dirck Coornhert, Hugo Grotius, Benedict Spinoza, the seventeenth-century English controversialists, John Locke, and Pierre Bayle. These thinkers, he argues, have given the modern West the idea of religious freedom, "one of [its] predominant and most cherished attributes" (p. 13). One may well wonder if this is still the case, given current discussions within some Western democracies about banning the wearing of Muslim head scarves in public spaces. It is clear, in any event, that Zagorin writes with the recent rise of radical Islam in mind.

The author's focus, however, is on theories of toleration within the different branches of Western Christianity rather than between those of Christianity and other faiths. He begins his narrative with a discussion of the late antique and medieval Christian church's development of the doctrines of heresy and persecution, singling out Augustine of Hippo as the principal intellectual author of the early church's response to dissent. The predominant assumption that ultimately characterized the medieval church's attitude toward heresy was that spiritual unity was absolutely necessary both to the salvation of souls and to the harmonious functioning of society; hence the church's harsh reaction, through the use of canon law and the Inquisition, to the heretical movements of the high Middle Ages.

The first hints of a shift in attitude among Christian thinkers Zagorin finds in the northern humanists of the early sixteenth century. Thomas More imagined a society without church or dogma, and Desiderius Erasmus's *philosophia Christi*, with its emphases on pacifism and charity, at least implied a more tolerant approach to dissent. The first intellectual "champion" of religious toleration, and the book's admitted "hero," was the Frenchman Castellio, who in the 1550s published a number of works condemning the persecution of heretics and advocating the acceptance of religious difference in the spirit of Christian charity. Castellio's ideas were later taken up by a number of thinkers in the Dutch Republic, especially the Arminians, who, having been expelled from the Dutch Reformed Church in 1618, had a very direct stake in a more tolerant society. Zagorin sees in Spinoza's radical criticism of revealed religion a further step in the evolution of tolerationist ideas. The polemics regarding church and state that accompanied the English Civil War, Interregnum, and Restoration gave rise to an even more extensive corpus of tolerationist ideologies. The story culminates with Locke and Bayle at the turn of the eighteenth century. Locke produced the first comprehensive philosophy of individualized religion, and Bayle wrote extensively on the right of conscience. With these two intellectual giants, Zagorin asserts, we have arrived at the modern West's conception of religious toleration and religious liberty.

This is intellectual history *pur sang*. Zagorin is

exclusively concerned with minds and ideas, not with their contexts. There is an implied progression in his narrative, but while he describes texts he makes little effort to link them to each other or to discuss issues of their impact or reception. All the writers he depicts were "important," but the evidence of or criteria for their importance are never made explicit. The author's discussions of his selected texts are thorough enough, but occasionally he might have gone a bit deeper in his analysis. One theme that lurks in virtually all early modern discussions of toleration (and persecution, for that matter) is the question of conscience. Virtually all the writers that Zagorin examines allude to or invoke the notion of conscience in some way, but, aside from his treatment of Bayle, the author never really explores this theme in any extensive manner. What did conscience mean to these thinkers? Was there a universal definition of conscience that all early modern culture shared? How did conscience work? Was it the voice of God, or the voice of reason? A more profound examination of this particular idea would have proven illuminating.

The tone of this work is oddly ahistorical. Zagorin seems to be surprised that anyone would not be tolerant, while in fact the history of Christianity has been characterized by intolerance far longer than by tolerance (as the author himself admits). Thus Augustine's advocacy of the coercion of heretics becomes "appalling" (p. 33), and Erasmus "failed" to understand that toleration was the "only way" to solve the problem of religious pluralism (p. 68). May we really condemn these thinkers for not espousing an idea that, according to the author himself, had not even been invented yet? Excoriating past people for not being modern in their thinking is not historically sound. And modernity, to be sure, has not always lived up to its rhetoric. Although the idea of religious toleration may have triumphed, as the author avers, the history of the last hundred years or so would seem to suggest that the reality, sadly, still lags far behind.

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THOMAS LAQUEUR. *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation*. New York: Zone Books. 2003. Pp. 501. \$34.00.

No one interested in the history of sexuality can afford to ignore a book by Thomas Laqueur. His groundbreaking *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (1990) brought a new conceptual order to our understanding of sexual anatomy and its historical construction. This new book makes just such a contribution to the vexed issue of why masturbation abruptly became an issue in the Western world in the early eighteenth century, and why it remains at the center of discourse about the psychological and political implications of sexuality.

Laqueur presents copious evidence of a relative indifference to the subject of masturbation in Western

thought prior to the publication of two works in the early eighteenth century, the anonymous *Onania* (probably authored by John Marten around 1712), and Samuel Tissot's *L'Onanisme: Ou, Dissertation physique sur les malades produites par la masturbation* (1760). Both medical and popular writers seem to have seized eagerly on these two works and within a few decades managed to elevate masturbation into a life-threatening affliction. In addressing the sudden appearance of masturbation as a medically dangerous depravity in the early days of the Industrial Revolution, Laqueur comes up with some ingenious and well-supported ideas about a field that has been plowed many times with little to show in the way of convincing intellectual harvest, most recently by Jean Stengers and Anne Van Neck in *Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror* (2001), and Michael Mason in *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (1994). Laqueur's critique of these and other earlier works is thorough and trenchant (pp. 247–76).

His own theory is that “masturbation became ethically central and construed as dangerous precisely when its component parts came to be valued”: in particular, the exploration of individual imagination (p. 278) associated with the Enlightenment. Drawing on seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources, he shows how masturbation stood outside an economy of consequences and “sociability” and “went against the founding axiom of all economic life: there really might be a free lunch” (p. 292). Masturbation evidently was one private vice that not even Bernard Mandeville could turn into a public virtue.

Laqueur goes on to argue that the compulsion to invent dire health consequences for what had been a medically and socially trivial act was linked to the rise of another threat to the moral order: the novel and its handmaiden (as it were), the spread of the practice of reading in private. The reading of novels, especially by women, was thought to inflame desire, encourage both prurient and romantic curiosity, and permit the reader to withdraw from society into a rich and seductive world in which self-absorption had no consequences or benefits other than individual pleasure. Reading and masturbation, he shows, were closely linked in the moral criticism of the period, much of which argued that one reinforced the other.

As Laqueur points out, the warnings against the temptation to withdraw from the material and economic world into private reading of novels (and, to a lesser extent, the theater) resonate with those heard in the last seventy years against television, the Internet, and video games. He argues that contemporaries perceived a danger that, under the weight of masturbation and novels, the social fabric would collapse as formerly productive individuals vanished into private worlds of the imagination. As the daughter of a novelist, I find this hypothesis shocking, outrageous, and irresistibly appealing. All the image lacks is the flashlight under the covers.

Laqueur is frank and forthright about the lacunae in our knowledge of these matters. There are, as he

points out, many silences, especially in the pre-*Onania* period, that are difficult for a historian to interpret. He devotes a lengthy and impressively footnoted section in chapter three, “Christianity and Solitary Pleasure” (pp. 124–83), for example, to Western religious views of masturbation, which seem to have been remarkable as much for what they did not say as for what they did. Why is so little said? Was it too trivial? Too shocking? Or were religious writers concerned about giving their readers ideas they might not otherwise have had? Laqueur is right to point out that we can make little of these silences in our ignorance of their cause.

As history, this is a fine book. It is, unfortunately, too long to make a good textbook, but it will be widely read in the international community of scholars and scientists interested in sexuality. The lack of running heads in the endnotes makes it difficult to get around in them, but this is a criticism of the publisher and not of the author. For devotees of closely reasoned, well-documented original thinking about subjects that are difficult both to research and to discuss, this is genuinely intoxicating Laqueur.

RACHEL MAINES

Independent scholar

RUTH H. BLOCH. *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture, 1650–1800*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. x, 225. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

This new book by Ruth H. Bloch includes four previously published essays, two essays written in the 1990s but not before published, and two new essays, along with an introduction that ties together what she describes as “much of my creative career as a women’s historian” (p. ix). Historians may welcome having readily available copies of the author’s early, often-cited articles from *Signs* and *Feminist Studies*, but, like all such collections spanning a lengthy period (here, 1978 to 2001), the volume reads unevenly. The unevenness is heightened by the fact that Bloch has structured the book topically, not chronologically by date of composition, so that essays written years apart sit uncomfortably next to each other. Nor did she revise or alter the earlier work in any way, including failing to update footnotes to reflect the subsequent publication of sources she cited originally in manuscript versions.

The essays in here, regardless of when they were written, deal with “the relationship between notions of masculinity and femininity and wider cultural systems of value,” Bloch remarks, and specifically with “the role of symbols and ideas in shaping definitions of gender” (p. 3). She sets as her goal the explication of the creation of the contemporary ideal of family and gender relations, which, she asserts, occurred in the eighteenth century in ways complexly related to, but not determined by, the American Revolution. In one of the essays written in 2001, Bloch reveals her disquiet about the line of historical interpretation that attributes causality in gender-role change to the revolu-

tion, even though, as she admits, she has contributed to its origins and perpetuation. Instead of an interpretation privileging the revolutionary movement as the generator of change, she now advocates an alternative emphasizing the role of eighteenth-century Scottish moral philosophy, Protestant religiosity, and sentimental fiction. The combination of such factors, she contends, preceded the revolution and planted the seeds for the postrevolutionary change that she, Linda K. Kerber, I, and other scholars have previously noted. Bloch also contends that related developments can be discerned in England and France, therefore challenging any interpretation that insists upon American exceptionalism. She still thinks that "there was something exceptional about the American case" (p. 9), although it was "one variation on a much larger, transatlantic theme" (p. 8).

In a book that purports to make a unified argument, it is frankly disconcerting to read phrases in introductory paragraphs such as "if I were writing this essay today" (p. 22) or "were this essay written today" (p. 57), before Bloch briefly informs readers how she would now alter her approach to the topics at hand. Thus the introduction to the volume as a whole will probably attract the most interest from historians, along with the two new essays. One, titled "Women and the Law of Courtship," challenges the now-common contention that American courts in the eighteenth century became more interested in property than in morality. Historians, she argues, have failed to recognize the moral implications of increasing numbers of civil lawsuits for breach of promise in marriage or financial support for bastard children. Such civil cases continued the colonial courts' well-known concern with illicit sexual behavior earlier reflected in criminal prosecutions for fornication, but with a new twist—a presumption of female innocence and male perfidy directly related to themes in sentimental fiction. The other new essay, "Gender and the Public/Private Dichotomy in American Revolutionary Thought," addresses an important and little-studied subject. It begins promisingly with a discussion of public/private divisions in the intellectual traditions upon which American revolutionaries drew, but ends with a muddled treatment focusing specifically on conceptions of the private sphere in the eighteenth century and (briefly) today.

The introduction's successful synthesis of Bloch's current thinking certainly makes one wish that she had undertaken a thorough revision of her older essays and had rethought their contents, thereby enhancing the value of this volume. She argues forcibly and effectively against interpretations that stress material or political origins of changes in gender definitions, emphasizing instead long-term cultural trends accelerated and given new meaning by revolutionary ideology. Unabashedly writing intellectual and cultural history, Bloch has given other historians of the revolutionary

era and the American eighteenth century in general much to ponder.

MARY BETH NORTON
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LINDA YOUNG. *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xi, 245. \$65.00.

The alphabetically ordered subtitle of this book hints where it is going interpretatively as well as geographically. A diffusionist would list Britain first, then transatlantic America, and finally antipodean Australia. But Linda Young's timely book aims to show that the creation of a middle class was a global phenomenon in the nineteenth century—globally Anglo, at least. Its intelligent introduction argues for a transnational understanding of middle-class formations, while forsaking a Marxist explanation for a cultural interpretation. That culture was "gentility" (p. 15).

Gentility, Young argues, was "the entire cultural system of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century middle class, the ideology that characterized, identified and solidified it" (p. 15). Her theoretical perspective derives from E. P. Thompson's concept of class as a mutual identification of interests on the basis of behavior and from Pierre Bourdieu's notion of groups creating social capital by systematically differentiating themselves from others. She links her historical explanation with Richard Bushman's *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (1992), Stuart Blumin's *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900* (1989), Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (1987), and Mary Ryan's *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (1981). She found that similarities among American, Australian, and British expressions of genteel culture were much stronger than their differences, even though the social and economic structures in each country had markedly different elements: nobility in Britain, slavery in America, and convict ancestry in Australia.

The empirical basis for this argument lies in the footnotes, which show a thorough command of the secondary literature on the material culture of domestic life in the three societies. In transcending the geographical particularity that characterizes this literature, Young's highly interpretative argument implies that the similarities of style, design, and function of housing, furniture, and clothing show that a homogeneous middle-class culture took shape at the same time around the world. Throughout the Anglo world married couples adopted family strategies, consumption practices, and religious beliefs that gave them confidence in a distinctive social status based on personal material success without demeaning work. Middle-class families had fathers who gained regular incomes without manual labor, mothers who appear

leisured because they did not work outside the home, servants who provided crucial domestic labor to maintain the enterprise of home, and dutiful children willing to be educated for status improvement. Bracketing the gentility of such families were "aristocratic courtliness" and "working-class respectability" (p. 68).

The analysis concentrates on the meaning of different consumption patterns rather than their material specifics, although Young shows expertise in material culture history whenever she discusses such topics as toilet equipages, tailoring, or table settings. The time and place of particular objects are less significant than the general themes they verify. The captions for the carefully chosen illustrations from collections throughout the three countries give a synopsis of these themes: "comfortable" (p. 59), "improved" (p. 64), "loving" (p. 78), "tasteful" (p. 90), "cleanly" (p. 99), "hygienic" (p. 101), "modest" (p. 106), "discreet" (p. 110), "upright" (p. 116), "polite" (p. 141), "fancy" (p. 178), "lavish" (p. 183), "imposing" (p. 187).

In its domestic, and therefore largely feminine, focus, the book turns a blind eye to masculine orientations toward middle-class formations. It neglects activities through which men could either define or blur their middle-class status. Hunting, riding, drinking, carriages, clubs, and architectural projects gave men opportunities to play at being aristocrats. How they harmonized such fantasies with domestic rectitude needs to be addressed.

It is no surprise that such a book should be written by an Australian. British historians are likely to think in diffusionist terms when they think about the settler colonies at all; American historians are not likely to make overseas comparisons that look for similarities; and Canadian historians are leery of continentalist interpretations that blur distinctions between Canada and the United States. Cured of cultural cringe, Australian historians have adopted a detached perspective on their own history and readily place it in comparative perspective without fear of invidious results.

It is asking a lot of such an ambitious book to question whether its argument should not be broadened. But the author does not sufficiently explain why she focused on Anglo cultures in what she argues to be a global phenomenon. After all, once national boundaries are lifted as constraints on interpretations, why not bring in non-British European cultures as well? And why stop with Europeans? Hawaiians were creating a *haute bourgeoisie* in the nineteenth century, too; and what about professionals in Meiji Japan? Is transnational historiography a slippery slope?

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CASSANDRA PYBUS and HAMISH MAXWELL-STEWART. *American Citizens, British Slaves: Yankee Political Prisoners in an Australian Penal Colony, 1839–1850*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 270. \$29.95.

This is a fascinating study of nearly a hundred Americans who were captured by British forces during an invasion of Canada in 1838 and transported to Van Diemen's Land. The men were members of antimonarchist militias that hoped to export the American revolution to Canada; through a combination of misfortune and misconception, their escapade ended in military fiasco and penal transportation. While most of the men were pardoned over the course of the 1840s and returned to America, some remained behind, some died in Tasmania, and a few simply disappeared from the record. The last detail is significant because, like Hamish Maxwell-Stewart's other work (*Chain Letters*, coedited with Lucy Frost), this is really the history of a record, which is a particular set of convict narratives. Some of the Americans wrote retrospectives about their experience, overlaid with an agenda that was heroic, republican, masculine, nationalist, and occasionally abolitionist. Cassandra Pybus and Maxwell-Stewart follow these narratives across time, carefully cross-checking the details of one account against those of another, and the convicts' accounts against the information available in the records of the prison administration.

That approach is the work's strength as well as its major weakness. As a piece of archival research, the book is splendid, and it is particularly interesting to historians of punishment who are not specialists in Australia. It is also a rewarding text for those who study the processes by which nationalist autobiography is produced. There are, for instance, starting convergences (and significant divergences) between the narratives examined here and the voices of nationalist prisoners in other, later, British penal colonies such as the Andaman Islands: the coexistence of rebel defiance and servile "loyalty," the obsessive struggles over food and clothes, and the unstable boundary and uneasy relationship between "common" and "political" offenders.

The problem with the study is that too many analytical opportunities are allowed to pass unnoticed. The authors have chosen an expository approach that is unnecessary in a study of punishment in an Australian penal colony, unless there are dramatic revelations to make. (There are not.) The study rarely deviates from the linear narrative and temporal frame and does not convincingly explain why these narratives matter. The American citizenship of the prisoners and the irregularity of the legal proceedings against them are interesting, but not much more unless the authors demonstrate otherwise. There is a wealth of under-utilized detail here about resistance, corporal punishment and the production of the political prisoner, and about marriages with local women. The latter were surely significant in the context of assertively gendered political self-representations, and in the shadow of prison homosexuality. The ideological clash between an American republicanism rooted in frontier insularity as well as Irish militancy and a "conservative" British-imperial penology deeply invested in its own rhetoric

of modernity is a rich vein to tap, but not very much is made of this.

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St. Louis

ELIZABETH ELBOURNE. *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799–1853*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two, number 19.) Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 499. \$75.00.

Christian missions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continue to enjoy a resurgence of interest from scholars in many disciplines. Unlike postcolonial theorists, who emphasize tight linkages among missions, empire, and modernity, Elizabeth Elbourne has the historian's eye for particularity, diversity, personalities, and change over time. Elbourne challenges anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff on their own ground with a detailed examination of London Missionary Society (LMS) operations in South Africa. It might be argued that enough attention has already been paid to the LMS, whose South African staff was small and whose converts were few in comparison to other missionary societies that worked in the populous eastern regions. The LMS mission to the Khoe, which is the principal subject of Elbourne's study, numbered no more than a few thousand souls; the southern Tswana missions that the Comaroffs studied were similar in size. In the long run, these would be dwarfed by the growth of Christianity among the millions of Xhosa, Sotho, and Zulu peoples.

Nevertheless, Elbourne makes out a good case for revisiting a pioneering missionary enterprise swept up in the maelstrom of frontier warfare and advancing British colonialism. She has a number of important points to make. In contrast to the Comaroffs, who view the LMS encounter with African society as an archetypal "first contact" experience, Elbourne emphasizes that much disruptive change preceded the arrival of missionaries in 1795. Waves of violence had swept over San hunters and Khoe pastoralists, forcing some into servitude and others into flight far into the Cape hinterland. When missionary Johannes Theodorus Van Der Kemp marked out his station at Bethelsdorp, he gathered around him a people gravely wounded if not already broken. The religious "conversation" between the missionary and his parishioners resembled more the ministrations of the Good Samaritan than a dichotomous clash of cultures. Nor will Elbourne accept that the LMS missionaries performed the culture of British industrial capitalism for the purpose of inducting their converts into a new way of life. She emphasizes the poverty, eccentricity, and alienation of the missionaries from their own European background. One lived in a windowless "straw hut . . . about 9 feet square," which the people had helped him build. Another frequently went shoeless for want of money to

afford a new pair (p. 213). Many of them married Khoe women and these interracial marriages scandalized white settlers for many generations to come. (Sarah Gertrude Millin's novel of the early twentieth century, *God's Stepchildren* [1924], blamed the missionaries for introducing the fatal seed of miscegenation, blatantly ignoring the much more common concubinage, rape, and seduction practiced by white male farmers.)

However, it was neither the missionaries' simple lives nor their own puritanical morals that enraged settlers; it was the attack on their labor practices. For twenty years and more, the LMS railed against unfair laws and unlawful treatment of slaves and servants. Although this part of Elbourne's story has been often told—indeed, it was the focal point of South African history for a century or more—her diligent researches immensely enrich our understanding of missionary politics. Time and again she surprised me with the production of unfamiliar documents and quotations. Whereas previous studies quote missionaries at length, Elbourne quotes the people of the mission communities. She summons up the eloquence of Henrik Boezak, Khoe preacher, and others who protested against the colonial vagrancy laws of the early 1830s: "Hottentots are to be obliged to enter into contract for more than one month, and their 'restlessness' is to be subdued for the sole benefit of their masters" (p. 276). The recovered voices of such witnesses make it difficult to sustain the proposition that the LMS enterprise was primarily engaged in modernizing capitalist labor practices. Missionaries spoke with and on behalf of an oppressed community. Elbourne also manages to shed new light on the 1835–1836 parliamentary enquiry into the treatment of "aborigines" in British colonies. Behind Thomas Fowell Buxton, the public face of evangelical political action, she finds his daughter and other women of the Buxton clan whose behind-the-scenes work is shown to have been as vital as that of Bishop John William Colenso's daughters, Harriette and Frances, in Natal during the late Victorian period. By giving Elbourne a broad canvas of 500 pages on which to write, McGill-Queen's University Press has added greatly to our understanding of a critical period in South African history.

NORMAN ETHERINGTON
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PATRICK BRANTLINGER. *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 248. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This book is a compendium of evidence that testifies to the pervasiveness of "extinction discourse" in the long nineteenth century and beyond. Situating his study in the context of the British Empire, Patrick Brantlinger uses rhetoric about the "vanishing races" to trace the complexity of racialist discourse, arguing for the centrality of the theme of indigenous degeneration and death to the work of a wide range of thinkers, writers,

and humanitarian activists. The two chapters on science that effectively book-end this study provide useful (if synthetic) accounts of the pre-Darwinian roots and post-Darwinian branches of race extinction theory. The chapters in between move from North America to Ireland to Australia and New Zealand, tracking how and to what effect metropolitan commentators as diverse as Robert Knox and Anthony Trollope mobilized arguments about the death of the noble savage to suit a variety of political agendas. The writers under consideration were preoccupied with dying races for the same reasons they were invested in other discourses of empire: because they believed that the apparent temporal limits of native races justified Western conquest and foretold the infinite wisdom of English civilization. Brantlinger has tapped a rich vein of material, and students of Victorian culture, science, literature, and empire will undoubtedly find much to mine here.

As valuable a catalogue as this is, I could not help feeling disappointed by Brantlinger's failure to offer us a thesis much beyond the claim that extinction discourse was everywhere and is remarkable for its uniformity across a variety of "ideological faultlines" (p. 1). The one interpretive possibility he offers at the start—that of the proleptic elegy—breaks the surface of the book occasionally (pp. 7, 118) and appears again in the conclusion ("White Twilights," p. 189). Ultimately, however, it is not robust enough to serve as an organizing framework. This means that elegy as a form does not receive the kind of sustained attention that might enable it to speak to the performative dimensions of race discourse—dimensions to which Brantlinger refers (p. 4), but only allusively. This is one of several frustrations of the book. Each of the central chapters is devoted to a single geographical region, a tack which obscures as much as it reveals. For while we get a comprehensive (and again, largely synthetic) digest of race discourses about Ireland and Tasmania, for example, we do not get much evidence of the ways in which those discourses cross-pollinated or "traveled." One exception to this is the case of Thomas Pringle, the early Victorian abolitionist who had some impact on missionaries' activities in South Africa (pp. 84–86). Brantlinger seems uninterested in recent work on Victorian imperialism that has striven to emphasize the interconnectedness of empire and, more precisely, to demolish the discrete geographical spaces which organize this book. That is certainly his prerogative. But some engagement with the limits and possibilities of a transnational approach to imperial history would have been welcome, if only to complicate his suggestion that extinction discourses were ubiquitous, apparently no respecter of national or regional boundary.

There is also a curious lack of analytical attention to the terms through which arguments about the inevitability of "primitive" genocide were articulated, whether in a triumphalist or mournful mode or both. The book is full of block quotes that cry out for interpretation, not only because of the tropes that are

mobilized in the service of extinction discourse but also because of the colonizing gestures they typically enact. One example is the ventriloquism that someone like William Ellis used to translate "native" testimony to metropolitan reading audiences in his *Polynesian Researches* (1833). Rarely is the question of native self-representation addressed. Clearly these are difficult sources to come by. Even so, one can and should go beyond exceptional cases like William Lanney and Truganini, the so-called "last" Tasmanian man and woman. Apirana Ngata and other late Victorian Maori leaders in New Zealand, for instance, argued vehemently against "dying race" theories in Parliament, in philosophical societies, and in scientific journals. Given the existence of local counter discourses, some analysis of the fact that Victorian convictions about extinction spoke for whole communities—communities that were presumed not just to be dying but to be incapable of speaking for themselves—is surely warranted.

If this seems like an old complaint, reminiscent of the critiques set in motion by Gayatri Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988), then I am afraid it is. At the very least, Brantlinger's discourses about the dying races might have been read as proleptic of the end of empire itself, as well as of its temporal limits. Given the rich primary source material he has excavated in this book, perhaps they still can be.

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PHILIPPA LEVINE. *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. ix, 480. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$25.00.

Until now, the majority of those who have written on matters relating to prostitution and venereal disease in imperial contexts have confined their attentions to a single colony. This is the first book to attempt any kind of systematic comparison, embracing India, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, and Queensland. Philippa Levine's ambitious attempt to consider the empire as an interconnected whole is to be applauded. Drawing on a wealth of primary sources, she establishes that colonial states viewed the control of venereal disease as a major issue, not only because such diseases undermined the efficiency of soldiers and workers but also because sexual contact between people of different races threatened to destabilize the dichotomies upon which the imperial system was built. While this was a constant theme in imperial administration, the problem of venereal disease and mechanisms for its control differed significantly in the four colonies, depending on such factors as trade, security, and immigration.

Following other historians such as Catherine Hall, Levine sees the colonies and imperial Britain as mutually constitutive. Indeed, the notorious Contagious

Diseases (CD) Acts grew out of measures first devised in the colonies rather than in Britain itself. In India, there had been sporadic attempts to control the transmission of venereal disease through the medical inspection and forcible treatment of prostitutes since the beginning of the nineteenth century, while Hong Kong passed an ordinance against the transmission of venereal disease in 1857, eight years before a similar act was first passed in Britain. The British soldiers whom these acts were intended to protect were portrayed as passive victims of lascivious local women. The fact that prostitutes were mostly Asian heightened anxieties, as syphilis was sometimes said to increase in potency when it passed from one race to another.

Yet sex was an important part of masculine identity, and it was expected that British men would seek outlets for their sexual urges while stationed overseas. The CD Acts were thus characterized by a double standard in the treatment of men and women, an aspect of the legislation highlighted by campaigners for abolition. Their calls for repeal were joined by some elements of indigenous societies, which were often opposed to the system on the grounds that it led to extortion and oppression of local women. British attitudes to sexuality and venereal disease were therefore shot through with contradictions. Although prostitution was seen as a problem to be regulated, it was also the system most favored for the management of sexual contact. Unlike concubinage, which had been common in India until the early nineteenth century, prostitution discouraged more emotional and politically dangerous associations with local women.

It is impossible to do justice to such a wide-ranging and multifaceted book in a short review. The first part of the book provides an excellent account of CD legislation and the movement for repeal in the colonies, while the second part examines in more detail various aspects of the relationship among gender, race, and imperialism. This division into "narrative" and "analytical" chapters works well, although the discussion in some of the later chapters would sometimes benefit from a closer relation to the material in part one. It is also in the latter part of the book that the author makes some rather bold claims that are not always fully substantiated. In chapter eleven, for instance, she claims that questions of space are "fundamentally gendered" (p. 298). This seems plausible in relation to venereal disease and its management, but I am far from convinced that it is always the case. In the same chapter, we are told that English "spaces" were depicted as the "polar opposite" of colonial spaces. Again, this was often true, but far from universally so, as a good deal was often made of analogies between the colonial and the domestic. I would also take issue with the claim that British soldiers were portrayed always as passive victims of venereal disease. Levine is too dismissive of efforts to remold male behavior in line with the dictates of hygiene, efforts that accelerated during World War I as a premium was placed on manpower. For the same reasons, the military author-

ities did not always endorse medically regulated prostitution. Herbert Kitchener, as secretary of state for war, opposed it, as did Douglas Haig, his commander in chief in France. It was maintained there until 1918 largely to pacify French public opinion. By the same token, the army joined with local Christian and Islamic purity organizations in Egypt in 1916 to clamp down on prostitution and associated forms of vice. The author's assertion that women were "homogenized" as the source of venereal disease during the war (p. 324) likewise requires qualification. It could even be argued that the war had the opposite effect by heightening concerns about newly sexualized and disease-ridden soldiers spreading venereal disease to civilians, especially in the run up to demobilization.

But these are minor criticisms. Levine's book is a remarkable piece of work and is to be thoroughly recommended to all students of imperial history.

MARK HARRISON
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ROBERT J. BLYTH. *The Empire of the Raj: India, Eastern Africa and the Middle East, 1858–1947*. (Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. x, 270. \$72.00.

Most histories of the British Empire stress its relations with the indigenous peoples it incorporated, while some prefer to emphasize its dealings with rival empires and other powers. The internal administrative details of the empire fell out of favor long ago, yet they are worth another look, and that is what this book by Robert J. Blyth provides.

When viewed up close, the singular entity called the British Empire dissolves into a kaleidoscope of competing jurisdictions and subempires. The book's title is somewhat misleading, for it does not discuss the Raj and all its neighbors but only the "western sphere": that is, Persia, Arabia, and East Africa. Even in that limited sphere, the fragmented nature of British rule caused a creeping paralysis that foretold its end.

The Raj, an empire within a larger empire, arose from necessity in the age of sailing ships, when a year could go by between sending a letter to London and receiving an answer. The technological revolutions of the late nineteenth century (steamships, the Suez Canal, and telegraph cables), the intrusion of other imperialist powers, and the rise of nationalism changed the nature of India's relationship with the metropole. This is the story of how "an expanding metropole wrested control of the western sphere from an un-cooperative Indian Empire" (p. 2), but also of how "the Imperial government . . . was frustrated by this Indian obscurantism time and again" (p. 212).

The viceroy and provincial governors who ran the Indian empire after 1858 defended their outlying dependencies against British encroachment as vigorously as any nationalists. One important area was Persia and the Persian Gulf: was Persia best dealt with by officials from India expert in dealing with "oriental"

peoples or, as a neighbor of the Russian and Ottoman Empires, properly within the purview of the Foreign Office? The British-Russian rapprochement of 1907 brought an awkward compromise: Teheran came under the Foreign Office, while the Gulf remained in the viceroy's jurisdiction.

That was simple compared to the turf wars over Zanzibar, Aden, and Somaliland that pitted the India, Foreign, and Colonial offices in London, the subimperialism of the Indian government, and the sub-subimperialism of the Bombay Presidency against one another. The case of Aden was the most intractable, for the town was inhabited by Indian merchants and administered, garrisoned, and subsidized by the Bombay Presidency. Bombay used its financial subsidy to protect its political control, knowing that Britain, running a huge empire on a shoestring, could not afford to buy it out. The battle of memoranda and dispatches began in 1874 and raged until 1937, when the Colonial Office finally won.

Almost all of the arguments and maneuverings were waged behind closed doors within a small circle of high British officials in India and England. Now and again, however, Indians got involved. In Kenya, Indian merchants and workers resented the white settlers who used their racial clout to discriminate against Indians and keep them out of the "white" highlands. During and after World War I, Indian politicians and newspapers argued that India had fought at Britain's side in the war and deserved a settlement colony of its own, namely Tanganyika. After all, Australia and South Africa had been rewarded for their loyalty with former German colonies, why not India? Mohandas K. Gandhi rejected this idea and argued for racial equality instead. In the end, Tanganyika became a white settler-dominated colony like Kenya, to the bitter disappointment of Indian nationalists.

Most of the sources for this book are in dry-as-dust officialese, but every so often a phrase reveals the convoluted racism of the times. Thus in 1918, the British land commissioner for East Africa wrote that the African "regards the white man as something superior; not so the Indian whom he looks upon as only another coloured man no better than himself . . . [T]he English race has had great experience of governing lands occupied by child races; its traditions have ever been to regard the inhabitants as a trust to be protected from exploitation and maintained in their rights" (p.109).

The subject that Blyth has chosen—bureaucratic infighting—is difficult to convey in a thrilling narrative. Yet his book is a valuable contribution to three important historical genres: British imperialism, the history of India, and the decline and fall of empires.

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RICHARD F. HAMILTON and HOLGER H. HERWIG. *The Origins of World War I*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 537. \$60.00.

Coeditors Richard F. Hamilton and Holger H. Herwig open this lengthy volume with a pertinent question: "Why another book on 1914?" Their justification centers on their belief that recent scholarship on July 1914 has shifted away from a focus on decision makers, or the constitutional arrangements in which they operated, or the motives behind their actions to concentrate instead on more generalized explanations. Yet much of the historical literature of the last decade or so on the July crisis, including that contributed by this reviewer, has addressed precisely these issues. The volume's value instead consists of putting such questions into a comparative perspective for all of the belligerents of the Great War (with the surprising omission of Belgium) and offering four conceptual chapters that examine the "origins issue" from a social-science perspective. Presented at a conference in 1999 of established scholars and newcomers, the essays constitute a useful source of bibliographic information on the origins of the war.

Hamilton and Herwig start with an analysis of what constitutes a world war, who were the decision makers in 1914, and what part was played by contingent factors. They systematically demolish the idea that "big causes," such as alliances or imperialism or militarism or Social Darwinism, triggered the war. Alliance obligations or militarism might have created the context for July 1914, but the final actions, the editors and most contributors insist, sprang from "strategic considerations." There was no "slide" to war, no war caused by "inadvertence," but instead a world war caused by a fearful set of elite statesmen and rulers making deliberate choices.

The essays on Russia and Japan offer some of the most interesting new perspectives on 1914. David Alan Rich traces the virtual absence of any civil-military coordination in Russia and describes the shared experiences of a policy elite who had resolved after 1912 to suffer no more diplomatic humiliations. Correctly, he shows how the improvement in the military situation after 1910 led to increasing, if misplaced, confidence in Russia's ability to confront Germany and Austria-Hungary. Readers will appreciate Rich's suggestive use of the code intercepts to show how much the Russians knew about Austro-German plans as they unfolded in mid and late July. He also describes the confusion among policy makers over a military response to the Habsburg actions. The Austrian shelling of Belgrade rescued the Russian generals, since it gave the impetus to enact the long-planned general mobilization, a step that in turn escalated the crisis. But few scholars will agree with Rich's assertion that the Germans should have realized that Russia's mobilization did not mean immediate war; on the contrary, the Russians should have realized that their preliminary mobilization steps along the German frontier would appear threatening to the German High Command.

In the case of Japan, Foreign Minister Kato Takaaki agreed to the ill-advised British request in early August for Japanese help and proceeded, almost single-

handedly, to bring Japan to war. Frederick Dickinson argues that Kato wanted to go to war to bolster the cause of parliamentary government in Japan, to blunt increasingly racist talk in some Japanese circles, and to block any possible German-Japanese alliance. For Japan, domestic political considerations were even more important than strategic ones in the final decisions for war.

The essays on Austria-Hungary and Germany reflect the substantial change in the historiography of the July crisis since the 1970s: Berlin is no longer viewed as pushing the Danubian monarchy to war. Graydon Tunstall does not equivocate; Vienna deliberately started the war with Serbia. Austria-Hungary needed no pressure from Berlin, only the assurance of German support. The reasons for German support, Herwig argues, reflected much about the intellectual assumptions of the ruling elite, including the inevitability of war and the belief that one might take the "calculated risk" of war and still not have to fight. Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg only belatedly realized that a policy of "calculated risk" to deter Russia did not match with the demands of the Schlieffen-Moltke plan. Herwig's assessment of the confusion in Berlin is harsh but fair: "One could almost argue that in Berlin there existed *no* government in control of events in July 1914" (p. 185).

The other essays graphically portray the decision-making processes in Serbia, Italy, Britain, the Ottoman Empire, France, the United States, and the Balkan states of Greece, Romania, and Bulgaria. In each case, the authors delineate the interactions among the narrow elite of men who were finally responsible for the decisions. In general, the decision makers were relatively few in number and often isolated from the public. In the case of the United States, John Milton Cooper assigns responsibility to a single individual, President Woodrow Wilson. "He [Wilson] and he alone took the United States into World War I" (p. 442).

The details and length of these essays distinguish this volume from the most recent comparable contribution, Keith Wilson's *Decisions for War, 1914* (1995). But the four conceptual chapters also make it different from Wilson's. Regrettably, two of them are not entirely successful. A survey of why no major European war occurred between 1815 and 1914 must necessarily be cursory, and this one is. Nor does the final chapter, seeking to frame the "rudiments of a theory" about the war, achieve its goal. It raises a number of interesting issues, including the absence of the "bourgeoisie elites" such as bankers and financiers in the July crisis, but these points should have been integrated into the essays on particular countries. By contrast, the penultimate chapter on why the war happened offers a succinct summary of the major conclusions of previous chapters. Herwig once more stresses the importance of strategic considerations, while renewing his assertion "that the very essence of decision making is human input by way of choice" (p.

465). At a time in American history when a president and a few close advisers have deliberately taken a great superpower to war, this volume provides a cautious reminder that things can and will go wrong on the road to war.

SAMUEL R. WILLIAMSON, JR.
University of the South

WOLFGANG SCHIVELBUSCH. *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*. Translated by JEFFERSON CHASE. New York: Metropolitan Books. 2003. Pp. 403. \$27.50.

Wolfgang Schivelbusch has distinguished himself as an original historian of culture. An independent scholar who divides his time between Berlin and New York, he has a knack of finding wonderful topics and writing about them with verve and insight. He has published books on the ways railway journeys changed conceptions of time and space; the cultural consequences of artificial light in nineteenth-century Europe; the culture and use of spices, stimulants, and intoxicants; and life and art in Berlin between 1945 and 1948. His new book is a history of the culture of defeat: a thoughtful meditation on the consequences of defeat in the American South after the Civil War, in France following the 1870–1871 military loss to Germany, and in post-1918 Germany.

All nations want to be on the victorious side of wars, but being on the losing side is a defining experience that is often more interesting. The history of the victors by the victors tends to be teleological; victory poses few doubts or problems of explanation. But the defeated have to wrestle with their humiliation: they dedicate enormous effort to coming to terms with the significance of their shortcomings. At times, they write their history with that tinge of humanity that comes with sorrow and failure; at other times, they expose the intellectual soul searching and self-criticism that comes with shattered hopes. Most often, they explain and culturally manage the defeat by constructing myths and telling lies, particularly to themselves.

Schivelbusch is interested in the myth, memory, and mass psychology generated by defeat, the inner values and inner demons of southern U.S., French, and German societies after their military losses. This is not a book for those looking for a painstaking source analysis or methodological rigor. Schivelbusch's historical canvas is painted with broad strokes, his discussion is dominated by generalizations, and his sources are a large body of secondary literature. Experts in the respective fields will no doubt find certain bibliographical and historiographical omissions. But this book will be rewarding for those who are ready to accept it on its own terms as an original and stimulating study of the modern psychology of defeat in three nations that connects themes often left unrelated.

The U.S. South, France, and Germany experienced their defeats very differently, but they did share, according to Schivelbusch, a set of patterns that re-

curred across time and national cultures. The major one was "a state of unreality—or dreamland" (p. 10). In this state, depression following the defeat turned to euphoria that was usually the result of an internal revolution after the military loss. All blame shifted to the deposed leader or to others, and the losing nation felt free of any guilt. The nations created a myth that constituted the psychological mechanism to come to terms with defeat: the Lost Cause in the South, the French idea of *revanche* (revenge or redress), and the German belief of being *im Felde unbesiegt* (undefeated on the field of battle). These myths denied that the nation had been "truly" defeated and postponed the settling of accounts to the future. The defeated nations' myth was that of having lost in battle but won in spirit. The winners are savages: the Yankees in the South, the Prussians in France, the post-1918 African-American occupiers of the Rhineland.

The main question that this book addresses is how nations construct moral victories out of military defeats. The section about the U.S. South traces the formulation of a specific southern historical mission as a capitalist civilization bent on economic—but not bourgeois and liberal—modernization. It opposed the Mammon civilization of the North, combining a "technological-economic modernity and feudal romantic culture" (p. 54). The myth of the Lost Cause provided the means of self-purification and a common front against the victors during Reconstruction. Schivelbusch follows the ways the Lost Cause has persisted in varying degrees to the present day, and how the rest of the nation came to understand the southern defeat in southern metaphors. In France, the defeat became a foundation myth for the subsequent national defense and political regeneration. The defeat in the battle of Sedan (September 2, 1870) was viewed as the defeat of Napoleon III alone, while the national defense against the Germans after Sedan signified the birth of the Third Republic and the nation. Defeat was psychologically sustained by *revanche*, which was the Third Republic's integrating force, mass delusion, and foundational myth all at once.

The most detailed and informed section of the book deals with post-1918 Germany. Unlike France, where national defense after Sedan served as a national rebirth, the defeat of imperial Germany was not heroic and the revolution unsuccessful. Unlike the U.S. South and France, defeat did not provide Weimar democracy with a legitimizing foundational myth. Ultimately, the myth of *im Felde unbesiegt* undermined Weimar, for it raised the question of who was responsible for defeat, to which the answer was the old empire and the new democracy. Weimar commingled, according to Schivelbusch, a mass psychology of defeat with cultural borrowing from America, borrowing that conveyed both attraction to and revulsion from the United States. Germany's paths of modernity, which ultimately led to the Nazis, mixed a sense of moral injustice, national spiritual revival, and American-style consumerism.

This book raises suggestive ideas about the ways societies turned their military defeats into memory tales of moral injustice. But the topic calls for more explanation and subtlety than the one-directional narratives offered about the formation of mentalities of lost wars and won moral causes. It especially calls for exploration of the different language available to different societies to articulate a sense of defeat. Germans in 1918 could use the language of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis to speak about their loss. People in the U.S. South and France did not have access to this language in quite the same way in the immediate decades after their defeats. Schivelbusch bases his analysis on the notions of trauma, mourning, and recovery; this is an intelligent move, but there lurks also the danger of anachronism. The different use and understanding of such notions should be an important part of the story. Did U.S. southerners and French people, for example, actually use the term "trauma"? And if so, what did they mean by it? "Trauma" as a term commonly used in public discourse is a phenomena of the post-1945 period (and indeed probably the post-1960 period).

As an excellent analysis of the ways nations who lost major wars constructed memories of themselves as moral winners, this book offers important lessons about the perils of self delusion in defeat and in victory. In 1870, Ernest Renan reversed the well-known warning "Woe to the vanquished" into a warning to Germany: "Woe to the victors!" Heinrich Mann spoke in November 1918 of the "curse of victory" and warned the victorious entente of its consequences. One can extend this advice to several modern military victories that have turned sour: the Israeli victory in 1967, for example, or some of the United States' military exploits. Perhaps Schivelbusch's book should be read by some present-day policy makers, who, while planning the next victory, sow unwittingly the seeds of defeat.

ALON CONFINO
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MAUD S. MANDEL. *In the Aftermath of Genocide: Armenians and Jews in Twentieth-Century France*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 317. \$23.95.

Although genocide has received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years, relatively little work has focused on the experience of victim groups in the aftermath of an attempted genocide. Maud S. Mandel's book is an important exception to this rule. While much is now known about the mechanics and processes of genocide and the governments that perpetrate them, much less is known about the ways in which traumatized populations struggle to rebuild their lives, families, and communities in the wake of a genocidal assault. Important questions remain about the ways in which genocide affects both communal and individual identity, the long-term effect of trauma, and the particular issues of acculturation confronted by exile

groups coping with a new society. These are precisely the issues addressed by Mandel in her analysis of the Armenian and Jewish populations after their respective genocides. France, as home to the only substantial community of both Jews and Armenians in Western Europe, provides Mandel with an ideal setting for the kind of comparative analysis and discussion she undertakes with this book.

By examining both the Armenian and Jewish experience in France, Mandel is able to highlight the nuanced and complex ways in which groups negotiate life and identity after collective trauma. Never simplistic, this book compares the relative experiences of these communities and reveals that each responded in unique ways, based in large part on its relationship to the French polity, its own internal needs as a people, as well as its particular history. Although Armenians only began arriving in France in the 1920s, Jews had long been present in French society, and this difference played a significant role in the relative experiences of the two communities. The Armenians, for example, were never recipients of the kind of longstanding prejudice to which French Jews were often exposed, and the absence of such hostility allowed different responses and reactions to their inclusion in French society.

Yet for all their differences there were a number of important commonalities in the methods by which these groups coped with their postgenocidal experience. Particularly insightful is the way in which Mandel eloquently illustrates the resilience and perseverance of both communities, not only in the face of their national trauma, but also in their resistance to the French tradition of assimilation and acculturation. French policies designed to better integrate minority populations into mainstream French society with full rights and citizenship also worked to diminish cultural, religious, racial, and ethnic differences between members of minority groups and the larger French national community. While it might be tempting to assume that victimized populations would be receptive to such overtures and would seek to minimize the differences that were the ostensible cause of their suffering, Mandel's study shows that, on the contrary, these groups increasingly affirmed and defended the persecuted identities of their community, even in the face of continued social and legal pressure to conform and integrate. In fact, Mandel points out that not only did Armenians and Jews hold on to their ethnic identity in France, but also that, when given the choice, most members willingly remained members of the French minority community rather than emigrate to Armenia or Israel. Evidently, genocidal assault on a racial, ethnic, or religious group often serves to strengthen members' affiliation to that persecuted group since genocide involves victimization based on perceived membership in a group. The process of marginalization and persecution actually reinforces that identity in the minds of those being maltreated.

It should be pointed out that this book is more than just a historical discussion of the Armenian and Jewish experience in France. In many ways, it serves to illustrate the ways in which religious and ethnic identities are forged and maintained in the modern era of the nation-state. Through the experiences of Armenians and Jews in twentieth-century France, Mandel's work offers an object lesson on the nature of citizenship, nationalism, and communal affiliation and how these concepts are mediated through the collective experience of a community, especially after the trauma of genocide.

Detailed, thorough, and thoughtful, Mandel's book is an excellent addition to the scholarly literature on genocide and its consequences. By focusing on an often neglected aspect of this phenomenon, the author has contributed greatly to our understanding of the ways in which persecuted groups are able to respond to their victimization, and her book should be of interest to anyone concerned about these important issues.

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CHRISTOPHER PRICE. *Britain, America and Rearmament in the 1930s: The Cost of Failure*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xvi, 228. \$65.00.

This is a major work with equally significant flaws. It contains much good that is hard to tell from the bad, so linked are these qualities, so ambitious is the reach and so convoluted the argument. Christopher Price focuses on the political economics of appeasement and the ties between British finance and power. During 1931–1938, he argues, after Britain left the gold standard and free trade and moved to imperial preference, its economy boomed, performing better than that of any other state. Meanwhile, it faced a German military menace and an American economic one, aimed to make Britain return to financial orthodoxy. Britain's response to these threats was linked, because its elites favored that return, saw finance as the "fourth arm" of defense, alongside navies, armies, and air forces, and thought military spending would sap the economy. So Britain failed to rearm as far or as fast as possible; it returned to orthodoxy, letting its gold reserves cross the Atlantic, weakening its "war chest" and ability to mobilize imperial economic resources. Simultaneously, Britain appeased Germany and the United States and lost to them both.

This is an ambitious case. Price makes half of it—the parts but not the whole. He shows that the British elite favored a disastrous approach to international finance and defense spending, while incompetence, corruption, and "something as harmful as treachery" (p. xiv) marked Neville Chamberlain's government. Like many recent scholars, he denies that appeasement was a natural or reasonable policy. Whitehall had options and chose badly; its best choice was to damn liberalism

and rearm full speed ahead. Price demolishes accepted views of the political economics of appeasement, revises understanding of “fourth arm” ideology and British economic policy, and shows how ideological blinkers crippled strategy. These are major achievements. But what he proves and what he says he proves are not the same. Price shows that the autarchic trade system of 1931–1937 suited Britain better than any other country. Its economy was no invalid to die of rearmament. Britain could and should have rearmed faster and further than it did. He claims to make these points and does so, *if sotto voce* rather than systematically. At the same time, Price strains after points he does not prove, and an analysis of appeasement declines into a disquisition on British gold holdings. He claims the return to financial orthodoxy in 1938 crippled Britain’s strength for war. Otherwise, in July 1940 Britain’s war chest would have been twice as large as it actually was (£800, 000, 000 against £400,000,000) and could have been used to start new military industry in Canada. Perhaps true, but so what? What problems would this have solved? Which ones would have remained? The “preferential system (w)as a fundamental support of British power in times of crisis” (p. 48); if a slightly more buxom war chest was fundamental to imperial power, God save the king. Price is right to claim that imperial preference served British power better than did free trade, but he proves it less through arguments about the “war chest” of 1938–1940 than through those about the strength of the economy between 1933 and 1939.

Price’s case also suffers from contradictory arguments, muddled causation, and rhetorical overkill. He notes that Washington had little effect on British actions yet describes that influence through terms like “luring to the rocks” (p. 110). He puts greater weight on “fourth arm” ideology than it can bear; it was not some Hegelian force, just a strategic principle forged by politicians to reconcile conflicting imperatives. They would have done much the same without it, because this ideology mattered less than the ideas that produced it. The British elite were liberals who did not want to change their economic and political system or cause unnecessary war. “Fourth arm” ideology and Washington mattered only because they brought such attitudes into play. Price ignores strategic or diplomatic issues while condemning scholars in those fields for not reading the economic literature, but British distaste for rearmament stemmed from more than liberal political economics. Again, by analyzing in detail views about “fourth arm” ideology and international finance, Price implies the two are linked into one cause, which produced weakness and appeasement between 1933 and 1939 and disaster in 1940. In fact, these two matters are linked but loosely; they affected different things, and elites responded to each individually. The decisions on international finance cannot be called appeasement of America, as against poor policy. They had little effect on Britain’s struggle with Ger-

many. They did serve as a means by which the British Empire lost its economic independence from the United States after July 1940, but this might have happened in any case—would £400,000,000 more in gold have reshaped British power?

Price thinks so because he has a “fourth arm” theory of his own. He reads British power from its finances, mistakes gold for steel and both for blood and iron, and ignores issues of industrial capacity. He argues, “had the will to rearm existed, British resources were effectively limitless, and moreover that after 1931 a system to develop them effectively was in place” (p. xiii). This statement is true of raw materials, dubious about finance, and absurd regarding industry. Price thinks “fourth arm” ideology determined Whitehall’s financial rations to defense in 1937–1938, and that the latter had disastrous results; yet this money let the air force and navy procure almost as many warships and aircraft as industry could provide (the army is a different story). During the 1930s, Britain’s warship-building and aircraft industries were in crisis. Even so, Britain produced more warships and aircraft than Germany between 1940 and 1945, and would have done even more had rearmament started earlier and proceeded more thoroughly than it did. In order to rearm more thoroughly, Britain would have had to start rearming earlier. Anyone interested in appeasement and power in the 1930s should read this book, but carefully.

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R. LAURENCE MOORE and MAURIZIO VAUDAGNA, editors. *The American Century in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. vii, 286. \$35.00.

The fourteen chapters in this volume edited by R. Laurence Moore and Maurizio Vaudagna represent papers presented at a conference sponsored by Cornell University and the University of Turin in the year 2000. Some of the chapters were revised after September 11, 2001. Although the geographic focus of this anthology is America and Europe, in fact some of the chapters feature only America. And if many contributors attempt to provide a century-long survey of their topic, some treat only a few decades.

What provides the inspiration and coherence to this volume is the notion of an “American Century” introduced by Henry Luce in his celebrated *Life* magazine article of 1941. The theme of the American Century works best for the first two groups of chapters devoted to the United States in international affairs and to American culture. It fades in the final chapters that discuss “social responses” to America.

Alan Brinkley opens the volume with a rather critical chapter on the emergence of the concept of an American Century in the 1940s. Brinkley presents Luce, the Freedom Train, and the vogue of American Studies programs as representative of a generation

that sought to define the American character and promote American values to the world. These efforts, according to Brinkley, ignored many of the nation's unflattering aspects and unwittingly reinforced Americans' "insular self-regard" (p. 20).

The fundamentals of the American Century's international vision are analyzed by Frederico Romero. He suggests reading the twentieth century backward to Woodrow Wilson, who launched America on a global crusade toward democracy, free trade, and independent self-government. Romero observes that Wilson's aim of making "the world safe for democracy" assumed promoting global interdependence with its attendant advantages, tensions, and instabilities. Wilson's views were then turned into operational practice by Franklin D. Roosevelt. U.S. national security thereafter depended on creating a world in which free markets and democracies could flourish. But, Romero reminds us, there is a unipolar aspect to this multilateral vision. Its success depends on U.S. power. Even Wilson recognized this logic, as did successors like Lyndon B. Johnson, who made the credibility of American resolve and might essential to the nation's international strategy. Romero also explains that this vision was not simply the creation of zealots like Luce but resulted from an interactive process. Europe's self-destruction, Soviet expansionism, and postcolonial liberation movements, among other developments, invited, even forced, this assertive role on the U.S.

Detlef Junker, like Romero, makes Europe central to America's new internationalism. What drew the U.S. across the Atlantic, according to Junker, was the need to contain German ambition and power in two world wars and then to control, defend, and integrate Germany in the Western alliance. He argues that a unified, peaceful, and integrated Germany ranks among the great achievements of U.S. foreign policy in the twentieth century. But Junker has reservations. He, like other contributors to this volume, is uneasy about the crusading character of American policy. This sense of a special national mission converted rivalries into contests between good and evil, and, for example, made the German Empire of Wilhelm II into the "evil empire."

But it is American academics who make the most negative assessments. Ronald Steel applies the thesis that America's internationalist strategy depends on the benign hegemony of the U.S. to the present. Steel argues that, in the post-Cold War era, U.S. national security requires the maintenance of a "stable international environment" (p. 72). This grand goal relies on undiluted U.S. leadership, a leadership that brooks no rivals—including our European allies. Washington, Steel contends, once content with a divided and weak Europe, may now want a slightly stronger junior partner that could assist us, but it does not want a Europe that has its own ambitions. In fact, Steel thinks, Washington has little to fear on this score, because Europe has no political will, no sense of an international mission. Europeans may want to be

admired, but they do not want to exercise power. In short, he argues, no one wants an Atlantic alliance based on twin pillars. Europe must remain weak to be protected by the U.S. Yet, Steel warns, if the U.S. pursues an aggressive unilateralism, it may provoke a more assertive Europe.

Walter LaFeber extends Steel's thesis backward and makes unilateralism essential to U.S. strategy for the last century. By the early 1890s, LaFeber argues, Americans joined their sense of exceptionalism with their belief in their duty of bringing American values to the world. And as the military and economic power of the U.S. grew, these convictions produced a unilateralist temptation. In his formulation exceptionalism, plus universalism, plus power, equals unilateralism. LaFeber, much like Romero, believes Wilson made American power the center of the new order. By the 1940s, the United States, now utilizing its enormous military and economic strength, was acting unilaterally around the globe. LaFeber worries that this impulse, which seems to inspire the present Bush administration, is out of control. He doubts that even our European friends can slow the thrust of American unilateralism.

The second set of chapters treats American culture in Europe. Volker Berghahn adds anti-American actors to the cast of the American Century. He reminds us of how European elites disdained American mass culture between the wars. But after 1945, American elites became convinced that emerging U.S. leadership in Europe depended on changing the snobbish posturing and leftist sympathies of their European peers. First the U.S. government and then philanthropic bodies like the Ford Foundation led the campaign to convert those who criticized America as an *Unkultur*. Berghahn counts these efforts as a success and concludes that contemporary European cultural anti-Americanism is "much less worrisome" (p. 129) than it was in the early postwar decades.

David Ellwood focuses on the influence of the American model on the British quest for modernity in the twentieth century. He sees the British poised between a real, or imagined, America and their own national traditions, which owe much to Europe. At first, British elites constructed bulwarks against the American way, but later British leaders like Margaret Thatcher were eager to import U.S. modernity. Nevertheless, by the 1990s it had become clear that embracing America had not overhauled the economy's performance or provided superior public services and risked sacrificing British identity. The British, according to Ellwood, continue to grope for a way to accommodate American modernity and yet remain both British and European.

Looking at Europe as a whole, Moore examines a neglected aspect of American influence. In his chapter, entitled "American Religion as Cultural Imperialism," Moore shows how Protestant evangelical religion made few converts yet reinforced European stereotypes of America. Relief workers and missionaries

ASIA

MICHAEL SZONYI. *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 313. \$49.50.

seemed to sell American values along with their version of Christianity. These religious workers, in the eyes of Europeans, proselytized in an unspiritual, American way, using advertising and counting converts, and they tried to impose their practices by attacking European state churches. As early as the 1920s, evangelicals adopted Washington's political agenda of fighting godless, anticapitalist Bolshevism. During the Cold War, preachers like Billy Graham made religious freedom in Soviet-dominated Europe an issue. But Moore has trouble making the category of "cultural imperialism" fit his subject, and evangelical efforts in Europe were at best a footnote to the phenomenon of Americanization.

The final chapters, which address "social responses," move away from emphasizing American agency in the American Century. Thus James Kloppenberg explains why the U.S. did not go the way of Europe in developing the welfare state. He shows, in particular, why Americans rejected FDR's "second bill of rights" while the British endorsed the Beveridge plan. But this speaks to transatlantic differences, not to the influence of the American model. Similarly, Vaudagna, focusing on the 1930s, argues that fascism and communism in Europe fueled opposition to the New Deal. Domestic opponents invoked the bad example of these statist systems to criticize early New Deal attempts at introducing more social protection and economic regulation. Vaudagna, like others in this volume, sees Europe as a powerful agent in creating the American Century. Mary Nolan, who examines changes in European conceptions of mass consumption, domesticity, and gender roles in the 1950s and 1960s, pushes the argument in the same direction. She urges a "less America-centric approach to the American century" (p. 245). Nolan seeks to complicate the process by which America exported itself. She stresses both European sources of modernity and national differences in reception and appropriation. Americanization, instead of turning Europeans into Americans, splinters into a multiplicity of variations. Thus American goods and styles in Sweden disappeared into Swedish modernity. The final chapter by Richard Polenberg makes a case for the U.S. moving toward the acceptance of dual citizenship and thus inserting Americans in a transnational world. The "American-ness" of the American Century seems to evaporate in these final chapters.

This volume offers no conclusion, but its contents help this reviewer understand how we arrived at the current crisis in America's international standing. To the extent that the energy of the American Century has its source in a missionary zeal to bring American ideals and practices to the world, and in a conviction that the world will only be safe if America dominates it, history helps account for where the Bush administration has led us.

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This compact, focused study effectively integrates and illustrates several important lines of development in recent scholarship on early modern China. One is an appreciation of the influence of Kangxi-period state promotion of lineage awareness and ritual as an aspect of dynastic legitimation. Benjamin A. Elman and Kai-wing Chow have explored the textual and policy origins of this program. Here, Michael Szonyi applies our previous knowledge of these institutions to his study of lineage awareness in the Fuzhou region (that is, Minxian and Houguan counties in Fujian province) from the Song period to end of the Qing, with many intriguing reflections on the continuing influence of these institutions in the twentieth-century life of the region. This treatment of paternal lineage affiliation as an institution is integrated with another line of research—associated most with Helen F. Siu, David Faure, Liu Zhiwei, and Winghoi Chan—that examines the ambiguous lines of "ethnic" identity and regional differentiation among the Dan and She groups, in particular.

With both historical specificity and interpretive subtlety, Szonyi shows that the lineage institutions of the Qing period in particular could contain many contradictory ideological propositions, yet contribute both to local and national coherence. For instance, lineage leaders in Fuzhou were convinced of the Neo-Confucian proposition that the lineage—encompassing history, rituals, and inscription of the living community among the congregation of ancestral spirits—was a reality. It was an integral part of the cosmos and essential to maintenance of human identity and morality. Rituals were full of immediacy and content. At the same time, lineage authorities were clearly aware of the social and political implications of genealogical detail, and they did not shrink from what Szonyi calls "strategizing"—that is, manipulating genealogical claims and falsifying when profitable—in order to affect a family's or individual's position with respect to local status or imperial recognition. The power of the genealogy and lineage ritual to bisect both the mundane and the sublime create temptations for scholars to flatten their interpretations of lineage arts toward either the pious or the cynical poles. Szonyi weaves the many strands of ideology, orthodoxy, the politics of taxation, social aspiration, cultural affiliation, local identity, and national integration into a stable but never reductionist study.

This is particularly evident in Szonyi's careful examination of the local manifestations and consequences of lineage expression. The construction of tombs, ancestral halls, and altars for worship of the earth spirits (*she*) were salient points of conspicuous display. Intermittently, conditions inspired greater competition among local individuals to build and advertise exten-

sive lineage bases. For instance, the coastal region of Fuzhou had a piracy problem in the late Ming, and the responsibility for maintaining local security fell to the educated, landowning elites. The call for restoration of civil order was soon translated into a demand for a return to "tradition," meaning a hypothesized glory age of lineage coherence and fealty, the better to organize militia units and motivate them to protect the community. In this and other periods of crisis, ambitious men mobilized their kin to work as a political and economic unit, ramping up the architectural and ritual display concomitantly. As a field of local and social and political competition, the lineage industries also became the point of entry for merchant families who in the Ming gathered the wealth to challenge the older elites for prestige. In the process, lineages necessarily strove to establish their venerability as founders and protectors of the local community.

This localizing of identities, however, was in significant tension with the centralizing and standardizing demands of the state, both in the Ming and in the Qing periods. Szonyi demonstrates that Ming imposition of separate systems for military and for tax obligations provided incentives for local families to consolidate into extended lineage groups in order to rationalize their obligations and lessen individual vulnerability. At the same time, these groups, in consolidating, learned to shift the organizational basis of the *lijia* system, in particular, from a bureaucratically controlled, centrally organized unit system into one in which leadership and privileges became lineage-specific and hereditary in contradiction of state expectations. But perhaps most critical were the Qing uses of lineage practice standardization as a way of legitimating the Qing as a dynasty. With the increasing standardization of genealogical form, patrilocal residence, and lineage ritual, the value of local affiliation lessened. For Fuzhou and other areas of southern coastal China, the cultural implications were profound. Where local ancestral lore had implied descent from Dan and She groups and often displayed the heritage in uxorilocal marriage, revised genealogies now prized claimed descent from northern Chinese lineages, lately immigrated to the south, and living descendants eschewed local practices. National integration expressed as lineage practice standardization became the emblem of elite status, while markers of local or "ethnic" identity became characteristics of the humble or landless. Although Szonyi does not draw comparisons to other cases apart from the Pearl River delta, there are rich comparisons to be made to diverse regions of the Qing empire. And, as Szonyi notes, they are a source of the ideological conceits behind national identity in twentieth-century China.

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SUSAN L. GLOSSER. *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915–1953*. (Asia: Local Studies/Global Themes, num-

ber 5.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 275. \$49.95.

In the conventional story of China's twentieth-century revolution, reflected in countless course syllabi and textbooks, the Chinese family as a social institution experienced two important turning points. The first was the New Culture Movement of the late 1910s, when radical critics named China's extended family system and its constituent hierarchies as one of the major factors impeding social change and the establishment of a modern nation. The second was the Marriage Law of 1950, in which the newly established People's Republic of China (PRC) government sought to guarantee freedom of marriage and access to divorce. Recent scholarship has added detail and nuance to this story but generally left the foundational quality of these two turning points intact. New Culture leads to communism, which leads to marriage and family reform, in a coherent genealogy of iconoclastic change orchestrated by the Chinese Communist Party, albeit with fluctuating commitment and success.

Susan L. Glosser's new book reworks this understanding in fundamental ways. Glosser argues that at least three competing visions of the Chinese "small family" (*xiao jiating*) circulated during these decades. For New Culture radicals, the purpose of family reform was to liberate the individual, with his or her complex emotional and economic needs, from a stultifying family system. In this vision, families based upon freely chosen conjugal ties would form the constituent units of a healthy society. For the political thinkers, jurists, and bureaucrats of the Nationalist state (1928–1949), in contrast, the "small family" could only become a building block for a strong nation if family reform was mediated by an expansive state. The conjugal couple were to recite their vows in front of witnesses who could verify the marriage, celebrate their nuptials frugally, recognize state authority as superior to that of family elders, and, should the marriage fail, obtain permission to divorce under a series of laws intended to preserve intact families whenever possible. A third vision of the family, as economic unit and consumer, coexisted in time with the Nationalist vision but overlapped little in content. Magazines published for the emergent middle class of Shanghai by the milk-selling entrepreneur You Huigao and others promoted a new type of family: one that kept a clean house, decorated it with modern objects, and maintained a gendered division of labor in which men provided the family budget and women took charge of spending it to create a warm and nurturing home.

Ultimately, Glosser argues, the vision of family promulgated in the PRC during the Mao years had more in common with the Guomindang state-building agenda than it did with the New Culture critique. In the PRC, as in 1930s and 1940s Shanghai, the family was mobilized to support a state-building agenda, in this case increasing production and promoting class

struggle. The main difference between Nationalist and Communist family reform lay not in the content of the vision, but rather in the efficiency of its implementation.

In seeking out sources, Glosser ranges beyond the usual New Culture magazines to include social surveys, legal cases, and periodicals aimed at educated urbanites. Most of her material is drawn from Shanghai and its environs, reflecting the intensity of family reform discussions and the level of scholarly and publishing activity there. Occasionally, however, the desired sources are not available. Glosser's discussion of Nationalist-era legal practices, for instance, is actually drawn from later court cases in Japanese-occupied Shanghai, the only ones she was allowed to see. Although she is forthright about this limitation, the reader wonders what these cases can tell us about the agenda of an absent state, or conversely what we might learn from them about the particularities of legal administration in a semi-occupied city.

The book's most intriguing discussion concerns the New Culture movement. Looking closely at the rhetoric of the young male writers who broached the subject of family reform, Glosser detects a streak of misogyny overlooked by admirers of the movement's iconoclasm. Young men sought educated women less because they were committed to an abstract notion of gender equality than because their own emergent social aspirations required cultivated, enlightened companions. At the same time, they scornfully dismissed "traditional" women (where "tradition" meant lack of education, footbinding, and subordination) as the source of China's ills, in one case comparing such women to ghosts and corpses. Left unquestioned in even the most radical writings of this period was a gendered division of labor assigning women responsibility for home, children, and the happiness of their reform-minded husbands. As Glosser cogently argues, subsequent Nationalist and Communist state appropriation of family reform discourse made it difficult to voice or even think about alternative social arrangements. Glosser has provided a thoughtful and clearly formulated treatment of historical terrain that turns out to be less familiar, and in some ways more forbidding, than we have wanted to think.

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YUNXIANG YAN. *Private Life under Socialism: Love, Intimacy, and Family Change in a Chinese Village, 1949–1999*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 289. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This is a thought-provoking book about rural family life in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Based on his years of observation in Xiajia village in the north-eastern province of Heilongjiang, Yunxiang Yan asserts that the state's intrusion into village society and family life during the first three decades of its exis-

tence, combined with its withdrawal at the end of collectivization, left "a moral and ideological vacuum" (p. 234) that has led to the development of "ultra-utilitarian individualism" (p. 233) and the "freak of the uncivil individual" (p. 226). Yan claims that young villagers "ruthlessly extract money from their parents for the 'modernization' of their own private lives" (p. 234). Meanwhile "public life has declined, social order deteriorated, and the village community disintegrated" (p. 234).

These are potentially significant conclusions, but Yan is not always convincing. Part of the problem is a lack of transparency about his methods and a limited reflection about his place in this community. Yan lived in this village from 1971 to 1978 and returned seven times from 1989 to 1999. He acknowledges the advantages of his connection with the village—without it he could not have gathered much of the information he did—but admits of no disadvantage. In the preface he claims that "I simply followed and documented the life course of more than two dozen individuals" (p. xii). There are several problems here: little about ethnography is ever "simple"; we do not know who these two dozen people were; in places, Yan seems to be following more than two dozen people; and if he grew close to some people, might he have alienated others?

Yan expects the reader to take a lot on his authority; we do not hear as much as we might like to from informants. For example, he notes a decrease in social intimacy (p. 127), but we hear nothing from Xiajia residents about how they feel about that. Although the position of parents seems to be vulnerable and the treatment of some elders worrisome, there is little to prepare us for Yan's claims about "the uncivil individual" (p. 226). In fact, his chapter on fertility culture suggests that some individuals are very civil indeed. Ultimately we do not hear enough from the residents to justify Yan's harsh conclusions.

Commendably, Yan engages scholarship from other fields and regions, although he could have done so more thoroughly. Too often he turns to the venerable but largely outdated pioneers in the field while ignoring much recent work. Although he seems current with regard to studies of the PRC, he ignores most studies of the Chinese family before 1949. Consequently, he claims that most scholars of the family have relied too heavily on the corporate family model in which individuals "always put family interest above personal interest" (p. 6). To my knowledge, we stopped doing that decades ago with Margery Wolf's *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (1972) and *The House of Lim* (1968). Neither appears in this discussion. This is not the only place in which Yan fails to include scholarship that undermines his claim to be practically the only scholar to look beyond the corporate model. Putting himself in conversation, rather than in competition, with the ever-growing body of work on the Chinese family would have served the book better.

Yan's covers a wide range of topics but often treats them without the depth they deserve. I will limit myself

to one example: the process of serial family division and young people's sense of entitlement. Yan attributes these phenomena to children's contributions to the family economy and the family's loss of control over land distribution (pp. 159–61). But other issues lurk at the edges. How valuable are children's contributions? Why are parents not given credit for the work of childrearing (pp. 188–89)? What accounts for the sense of entitlement seen in young children (p. 206)? Might in-laws' gifts of cash to brides be a way to keep wealth in the patriline? Yan must have many thoughts on these issues and others, and I wish he had taken time to express them.

Finally, lack of clarity (pp. 197, 202), the absence of percentages (pp. 145, 168, 192, 193), and even contradictions (pp. 193, 194, 232 n. 9) occasionally obscure the argument. The index is sparse, and the use of author and date in the footnotes is unwieldy.

The depth of my engagement with Yan's book is a sign of its richness, and despite my criticisms I plan to assign it to my seminar students.

SUSAN GLOSSER

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YOMI BRAESTER. *Witness against History: Literature, Film, and Public Discourse in Twentieth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 264. \$60.00.

"All Cretans are liars," said a Cretan in the old Greek brain teaser. Yomi Braester's study of modern Chinese authors and filmmakers reminds one of the riddle, since the Chinese, while seeming to act as witnesses to history and propagandists for progress, were often surreptitiously sowing seeds of doubt about their own statements and the very possibility of testimony. Surveying twentieth-century works through a number of case studies, Braester argues that from Lu Xun on, Chinese authors commented on their times precisely by throwing doubts on their own veracity and, indeed, the very possibility of public discourse. Lu is a clear case, since his famous "iron chamber" metaphor insists on the futility, even the cruelty of enlightenment. The madman in Lu's short story of 1918, like the Cretan, simply cannot be telling the truth all the time, in which case the entire narrative is unreliable. Lu thus expresses his "ambivalence about his position as a witness" (p. 31) and implies "an unbridgeable gap between him [or any witness] and the event" (p. 40).

Braester insists that many modern Chinese authors were witnesses *against* history—that is against the metanarrative of progress and, more radically, against empirical certainty. They threw doubts on their own authorial voices. The greatest strength of this monograph lies in Braester's finely wrought analyses of individual works based on these notions: in addition to Lu, Ouyang Yuqiang's reworking of the Pan Jinlian story in the 1920s, Xu Xingzhi's film *Song at Midnight* (1935), the Cultural Revolution's *The Red Lantern* (1963), post-Maoist films like *Bitter Laughter* (1979),

Zhang Xianliang's *My Bodhi Tree* (1994), Taiwanese stories from the 1980s, and Yu Hua's story "Past and Punishment" (1989). Braester argues that these works cannot be taken at face value, as simple chronicles of the events and hopes of their times, but rather represent fractured records of the violence and traumas of modern China and the author's own consciousness. Realizing the aporia of traumatized memory, twentieth-century authors used literary allegory to question their own public role. Yet Braester paradoxically concludes that their expressions of skepticism "signal the resilience of modern Chinese literature as a critical discourse" (p. 207).

Braester's readings of individual works are sharp and insightful; his overall argument is convincing. Although deliberately revisionist, this work illustrates a broader scholarly trend that is complicating any simple picture of Chinese modernity, whether liberal, Marxist, or capitalist. Braester aligns himself with Rey Chow, David Wang, and other literary scholars. The "dark side" of Lu in particular has also been noticed by Lung-kee Sun and, writing in an earlier era and in different context, Tsi-an Hsia.

Yet several questions remain. It is not clear whether Braester is arguing that radical skepticism dominated artistic endeavor or was rather an undercurrent flowing against a more positivist, utopian mainstream. To what extent would different case studies (say, Shen Congwen, Chen Kaige, or Li Ao) reveal a greater faith in public discourse and memory? More fundamentally, might it be better to understand, say, Zhang Xianliang as ambiguously hopeful, his criticism fueled by a modest faith in the possibilities of partial memory and fractured testimony? Braester's readings seem forced in a few places. Relentlessly exposing any apparent attempts to offer testimony as the inability to witness risks making Chinese authors sounding banal, if not voiceless (one wonders about the visual arts as well). Do irony and doubt, multiple meanings, and ambiguous voices ever allow for optimism? What would an attempt to witness *for* history look like? Braester finds such an attempt in the aesthetically limited but "intricate artistic production" of the Cultural Revolution. The intensely organized propaganda apparatus produced a single, Maoist voice (and Braester's analysis of how it did so is one of the highlights of the book).

Nonetheless, Braester argues that twentieth-century Chinese could scarcely find redemption in historical consciousness. To some extent, Braester is playing with prepositions; witnessing against history, or *for*, *of*, or *to* history, must in practice be overlapping acts. The historical rather than literary problem is to trace the sources of the radical, tragic skepticism that Braester illuminates: what was particular about Chinese trauma as opposed to the general trauma of the twentieth century? And how was memory work shaped by factors other than trauma? I would suggest that to bear witness against history is to practice a particular kind of witnessing for history. The ancient Greeks presumably used the Cretan story to talk about logic; Braester

uses modern Chinese authors to tell us much about contemporary consciousness.

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MARCIA YONEMOTO. *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868)*. (Asia: Local Studies/Global Themes, number 7.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 234. \$49.95.

Specialists in Japanese history will find a great deal of interest in Marcia Yonemoto's broadly conceived and nicely executed study; non-Japan specialists, especially historians of early modern Europe and the Americas, may find the book equally worthwhile. Although cultural perspectives on the evolution of maps in Europe and the United States are hardly absent, the main thrust of the history of cartography isolates and explores the scientific and technical development of maps or their use as political tools (intimately linked to technical development) in a story of (sometimes triumphalist) progress. This book is an exemplary reminder that the scientific and technical development of cartography is only one lens through which to view our world.

The book's distinctiveness lies in Yonemoto's weaving together the story of how mapping developed and spread in seventeenth through nineteenth-century Japan with a broader account of the ways in which highly literate Japanese saw themselves in relation to Japan and Japan in relation to the world. In the process, cartographic developments are freed from the story of technical progress and the founding of the modern and displayed as one of several perspectives that emerged in the worlds of literature, travel, fashion/trend-setting, and visions of urban development, among others. In the process of creating these early modern mental maps, Yonemoto plumbs an extensive variety of sources: satire, travel literature, gazetteers, reference works, and guidebooks as well as more traditional historical sources such as memoirs and, of course, maps.

A brief introduction sets the context in which mapping, while linked to the establishment of Tokugawa power in the seventeenth century, quickly migrates well outside confines of the politico-bureaucratic world into the territory of popular culture, both high and, low. "Envisioning the Realm" (chapter one) then takes up the more technically and politically informed uses of cartography in Japan. Although Yonemoto uses the term "administrative mapping," it refers more to the use of maps to promote the ideological objectives of the shogunate than to a cartographic exercise that strengthened bureaucratic control over the territory of Japan. Two chapters on travel literature follow, revealing a shift from intellectual orientations that stressed the importance of direct observation and recording to one that highlighted and celebrated hierarchical cultural difference within Japan. "Imagining Japan, Inventing the World" (chapter four) explores

both the extent of and interest in actual knowledge of the broader world and Japan's place in it. The chapter also analyzes the use of fantastic journeys to imaginary lands as a mirror in which authors reflected on the nature of their own society. The final substantive chapter focuses on the shift away from concern with the foreign toward detailed exploration of the everyday and the local, especially as epitomized in descriptions and satire of the Yoshiwara pleasure quarters. In these works, Japanese authors adopt a frivolity that partakes of the antipolitical. The conclusion forcefully reminds readers that Yonemoto is describing practices that stop short of the modern as we usually apply that term to maps and geographic images, but more importantly, that cartography, cartographic ideas and images all stop short of announcing the arrival of the "national."

Yonemoto is to be applauded for her treatment of a topic—mapping and cartographic knowledge broadly conceived—strictly in the context of its time and place, despite the temptation to treat it as precursor to modern science and technology or to find in its stalled technical development a need for outside intervention to push Japan ahead intellectually. She has escaped the far too common tendency of much American scholarship to tie the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries tightly to the birth of modern Japan, its vices and virtues. One suspects it is precisely because Yonemoto takes the era on its own terms that she is able to make use of many of the materials she employs. After all, given the technological limitations of Japan's early modern cartography, few scholars have taken Tokugawa maps seriously as an historical source (as distinct from treating them as collectables). Likewise, the literature of fantastic voyage, satire, and even travel accounts has found little favor among English-language scholarship on Japan (the exceptions are of quite recent origin).

What we get is a picture of highly literate Japanese who are thoughtfully reflective. They meticulously evaluate the characteristics of their own society as they see it in comparison with other parts of the world or restricted and/or remote places within the Japanese cultural sphere that held an "other worldly" (but secular) fascination. We see intellectually aggressive men (dare we say, renaissance men?) whose curiosity and ability often extended into many fields. Like their counterparts in Europe—Isaac Newton, who explored theology as well as "science"; Swift, who dabbled in mathematical probability as well as satire; John Harrison, the watchmaker who developed the chronometer for measuring longitude at sea; William Smith, the engineer who first mapped substrata of English soils—many of the Japanese cultural elites deliberately developed multiple intellectual abilities that extend beyond artistic/literary portrayals of *bunjin* (men of letters). Hiraga Gennai's portrait stands out in this regard, but we are also introduced to less well-known figures who write fiction but are active cartographers (Ishikawa Ryūsen), physicians who engage in cartog-

raphy and author travelogues (Tachibana Nankei), etc. The multifaceted careers of such figures advance our appreciation of the multiple views of their world that highly literate Japanese held, avoiding simplistic extraction of the one element of their output for which they are now best known.

Yonemoto is to be thanked for writing an adventuresome and interesting study.

PHILIP BROWN
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THE LAST SAMURAI. Directed by Edward Zwick. Screenplay by John Logan, Edward Zwick, and Marshall Herskovitz. 2003; color; 154 minutes. Distributed by Warner Brothers.

It may not be fair to expect much in the way of history from Hollywood. Film epics are animated by a different sense of the past than that which motivates most academic histories. The aims of historical epics—bringing history to life and establishing an emotional connection between audiences and characters out of the past—recommend a different mode of exposition. The combination of meticulous attention to historical detail in costumes or sets and a flamboyant ahistoricism in dialogue and plot seems endemic to epic projects. It would be churlish to object to a film simply because it fails to conform to academic standards.

Still, a film as self-important as *The Last Samurai* deserves a good dressing down—and not simply because the film's producers seems to think that Mt. Fuji ought to be visible from everywhere in Japan. The film's epic airs derive from how it stages, in the words of its director (as well as writer and producer), Edward Zwick, "the moment of change from the antique to the modern," a moment that is "especially poignant and dramatic." (Quotations are from the film's official website: lastsamurai.warnerbros.com.) Here that moment is understood to mean the passing of the samurai and their way of life founded on honor, compassion, loyalty, and sacrifice. The modern world is, by contrast, inhabited by feckless politicians and grasping businessmen who are willing to sell Japan's soul in return for quick profit.

The vehicle for this presentation of Japan's modernization is an encounter between Captain Nathan Algren (Tom Cruise), an alcoholic, washed-up survivor of the U.S. Civil War and Indian campaigns, and Katsumoto (played by Watanabe Ken), "the last leader of an ancient line of warriors, the venerated Samurai, who dedicated their lives to serving emperor and country." Hired to whip the emperor's new conscript army into sufficient shape to exterminate the last tribe of Samurai (always with a capital S in this film) who stand in the way of the railroad, progress, and Japan's modern destiny, Algren's life takes an unexpected turn when he is captured during his raw recruits' first encounter with the battle-hardened Samurai. In Katsumoto's village—it has been "his," in his family's possession, for nearly one thousand years, we are

told—he undergoes the kind of transformation that at least since Richard Chamberlain and *Shogun* (1980) has been de rigeur for Westerners who experience Japan. He learns to bathe, to appreciate Japanese women, to hold his sword with two hands, and to wax poetic about cherry blossoms. Won over to the way of the warrior, Algren turns against his former employers and joins the Samurai in their suicidal stand against the forces of modernity. Bow and arrow against the Gatling gun, it is the Wild West all over again, although this time Algren atones for his part in the massacre of North America's natives by fighting with the Japanese. (While everyone else dies, however, he miraculously manages to walk away unscathed.)

The absurdity of all this would not be so galling if Zwick did not claim an extensive understanding of Japanese history. "[F]or years," he maintains, "I read a great deal of Japanese history." He even played *sensei* to Tom Cruise, giving him "several books on Japanese history and culture to add to the actor's own growing library." The ostensible historical kernel of the film is Saigō Takamori's uprising against the Meiji government in 1877. A revolt against a government that had, among other things, disestablished the samurai as a status group a few years earlier, Saigō's rebellion can look like a revolt against modernity. Katsumoto is clearly meant to evoke Saigō in his reverence for the "old ways" (the sword and bow, most notably, but also the noblesse oblige evident in the ways he interacts with "his" villagers). It should be noted that Saigō's rebels were not themselves such strict constructionists: they willingly armed themselves with the best rifles and artillery pieces they could loot from government armories (and if these were not quite up to the level of the arms that government troops brought to bear on them, it was not because principle forbade their trafficking with guns).

Mention samurai and bushidō and some people seem to lose it. They start nattering on about the soul of Japan and the nobility of the sword. This is a distinctly Victorian view of Japan, and, despite its popularity, deserves to be laid to rest. Films like *The Last Samurai* serve only to perpetuate such stereotypes. Portraying the samurai as landed gentry and as the embodiment of a thousand-year-old tradition, the film suggests that the "real" Japan is agrarian and feudal and that, further, modernity is a foreign imposition. In fact, the samurai as we know them were a modern, urban class. With very few exceptions, they lived in castle towns, not the countryside; they certainly did not "possess" villages. Bushidō was concocted for warriors whose only connection with fighting was likely to be in duels or fencing matches.

If you are looking for a film that captures the soul of Japan, try *The Matrix* (1999). Its combination of animated mayhem and techno-nerdism seems more Japanese than anything in *Last Samurai*.

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PARKS M. COBLE. *Chinese Capitalists in Japan's New Order: The Occupied Lower Yangtze, 1937-1945*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 296. \$60.00.

One of the last great theaters of World War II, the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945, is finally coming out of the historiographical shadows. Following a recent rise in scholarly interest in the war in China itself, Western scholarship has begun to use previously unavailable archival sources to construct a detailed and nuanced picture of the dilemmas of Chinese survival under the Japanese onslaught. Parks M. Coble draws on his expert knowledge both of entrepreneurialism in the Republican era (1912-1949) and the impact of Japanese aggression on Chinese politics to construct a highly original and meticulously researched picture of the fate of businesses under Japanese occupation.

The first part of the book deals with the general problems faced by Chinese businesses attempting to deal with a new, uncertain environment. First, physical safety became an issue: underground fighters of the exiled Nationalist regime had no hesitation in assassinating business figures who collaborated with the Japanese. Then, the Japanese-sponsored regimes, most notably the "reorganized" Nationalist government under Wang Jingwei, proved unable to defend their compatriots' interests against the rapacious economic demands of the occupiers. Finally, the scarcity of raw commodities and the effects of hyperinflation meant that the conditions for carrying on a stable business were poor indeed.

The book then moves to examine the fate of several key industries in the lower Yangtze delta, in and around Shanghai, during the war, including textiles, chemicals, matches, and rubber. The key points Coble makes are that Chinese entrepreneurs did not regard themselves as involved in a collective activity, whether in terms of collaboration or resistance, but rather responded in individual terms to the demands made on them by the Japanese. The family-based nature of the Chinese firms also emphasized personalized responses to wartime conditions. Even before 1937, the often chaotic and arbitrary way in which the government treated business led to strategies by which entrepreneurs tried to give as little control as possible to outside authorities. Among the most successful survivors of the difficult wartime conditions was the Rong family group of industries, which consisted chiefly of textile and flour mills. The family resisted Japanese overtures for as long as possible, partly by relocating to the foreign concessions of Shanghai, which remained neutral until Pearl Harbor, but did end up cooperating with the occupiers when it became inevitable. Nonetheless, the family's personal connections with the Nationalist regime also made it possible for them to salvage large parts of their business empire after the defeat of Japan. The Rong family's experience was not entirely typical, however. The rubber industry, for instance, was necessarily much more dependent on

Japanese patronage for its survival, and as such, found itself forced to cooperate more closely with the New Order to remain in business.

The story of the Rong family and their counterparts illustrate the way in which the book takes great pains to move beyond a simplistic "resistance versus collaboration" framework in assessing the responses of Chinese capitalists to occupation. While Nationalist historiography has tended to praise the entrepreneurs (in reality, relatively few in number) who endured the arduous journey to relocate their businesses in the wartime Nationalist capital at Chongqing, it was not always immediately clear that this was the most rational response to the outbreak of war. Coble's earlier work (*The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government of China, 1927-1937* [1980]) shows that relations between the government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Shanghai business community were wary and characterized by mistrust on both sides. Since business leaders were first and foremost concerned with the preservation of their enterprises in 1937, following the Chiang regime into exile was not necessarily the best way to achieve this aim. For some sectors, such as retailers, it was not even an option: big department stores on Nanjing Road in Shanghai could hardly be relocated brick by brick.

The book opens up the ground for further studies of Chinese business under Japanese occupation. While not as heavily industrialized as the lower Yangtze, the northern part of the country also had significant commercial development. Furthermore, the Manchukuo client regime set up in occupied Manchuria in 1932 saw a Japanese takeover of the nascent industries, such as coal mining and soy bean processing, which had been set up by Chinese entrepreneurs in the 1920s. Further work on these areas would be very illuminating, so that the differences and similarities with the central China experience could be assessed.

This book is based in a wide range of source materials, including the wartime archives of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and copious contemporary published materials in both Chinese and Japanese. The results are impressive, and this book will stand as the benchmark work on Chinese capitalism in occupied China for many years to come.

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CHARLES K. ARMSTRONG. *The North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 265. \$39.95.

This is a timely book, as North Korea is very much in the news as a bizarre, menacing state. For historians it represents a problem: how can a regime that has suffered defeat in war and the loss of its principal financial patron, witnessed the collapse of most of its fellow communist governments, and undergone a severe, decade-long economic crisis endure? Finding an

answer to this question is difficult because of the inaccessibility of North Korea to scholars. Charles K. Armstrong contributes considerably to our understanding of the peculiar and durable nature of the North Korean regime in his clearly written and convincingly argued study of the years between the liberation of northern Korea at the end of World War II and the start of the Korean War five years later. He does this primarily by analyzing a collection of documents captured by the U.S. Army during its brief occupation of North Korea in the Korean War. The author compares this cache to the Smolensk Archive so important for Soviet-era Western scholars of Stalinist Russia, only the "Records Seized by US Military Forces in Korea" are far more voluminous. These, along with G-2 intelligence reports from Seoul, CIA studies, and other North Korean documents, allow the author to establish a picture of the formative period of the North Korean state.

The book has two main arguments, both well supported. The first is that, despite the Soviet role in its creation, the North Korean state almost from its conception in 1945 was "indigenized": that is, it must be seen as a Korean regime, not an import from Moscow. To understand this indigenization, it is necessary to view the influence of traditional Korean culture and the impact of Japanese colonial rule. Korean traditions—the reverence for family, the emphasis on social distinctions, and the humanistic idealism of Confucianism—shaped the ideology and character of the communist regime. During its colonial rule, Japan created a powerful state apparatus, laid the basis for an industrial economy, and carried out a mobilization of Korean society for war after 1938 that served as a model for the North Korean regime. A second major argument is what Armstrong calls the "totalizing ambitions" of the North Korean revolution, which he aptly compares to the attempt to remake Korean society by the Neo-Confucian zealots in the late thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. This involved the new communist regime's attempt to create new collective identities among the rural poor, laborers, women, and youth.

The first chapter provides a concise summary of the social conditions in northern Korean during the late colonial period and the Manchurian-based guerilla movements from which Kim Il Sung and most of the North Korean leadership would emerge. The second chapter deals with the Soviet liberation and occupation of northern Korea and Kim Il Sung's consolidation of power. This story has been told before, but Armstrong uses his documents to detail the process by which Kim Il Sung and other North Korean communists created a party that was far more inclusive of poor peasants than the more orthodox, proletariat-based parties established in other Soviet satellites. Indeed, the North Korean communist movement resembled those of China and Vietnam more than Eastern Europe. Chapter three documents just how revolutionary the North Korean regime was in carrying out a sweeping land

reform, regulating labor and nationalizing major industries. Especially radical within the context of Korean culture was the establishment of legal equality of the sexes and the importance and organization it gave to youth. As it carried out this revolution, the regime showed an enthusiasm for mass mobilization that went beyond that of any other socialist state. Chapter four shows that the cult of Kim Il Sung emerged almost from the inception of the regime and that Kim represented the interest of the Manchurian guerilla veterans. Armstrong then discusses how the regime was able to use the existing, Japanese-built industrial base to create a spartan, Stalinist industrial economy that could be converted for war use. In chapter six, he shows how, with the encouragement of the Soviets, the regime used the educational system, literature, and cinema to construct a distinctive Korean culture that was more stridently nationalistic than that in other communist states of the Soviet sphere. Chapter seven argues that the emerging central state "was remarkably thorough and effective compared to its counterparts in many other postcolonial countries, including South Korea" (p. 191). The final chapter briefly describes the building of key state institutions, including the Korean People's Army, in the period leading up to the Korean War.

Armstrong believes the North Korean leaders drew upon nationalism, skilled use of mass mobilization, their own guerilla experiences, Japanese culture, and the Soviet model to create a regime. The cult of Kim Il Sung and the permanent war footing characteristic of North Korea since the Korean War were already in place by 1950, and they are the keys to understanding the durability of the regime. "In maintaining the cult of Kim Il Sung at such a level of intensity for so long, without lapsing into the disruptive terror of Stalinism or the anarchy of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, North Korea has achieved something quite remarkable: a stable state of permanent crisis, an institutionalized, continuous emergency" (p. 225).

While many of Armstrong's arguments can be found in earlier works by Bruce Cumings and Dae-Sook Suh, he provides new evidence and clarifies the process by which the North Korean state was established. Interested readers may also want to examine Andre Lankov's *From Stalin to Kim Il Sung: The Formation of North Korea, 1945–1960* (2002), which draws on Russian sources that supplement rather than contradict Armstrong's findings. Armstrong may underestimate the impact of the Korean War in shaping the North Korean regime. Many of the distinctive features of North Korea—its extreme militarization, the official ideology of *juche* (loosely translated as "self-reliance"), and the cult of the Kim family—emerged only after 1953 and were shaped the Korean War, the prolonged state of war with South Korea that followed, and the diplomatic space provided by the Sino-Soviet rift. Yet the author makes a persuasive case that at

least the seeds of most these elements existed from the very inception of the regime.

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SOPHIE QUINN-JUDGE. *Ho Chi Minh: The Missing Years 1919–1941*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 356. \$39.95.

Ho Chi Minh stands behind only V. I. Lenin and Mao Zedong among revolutionary leaders of the twentieth century, yet he has received a mere fraction of the biographical attention devoted to them, not to mention second-echelon revolutionaries like Sun Yat-Sen, Leon Trotsky, Sukarno, Josip Broz Tito, or Fidel Castro. It does not help that Ho led a clandestine existence for thirty years, longer than any of the others, thus rendering the biographer's quest much more difficult.

But not impossible. To fathom Ho's covert decades, Sophie Quinn-Judge has mined the Comintern archives in Moscow, the French colonial archives in Aix-en-Provence, and scores of official histories and memoirs published in Hanoi. From such disparate venues, she often is able to cross-check evidence about specific episodes, individuals, or political assertions. The resulting book substantially enhances our understanding of what Ho was doing in France, the Soviet Union, China, Germany, Siam, and Singapore between 1919 and 1941.

From his teenage years onward, Ho nurtured a hatred for French colonial exploitation, yet until at least his mid-thirties he hoped that the leftist luminaries he befriended in Paris could somehow turn France in a radically different direction, to the benefit of Algerians, Syrians, and Senegalese as well as his own Vietnamese countrymen. Not one to wait patiently for that to happen, however, Ho became a dedicated Comintern agent, secured assignment to southern China, and worked assiduously among revolutionaries of diverse ethnicity and political hue until jailed by the British in Hong Kong in 1931. There he would have been turned over to the Indochina Sûreté if not for quick action by the International Red Aid organization, which enrolled skilled British lawyers who eventually engineered Ho's departure to Swatow. Unable to make contact with reliable Chinese or Vietnamese comrades, Ho returned to Moscow, where he was fortunate not to be executed by Joseph Stalin in the 1937–1938 purges that consumed many of his Comintern contemporaries.

Permitted to return to China, Ho performed minor services for the Chinese communists until he was able to link up with Indochinese Communist Party members in Kunming in mid-1940. Jailed subsequently by the Chinese Nationalists, Ho was allowed to depart for Indochina in August 1944. Exactly one year later he became president of the fledgling Democratic Republic of Vietnam and began a dramatically new public career that lasted until his death in 1969.

Ho detested standing still. Nine months after arriving in Moscow in 1924, he penned an intemperate letter to his superiors, refusing to submit an elaborate "thesis," insisting that he be sent to China to establish contacts with his countrymen, "and if NOTHING should exist, to create SOMETHING" (p. 46; emphasis in original). Again in Moscow fourteen years later, Ho requested bluntly: "Send me somewhere. Or keep me here. Use me in whatever way you judge useful. What I am requesting is that you not let me live too long without activity, outside the party" (p. 219). When compelled to be organizationally inactive, Ho often fell back on Confucian literati norms, translating communist texts into Vietnamese, composing epic poetry on ancient struggles against the Chinese, writing an account of the Canton peasant movement, even studying eastern medicine. He also became an avid listener of shortwave radio broadcasts, which proved vital for grasping the course of World War II and its implications for Indochina.

Quinn-Judge reexamines the twists and turns of Comintern policy and practice in relation to colonial countries and "semi-colonial" China. While much of this digresses from Ho's biography, the author has a clearcut purpose in mind: to demonstrate that a great deal was happening over which Ho had no influence, and that a number of other Vietnamese adherents to the Comintern played significant roles, sometimes in opposition to Ho himself. Indeed, Quinn-Judge argues that many earlier writers have exaggerated Ho's early importance within the international communist brotherhood. This does not reduce her admiration for Ho's perseverance amidst extremely dangerous circumstances. A fascinating subtheme of the book pits professional revolutionaries against French police and spies, with the former losing far more members than the latter.

This book takes us back to an era when Marxist-Leninist ideas exerted considerable power, when believing in the international proletarian revolution was often compatible with overturning colonial systems and establishing independent states. The art was in sustaining national united fronts that could defeat or outlast the enemy. By 1945, Ho was prepared to put his united front knowledge and experience to the test—with stunning historical results.

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PATRICIA M. PELLEY. *Postcolonial Vietnam: New Histories of the National Past*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 326. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

This book by Patricia M. Pelley is a comprehensive, thoughtful, and well-written survey of historical research and writing in the northern half of Vietnam since the departure of the French colonizers, the problems confronted by and the debates among official historians and other researchers, and the resulting

impact on social policies and popular consciousness. The book is divided into four chapters, each dealing with a particular theme. The first three chapters examine the problems that prevented official historians in Hanoi from completing a new general history of Vietnam for thirty years. The last focuses on the social and cultural consequences of historical debate.

Chapter one, entitled "Constructing History," begins with a brief discussion of how, during the French colonial period, most historical accounts of Vietnam were written with the aim of showing the great benefits of the French civilizing mission on a primitive people. In this connection, many colonial writers also regarded Vietnam as an inferior, derivative version of China. Hence, since the mid-1940s and especially the mid-1950s Vietnamese nationalists and revolutionaries saw the construction of new national histories as a crucial part of the decolonization process. Concurrently, any attempt to decolonize the past would also mean to de-Chinese it and to center it on the Vietnamese people and on indigenous developments. To this end, in December 1953 the Communist Party's Central Committee issued a decree that formally established a research committee composed of three separate groups, one for each of the disciplinary divisions: history, geography, and literature. After returning to Hanoi after the French surrender in June 1954, these groups began to publish the monthly *Journal of Literary Historical and Geographical Research* in which tentative and experimental versions of "new history" were advanced. In 1959 the research committee was reorganized as the Institute of History, and its *Journal of Historical Research* served as the forum for official historians to debate evidence, methods, and models.

Pelley concludes that the work of the committee and institute historians was "clearly accorded canonical status" by virtue of their direct link to the party, and she assumes, as a result, that their research "played an essential role in establishing a new collective memory of the past" and "provided the foundation for new rituals of the state" (p. 20). The first three chapters of her book are devoted to explaining the modes of operation of these official historians and their debates on a wide range of issues. Most of chapter one examines historiography, especially the problem of periodization and attempts to tackle it through selective but creative use of hybrid Marxist paradigms such as Joseph Stalin's five-stage model of history and the Asiatic mode of production. Her discussion of the meaning of Marxism in Vietnam is the most significant contribution Pelley makes in this chapter, and her conclusion might be a great surprise to a great many who are not specialists on Vietnam. Pelley states that only after combing through all the minutiae of the inconclusive and tortuous debates did she begin "to appreciate the elaborate hybridity of Marxism in Vietnam, and the fact that of all the Marxist scholars cited Marx himself enjoyed no real prominence" (p. 66). Hence she refuses to call the Vietnamese official historians Marxist, because she thinks that this gener-

alization diminishes their inventiveness. Instead Pelley uses the word "Marxish" to describe them and their works.

Chapter two, entitled "The Land of the Viet and Viet Nam," is an examination of how debates on ethnic identities and on the history of interethnic ties—in short, the very meaning of Vietnam—prevented the completion of a new standard narrative of the historical past. This chapter begins with a description of how French colonial rule lessened the physical distance between the lowland majority (Viet) and ethnic highland minorities while intensifying their cultural differences. In order to build the necessary coalition against the French, in 1930 the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) stated that one of its principal goals was to unite all nationalities on the basis of equality. But Pelley says that what the ICP statement really meant was that all non-Viet peoples were equal in status, while the ethnic Vietnamese were excluded from this egalitarian equation. To prove that this was the case (at least from the mid-1950s until the late 1970s), Pelley examines many of the attitudes, perspectives, methods, and administrative practices—such as the resettlement of vast segments of the population—that she regards as either showing certain degrees of discrimination against the ethnic minorities or reflecting "a lingering ambivalence toward the non-Viet part of Vietnam as an ethnically *inclusive* as opposed to *exclusive* state" (p. 108). Moreover, since social transformation and social leveling, no matter how well-meaning, have been conceived and carried out by the ethnic Vietnamese who constitute eighty-five percent of the population, certain interethnic problems that have been created are still far from being resolved.

Chapter three, entitled "National Essence and the Family-State," examines debates on five topics—literature, folklore, national culture, national essence, and antiquity—and how the problems involved placed the goal of completing the new general history of Vietnam even further out of reach. These are huge subjects to be treated by anyone, no matter how competent, in a short chapter. Hence, although there are interesting observations about the unresolved conflicts in the treatments of popular (peasant) culture versus elitist (national) culture and the efforts to legitimize the state by making it an extension of the family, for example, many other observations are so brief and insufficiently supported that they could be open to debate. In fact, some statements are highly questionable if not factually incorrect. For example, "So thoroughly did this become the standard reading that *The Tale of Kieu* was seen as a scathing indictment of those who had outmaneuvered the Tay Son, despite the fact that the poem had circulated centuries before the Nguyen emperor Gia Long ascended the throne" (p. 126).

Because the book's first three chapters are but an examination (and critique) of official texts and do not really explain the politics behind these works, how they were received by different audiences in Vietnam, or what direct impact they had on these audiences, if any,

the last chapter (entitled “Chronotypes, Commemoration: A New Sense of Time”) is designed to fill the gap. Pelley does so through a long list of commemorative occasions as well as some detailed discussions of certain commemorative texts; in her words, “they were supposed to inculcate a history-minded perspective and, more specifically, they were supposed to normalize certain ways of ‘remembering’ the past” (p. 176). Of special interest, partly because of the irony involved, is the discussion of how Hanoi has been reinvented as the center of culture after it became the administrative seat of the postcolonial state, whereas it had been disparaged as the center of decadence and oppression during earlier times by revolutionary writers. The restoration of Hanoi as the national capital has been carried out largely for reasons of state and at the expense of other cultural centers.

This book is indispensable for those who want to understand why Vietnam perceives the need to construct new accounts of the past in the process of nation-building, how difficult and involved a task history writing is in this situation, and what ramifications the new representations might have culturally, socially, and politically.

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JOS GOMMANS. *Mughal Warfare: Indian Frontiers and High Roads to Empire, 1500–1700*. (Warfare and History.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xv, 268. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$27.95.

This book is a timely and extremely valuable contribution to the history of early modern India. Since it is part of a series intended for a general audience, Jos Gommans has restricted his research to secondary literature, published Persian chronicles, and European travel accounts. His success lies not only in the new look he takes at a long-neglected topic but also in the rich comparative context he establishes with his frequent references to the other two early modern West Asian empires, the Safavid in Iran and the Ottoman in the Middle East.

The introductory chapter on ecology establishes an important distinction for the understanding of warfare in Mughal India. The arid zone of the northwest (the Indus and Ganges River valleys) and the monsoon zone of the northeast (Bengal, Assam, and Orissa) demanded different approaches to military recruitment, provisioning, and strategy. In order to mount successful campaigns, Mughal emperors and generals had to combine the two military styles of early modern Eurasia: those of the sedentary armies of Europe and monsoon Asia, on the one hand, with those of the nomadic armies of West and Central Asia, on the other.

The three early modern West Asian empires developed a dual system of military organization: a small group of household retainers personally loyal to the ruler and paid in cash, supported by a much larger

force of cavalry and infantry paid in land grants. Within this framework, the Mughals presented an interesting departure. Unlike the Ottoman emperor with his janissaries or the Safavid emperor with his *ghulams*, the Mughal emperor had no military slaves in his household forces. Why was this? Gommans offers a tentative but plausible explanation: the size of the military labor market in India made slavery a burdensome and expensive method of recruiting. Under the Mughals, the market for soldiers was competitive and relatively transparent. Conditions of service were known, pay was high, and entry was open to men of merit who were not appreciably hindered by caste, tribal, or ethnic background. In the Mughal Empire, the pay for mounted troopers was quite high; the Ottomans paid about one-quarter of the Mughal rate, and the Safavids about one-third.

On the controversial topic of gunpowder, Gommans provides a thoughtful overview. Although gunpowder was introduced into early modern India and Iran some fifty to one hundred years after its appearance in the Ottoman and European states, the Mughals were, by the early sixteenth century, knowledgeable in the deployment of light artillery and rocketry and had become at least as skilled in the new technology as their early modern counterparts. In fact, the Europeans in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries began copying the Indians in their use of rockets, both design and tactics.

The motives behind the Mughal campaigns in the northwest in the mid to late seventeenth century, Gommans argues, were primarily ideological: recovering the ancestral homeland in the case of the Uzbeks and countering Iranian derision and their own sense of inferiority in the case of the Safavids. Although these factors were certainly present, it seems to me that the conflicts had an internal audience and purpose as well. Given the enormous logistical obstacles to military success in Balkh and Qandahar, it is likely that Mughal rulers saw these campaigns not only as opportunities to increase their wealth, territory, and prestige but also as ways to drain off the rebellious energies of their brothers and sons and to build loyalty among the Irani and Turani nobles at court.

Alongside its many virtues, Gommans's book contains a defect that was perhaps unavoidable. Since he must limit himself to a general overview of the secondary literature and the published primary materials, he necessarily misses some of the less accessible writing. For example, his frequent use of the phrase *Din-i Ilahi* (Divine Religion) for Akbar's Sufi-like imperial order is somewhat misleading. The phrase, an invention of Akbar's critic Abd al-Qadir Badauni, does not accurately convey the emperor's intent, and most of the newer scholarship employs other words or phrases. Also, Gommans's use of F. W. Buckler's argument about Akbar's so-called infallibility decree—that it was an attempt to counter Mughal feelings of inferiority vis-à-vis the Safavids—has been convincingly refuted

by S. A. A. Rizvi (*Religious and Intellectual History of Muslims in Akbar's Reign* [1975]).

These are minor caveats and in no way detract from the work's great merits. By placing his discussion of the Mughal military in the wider context of comparative early modern history, Gommans has made an important contribution to a new and exciting trend in the historiography of Mughal India.

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ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG. *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-Cultural Communication since 1500*. Assisted by ALAINE LOW. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans and London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2003. Pp. xii, 419. \$39.00.

This fine collection of essays suggests that the scholarly history of Christian missions in India has reached maturity and is producing results of real importance for history in general and for the understanding of India, with all its rich and often perplexing diversity of culture, language, and religion, in particular. Editor Robert Eric Frykenberg is the doyen of Indian mission historians. He sets the tone for the rest of the book in two wonderfully balanced and perceptive surveys of contested definitions and perspectives, followed by an overview of the complex origins of Christianity in India. Frykenberg summarily disposes of common misinterpretations, such as that a majority of missionaries consistently supported colonialism and saw their mission as allied irrevocably to imperialism. Contributor Iwona Milewska traces the earliest missionaries' encounters with Sanskrit language and literature and makes clear that only a small minority of missionaries, such as Alexander Duff, were thoroughgoing Anglicists who despised Indian language and culture. Heike Liebau traces the influence of "country priests" and other "native agents" in the Tranquebar Mission from 1705.

Some of the most interesting material in the book concerns the impact of the various forms of the European Enlightenment on Indian missions. The Scottish missionaries in Calcutta and the other presidency towns in the mid-nineteenth century saw the spread of European-style Enlightenment as the necessary preliminary to the preaching of revealed (i.e. Christian) religious truths, and they had some notably able converts. But the eighteenth and early nineteenth century German missionaries brought from Halle a rather different idea of Enlightenment science and its relation to the Christian missions. In a fascinating essay, Indira Peterson, shows how the German missionaries assumed an understanding of science as based on observation and classification, and a view of education as far more significant than a mere tool of evangelism. The great German missionary, Christian Friedrich Schwartz, and many of his colleagues were dedicated scientists according to the criteria of the day,

and they enrolled as pupils and disciples some of the most influential and able young men of their time in Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Two of the most notable, Serfoji (who became raja of Tanjore) and Sāstri, an eminent poet, are justly "celebrated not as agents of Westernization but of an Indian cultural blooming" (p. 104). When he visited Tanjore, Bishop Reginald Heber was amazed at the depth of European culture that was evident in and around the raja's court.

Penelope Carson explores the tangled web of religious relations in what is now Kerala, a state with the oldest high-status Christian community in India. It fit neatly into the caste structure, close to its crown, and was rather resistant to converts from low-caste background when these began to appear in the nineteenth century as the result of Protestant missionary efforts. In a splendid, nuanced essay, Geoffrey Oddie examines the impact of Protestant missions on the development of the understanding of Hinduism as a "religion," with an authoritative holy book and some kind of central authority or authorities. Richard Fox Young examines Hindu responses to science and Christianity in the first half of the nineteenth century. Many missionaries and servants of the East India Company dismissed Indian science, particularly astronomy, as childish superstition with no more than curiosity value to outsiders. William Jones was typical of some in changing his mind. At the start, he declared that "In sciences it must be admitted that the Asiatics, if compared with Western nations, are mere children" (p. 190). But later he recognized that there were in India "mathematical astronomers" who should count as real scientists. Orientalists discovered scientific wisdom in the Sanskrit tradition while missionaries like Duff or John Wilson denounced the "gigantic system" of Hinduism as in its entirety a matter of childish superstition that obstructed the development of scientific knowledge. Young's long essay is fascinating and definitive.

Several essays discuss converts to Christianity from Islam and various strands of Hinduism. Some of the converts devoted themselves to polemical attacks on their former faith; a few became Christian sadhus. Some found a special vocation to evangelize the sect or caste from which they had come. A few developed innovative theologies drawing on Indian sources as much as Western theology. Many of them came into conflict with the missionaries, largely because of missionary paternalism and reluctance to share power in the mission with Indian Christians. Eleanor Jackson discusses a notable south Indian Christian family over some five or six generations. A couple of chapters concentrate on Christianity among tribal people.

This collection is full of good things. It should be widely read by those interested in India, and by others as well.

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RAJAT KANTA RAY. *The Felt Community: Commonality and Mentality before the Emergence of Indian Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 580. Rs. 1270.00.

This monograph engages with the influential idea, articulated by a body of literature on nationalism, that concepts of "nation," "nationalism," and "nationality" were essential attributes of a modernity associated with features such as a vigorous print culture and industrialization. Rajat Kanta Ray joins other scholars who argue against the assumption of the inalienable connection between nation/nationalism and the modern age, postulated, among others, by Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson. By focusing specifically on the South Asian subcontinent, Ray also finds himself engaged in an explicit dialogue with historians of the late subaltern school who have characterized the modern nation in India as being of very recent vintage, one that was imported into the subcontinent through British colonial rule. Ray objects to the view that no sense of nation or nationality had existed in India prior to its experience of colonial rule during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Implicitly, he is also arguing against colonialist characterizations of premodern Indian people as mired in narrow, particularistic affiliations—such as the ties of caste, religion, or sect—and incapable of forming broader bonds of affiliation such as those embodied in the concept of the nation.

Ray's treatment of these issues seeks to problematize ascriptive links such as those of religion, clan, or caste to argue that these in fact could act as the building blocks of larger affiliations transcending locality or region. More important, he makes the case that conceptions of the nation were different in premodern times than during the modern era, particularly with regard to the fairly common tendency today to collapse the barrier between notions of "nation" and "nation state." As Ray explains, "historically and psychologically, the cultural community underpins the nation state" (p. 9). This cultural community, which long predated the modern nation-state, was held together by bonds of emotion and sentiment—or as he terms it, "the felt community" (p. 6).

The three main chapters try to demonstrate the presence of broad, even "national" ties well before the advent of modern times. Chapters two and three, which focus on early Indian resistance to the colonial conquest of India from the mid-eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth and on the great rebellion of 1857, respectively, are the most substantive parts of the book. Ray's analysis of the resistance of segments of the late Mughal order to the political ascendancy of the English East India Company as the defense of a political/cultural order imbued with the right values suggests that the association of national feeling exclusively with the modern nation state needs serious rethinking. Particularly effective is Ray's discussion of the motivations of the rebels in 1857. Here is the clearest and strongest case of how normative commu-

nities of religion could indeed overlap, intersect, and coexist with the notion of a territorial state headed (even if symbolically) by a paramount political authority. Indeed, premodern concepts of nationhood were not synonymous with modern characterizations of the same. But to deny their existence prior to modern times is certainly ahistorical and suggestive of a desire to draw a more rigid distinction between premodernity and modernity than is probably warranted.

What this reviewer found a trifle disquieting was the author's dismissal of the category of "imagination" in the making of the nation, whether modern or premodern. The workings of imagination, I would think, are crucial in conceptualizing affiliations such as those of nationality or religion in any period. Nor does this book take up the problem of other kinds of communities nesting within the premodern South Asian sense of nation—communities based on region or language, for example. It would have been interesting to see how and in under what circumstances such bonds accommodated or inhibited broader affiliative sentiments such as that of nationhood. Ray's position overall is actually reminiscent of that of C.A. Bayly in *Origins of Nationality in South Asia* (1998). Bayly, however, gives greater attention to formal discourses of nationalism in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century India as well as to their constitutive elements than does Ray. Nevertheless, this book will serve as a useful corrective to the exaggerated emphasis in some kinds of literature on the link between nationalism and modernity.

KUMKUM CHATTERJEE

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SUVIR KAUL, editor. *The Partitions of Memory: The Afterlife of the Division of India*. Paperback edition. Bloomington: Indian University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 301. \$21.95.

Since the 1990s, rising religious tensions between various communities in India have led to the reexamination of the partition of 1947. This edited volume fits within the emerging genre of partition history. Eight essays, six on India and two on Pakistan, examine diverse and multiple memories of various groups in the Indian subcontinent and their different and differing relationships with events and the process of partition. Each of the essays highlights a narrative of disruption. Within the limits of this framework, the essays focus on issues as diverse as methods of doing history outside the official archive; celebration and spectacle of communal festivals; national monuments and religious tensions; history and learning in Indian schools; violence and masculinity in literary writings; and the location of marginal and outcast groups within historical and community narratives of India and Pakistan. The common thread connecting the essays is easily lost in the details, but taken as a whole the volume raises a critical question: how do we read partition? The contributors remind us that the neat official history of partition that the state has created suppresses and

silences the meandering and multiple memories and manifold narratives that are the stuff of people's partition experiences and urge us to think about the myriad partitions within the partition of 1947.

The book begins with Mumlika Banerjee's examination of the role of the Khudai Khidmatgar (KK), a Pakhtun group in the Northwest Frontier (in present-day Pakistan) in the freedom struggle. Their commitment to the Gandhian ethos of nonviolence and a united India made the KK an undesirable memory in postindependence Pakistan. Can their sacrifice and struggle for freedom be recovered and find a fitting place within the national history? Banerjee leaves us with deep doubts.

Joya Chatterjee examines the place of the Bengali refugees in the postpartition politics of India. Initially sidelined, neglected, and denied privileges, unlike the Punjabi refugees of West Pakistan, over time the Bengali refugees learned to organize and demand their rights. Chatterjee argues that the refugee experience led to awareness and a language of rights for all citizens articulated in the voice of the politicized Bengalis.

Dovetailing her essay is Ramnarayan Rawat's analysis of Dalit politics in the partition years and their demand for recognition and rights as a minority group, which they failed to achieve. As the author argues, Dalit politics reveals the true face of Indian democracy as no more than a majoritarian tyranny.

The next essay in the volume shifts from the colonial to the precolonial period. Sunil Kumar's study of a national monument called the Qutb complex probes the delicate issue of the interaction of the Indian state with its Muslim past. Kumar argues that although the Qutb is iconic of multiple memories and associations, today only one kind of remembering is allowed. The representation of Qutb as "the Might of Islam" reduces the Muslim presence into an occupying force, which, in turn, justifies communal tensions toward Muslims in postindependence India.

Richard Murphy analyzes the relationship between community identity and the festival of Basant or Spring in Pakistan. Although partition divided Muslim and Hindu space, celebration of the so-called Hindu festival of Basant in Pakistan, Murphy reminds us, testifies to the lived experiences of syncretism and disrupts the reality of partition.

Urvashi Butalia is concerned with the issue of sources for partition history. She questions the use and limitation of letters for recovering the silenced moments and narratives of people's experiences. Butalia shows how the poignant emotions of hope and loss depicted in the letters argue for the failure of the state toward the people who created it.

Priyamvada Gopal offers a probing reading of Hasan Manto's stories. She argues that Manto's preoccupation with the subject of violence was driven by his desire to see the reconstruction of a human community in the subcontinent that was destroyed as well as transformed by gendered violence.

Finally, Nita Kumar's essay highlights the method and impact of history lessons on school children. She urges that a new kind of history telling should be developed that would make it possible to accommodate alternative ways of narrativizing for creating a national body of citizens.

As in many collections, readers will find some unevenness of style and analysis throughout the volume. Many questions are not adequately answered. For instance, neither the editor, Suvir Kaul, nor the contributors, with the exception of Sunil Kumar, engage the literature on memory and/or how they use this term. Nor do they establish memory's relationship with history. Is history simply the official version, and memory what people have? And what is meant by by Dalit? Are they low-caste Hindus or the oppressed in India? If the latter is the case, Dalit histories would be multiple and manifold, and alternative tellings would have to be developed to accommodate the variety. In the same vein, we can ask what is Muslim or what is Hindu in India? What is Pakistani or Indian identity? The contributors do not probe deeply into these issues and hence the complexities embedded within the categories remain unanalyzed.

A serious problem with this volume is the absence of contributors from Pakistan. All we get are secondary representations from the perspectives of Indian and American scholars. These shortcomings, and the volume's lack of coherence, make the book a difficult read. Although many contributors suggest alternative readings of institutions, texts, communities, and events, the book as a whole fails to make a serious and new intervention in partition literature. Nonetheless, it raises a salient question: what lessons have we learned from the violence of 1947? Can we make the history of partition a site to re-form self for understanding and expressing the power and fragility of our positions and of the nation-state?

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

HSU-MING TEO and RICHARD WHITE, editors. *Cultural History in Australia*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. Sydney: University of New South Wales. 2003. Pp. ix, 274. \$27.50.

The most significant event in 2003 in the Australian historical world was a major outbreak in the continuing saga of the History Wars. These "Wars" center around the use of the past and history to argue for contemporary political positions, be it in support of an Australian republic, in favor of changes in policy toward Aborigines, or against economic reform. In approaching a collection such as this one, therefore, it is necessary to ask: how does it relate to the History Wars, and is it pushing any particular version of the Australian past? Cultural history appears to be as

vague and nebulous as the concept of culture, and one might expect to encounter a range of views and approaches. Alas, this does not appear to be the case here. Ann Curthoys sets the tone in the first essay. After providing a short survey of historical writing on Australia and arguing for a more transnational approach, she discusses an area where such an approach would be appropriate: genocide studies.

It would not be inappropriate to say that two themes pervade much of this collection: the "evil empire" and the wrongs that it did, especially to Australian Aborigines, and the centrality of Aboriginal culture as Australian culture. Hence Paula Hamilton ends her discussion of memory with an analysis of the "Stolen Generations" report, Marilyn Lake delves into white racism, Jan Kociumbas meanders through a vague postcolonial approach to Australian/Aboriginal culture, and Richard Waterhouse makes the astonishing statement that, in the early twenty-first century, "Australian culture is ultimately Aboriginal seems both obvious and appropriate" (p. 126).

The problem is that this obsession with two totalizing categories—"Australian" and "Aboriginal"—framed primarily as political weapons rather than as hermeneutic aids prevents the contributors from coming to grips with the complexity of the history of culture in Australia. Consider, for example, Katie Holmes's essay on gardens. In it she refers to "Europeans," but there were no "Europeans" in Australia in the nineteenth century. Rather there were people who had been shaped by particular upbringings and cultures that derived from different parts of Europe. In the first instance these were ethnic, in particular Irish, English, Scottish, and Welsh. Consequently it is not appropriate to write of English influence on Australian educational culture as Waterhouse does, seemingly unaware that much of Australian education owes its greatest debt to Scotland. Religious differences also mattered. An English nonconformist was culturally different from an English Anglican, while both were culturally distinct from an Irish Catholic. The most interesting case is that of the Lutherans. As they settled in rural Australia they tend to be ignored by historians. Many came from Silesia, but with Slavic as well as German surnames, while others came from Denmark. They are an identifiable cultural but not "ethnic" group. Finally, there was a gap between those who had links to a classical education and those who did not. The link between gardens and civilization is not, as Holmes states, Judeo-Christian in origin but classical.

It is this failure to come to terms with the complexity of Australia's cultural roots that is the most disappointing feature of this collection. Partly this is because many of the essays lack substantial empirical research and seem more interested in scoring political points than in painting a rich historical picture. A honorable exception to the rule is Penny Russell's nice essay on social distinctions in nineteenth-century Australia.

One of the major problems with contemporary Australian historians is that they tend to avoid the nineteenth century. The reason for this is, I suspect, that in order to understand a settler society it is also necessary to understand the cultures of the peoples that settled it. One needs to know something about the religious, intellectual, and cultural traditions of the "old world." This cannot be done without the accumulation of significant cultural capital. It is easier to talk about the "nation" and to assume that an abstract knowledge of the "nation" is a substitute for specific knowledge of its component parts. I think that this helps to explain the popularity of memory as a substitute for history. Hamilton argues that a "memorial framework" is now the "principal mode of interpreting the past" (p. 83). If that is the case, then history only reaches back as far as memory, and that certainly rules out the nineteenth century. It also means that one does not have to bother with engaging with a culture, let alone a language, that is different from that of the present.

It also means that history merges too easily with myth. Hamilton does not mention perhaps the most famous example of false memory in Australian history: there are people in Tasmania who "remember" growing up with Merle Oberon even though her Tasmanian childhood was a total fabrication. Without evidence external to memory, history collapses into a form of subjective idealism, as would seem to be the case with the chapter by Greg Denning, in which his autobiography merges with his history writing. The same tendency can be seen in a number of essays in this collection.

This subjectivism, combined with the political activism and moral righteousness that seem to underwrite the volume, is not a recipe for a genuine understanding of the cultural complexity that has marked Australian history. As Keith Windschuttle has demonstrated, there is no substitute for getting one's hands dirty with the original documents.

GREGORY MELLEUSH
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DAYTON MCCARTHY. *The Once and Future Army: A History of the Citizen Military Forces 1947-1974*. (Australian Army History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 303. \$35.00.

Australians have always been ambivalent about war. They like to regard themselves as peace loving, yet they have rushed off to more wars than most people over the last century or so, and most of the wars have been distant ones, both geographically and in terms of any pressing national interests that Australia might have had at stake. The current war in Iraq is just the latest example of an expeditionary force mentality that has governed Australian defense thinking ever since the Australian colonies sent troops to the Sudan in the 1880s.

This is curious behavior for a society whose relative isolation makes it one of the least likely to be attacked.

Yet Australia's small population and distance from Britain has imbued its citizens with a historic fear of invasion, whether by the Russians, the French, the Japanese, the Chinese, or the Indonesians. Only the Japanese invasion came anywhere near to eventuating, and even they were daunted in 1942, despite enjoying naval supremacy of the Pacific, by the size of the Australian continent and its distance from Japan. Despite this, the experience of World War II only confirmed Australia's historic fear.

While harboring a deeply ingrained fear of invasion, Australians have generally skimped on defense spending. Governments have preferred to rely on powerful allies and, for much of the country's history, on a part-time citizen army rather than maintain an expensive standing army. With a small population and large land mass, they had little choice. This official history by Dayton McCarthy examines the role of the Citizen Military Forces (CMF) during the three decades after World War II when, for the first time, Australia retained a regular army while keeping the citizen army ready in case another expeditionary force was required. The call never came, not during the Korean War, the Malayan emergency, or the confrontation with Indonesia. Indeed, the citizen army was not even required during the Vietnam War, when thousands of Australian regular troops were committed.

Without a military enemy, McCarthy portrays politicians as the enemy of the CMF during this period. When the postwar Labour government of Ben Chifley forced the defense chiefs to cut back their ambitious spending plans, the author complains, the views of the defense chiefs "were subordinated to those of the politicians" (p. 14), as if the former rather than the latter should have the final say. Considering that the period under review did not see any pressing threat arise to Australian security, it could be argued in hindsight that the governments of that period could have spent even less on defense than they did. As for the ideal of a citizen army, McCarthy locates its origins in the British military tradition, claiming that "the ethos and application of citizen soldiering was imported from the mother country" (p. 4). He thereby ignores the strong influence of American ideas on the early Labour governments that were mostly responsible for establishing the Australian army as well as a universal system of military training for Australian males. John Mordike's landmark work, *An Army for a Nation* (1992), is curiously absent from the bibliography. McCarthy might also have explored in more detail than he does the continuing tension between the notion of a citizen army designed to defend its own territory and a citizen army designed to fight alongside powerful allies in distant and questionable conflicts. This debate has been a recurring one in Australian politics.

This book, then, is about a military organization that was never called upon to fire a shot in anger. It is a dense and detailed administrative history that provides a memo-by-memo account of the difficulties faced by

the citizen army in maintaining its identity and a meaningful role for its part-time soldiers while not being allowed to share "in the spoils of war" (p. 148). At the end, McCarthy expresses some hope that the modern successor to the CMF, the Army Reserve, will in the future be given a chance "to play a major role in the nation's defence" (p. 248).

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

WILLIAM HENRY FOSTER. *The Captors' Narrative: Catholic Women and Their Puritan Men on the Early American Frontier*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 205. \$29.95.

Growing up in the United States in cities like Boston, New York, or Minneapolis, just a few hundred miles south of the longest (fairly) unprotected border on earth, one would think "Americans" would know something of their joint history with their "neighbors to the north." In most cases, that would be wrong. Recently, however, readers of North American history have become aware of the interconnections between French and English colonizers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the works of James Axtell, John Demos, and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, which offer a subtle and a more interesting understanding of border stories.

The next generation is now in the camp. William Henry Foster builds on earlier works and focuses our attention on captive Puritan men and women. Several of these women converted to Catholicism in the war years between 1689 and 1712. Many British-American men lived under the wing or, as Foster tells it, under the thumb of women in New France. His book's title tells us that it is also about French Canada's Catholic women, but it is more sympathetic to New England captive men and underlines the gender differences for those men as opposed to their sisters and female counterparts.

Foster sets out to examine why there was a discrepancy in the number of Puritan women vs. Puritan men who remained apparently happy in Canada rather than returning when ransomed or attempting to escape from the areas around Montreal and Quebec. The book is divided into five chapters: without their subtitles these are "The Farm," "The Frontier," "The Hospital," "The Seigneurie," and "The Household." In each case, Foster takes us to the early French settlements during and following wars and lets us see the lives of English captives and French captors. It was with French women that Puritan men were often forced to settle in a condition Foster calls slavery or indentured servitude.

Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel K. Richter disclosed that between 1675 and 1763, 1,641 members of the British colonies were taken captive by either French or a variety of Native people in the New England, New

York, and Appalachian areas. Males outnumbered females 1,249 to 392 with between 30 percent and 37 percent of the females never returning to New England. ("Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605–1763," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 90 [1980]: 23–99). Foster's book focuses on the male captives, trying to explain why almost all of the men returned and why Puritan men were so unhappy with their life in the North.

French Catholic women are the captors here. Some British-American colonial women and girls converted to Catholicism and became leaders in religious institutions in New France as well as captors. Lydia Longley from the Groton, Massachusetts area, became Soeur Ste. Madeleine. She arrived in Canada in her early twenties. Ultimately, she worked in Pointe-Saint-Charles, a woman's community on the Saint Lawrence River. The settlement "was defined in significant part by the men who worked that land," most of whom were Puritan captive males—some from Longley's Massachusetts neighborhood (pp. 20, 21, 32).

Joseph Bartlett of Newberryport, Massachusetts, was captured as a member of the Haverhill militia in 1708. He became a French and a Mohawk prisoner. Many years later, after his repatriation, he wrote his own captivity narrative about living among the Mohawks, where two of his fingers were amputated at the joint. Ultimately he wound up as a worker on a women's religious farm. There he met Mary Sayward, an earlier New England captive who was a convert living in the *Congrégation Notre Dame*. According to Foster, Bartlett's account, written years after his redemption and published in 1807 was, "deliberately distorted" in order "to denigrate the authority of Mary Sayward within the mission." Men like Bartlett could not or would not depict her real status as a major converter and religious figure (pp. 62–63).

Foster's main point about both Longley and Sayward is that they and other New England Protestant females gained religious and political authority in New France. Their male counterparts, like Bartlett and John Gillet of Deerfield, lost freedom and became near slaves. Foster calls them unsexed or unmanned as they were forced to do what was women's work in French and English society and were also charged with following the orders of women, in some cases very young women from their own New England. His position is that although Puritan women and young girls could convert and be moved into good homes or privileged positions in New France, thus becoming more significant in their new society than in their old one, the opposite was the case for their male counterparts.

More evidence comes in Foster's discussion of the Saint Francis Catholic Mission. There, Deerfield captives Dominicus and Samuel Jordan planted and hoed corn, drew water, kept the home fires burning, and "spent seven years in the small settlement in the close and uncomfortable company of the increasingly devout Mary Anne Davis" (p. 80). Davis later took "final vows" and a new French Catholic name and converted

many "nonbelievers." One of her more outlandish attempts was on the Reverend John Williams of Deerfield. She is discussed, but not by name, in Williams's famous record of his capture. Foster sees his failure to mention her name as evidence of how "her mission left captives powerless to unname her—except through silence" (p. 89). Foster points out the economic connections between African slavery and white indentured labor in the English colonies: the need for cheap labor was critical to European survival. In New France, survival of the religious sisterhoods was based on Protestant male captive labor. Foster's reading of the gender dynamics of the wars makes this book a real contribution to scholarship.

What are the work's problems? Although it focuses our attention on captives and captors and the details of life along the St. Lawrence, it does not give us enough of an overview of the French, Indian, and English wars. The reader, especially a student or nonacademic, needs more background. The best chapter in this respect is on John Gyles and his two female captors, Marguerite and Louise Guyon. It narrates Gyles's story from his capture in Maine to his stay with Maliseets in the Saint John River area and then with French Canadians in Acadia. For much of the book, there is great detail but not enough sense of why problems on the intercolonial level arose. Then, we need even more on why some girls and women and not others were willing and maybe even eager to beat it out of Puritan New England. As for Puritan men, not the boys captured from towns like Deerfield but men in military service: were they innocents, or expansionists into Indian and French territory? What happened to enemy Indian and French fighters in New England? What about Indian captives after King Philip's War who were deported and sent to the West Indies as slaves? What of the one Frenchman Foster mentions in a Boston jail?

Foster presents us with more captive stories, this time from three points of view: French-Canadian women and New England Puritan men and women. He writes well. He raises questions and gives some answers on peace and war, on prisoners of war, on women's versus men's advantages and disadvantages in war, and about trying to get along with neighbors with different languages, religions, and cultures. His book is a good place to ponder all of these problems.

JUNE NAMIAS

Cambridge, Massachusetts

MICHAEL DORLAND and MAURICE CHARLAND. *Law, Rhetoric, and Irony in the Formation of Canadian Civic Culture*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 359. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$35.00.

This book views Canadian constitutional and legal history through the prism of social, communications, and discourse theory. Much stress is placed on law's role as the product of/site for coherence-generating communicative interaction of a distinctly Habermasian

kind. The manner in which legal forms both embody and constrain heterogeneity and particularism receives a good deal of attention. The "waves of discourse" that make up "the law" are seen as "strategic and agonistic in character, directed towards forging consensus among some and challenging the authority of others, and ultimately resting upon the conditions that they seek to create" (p. 4). The notion that "Canada was created by and through law" (p. 118) is made to rest on what Michael Dorland and Maurice Charland plainly see as rich, new, and fruitful ground.

Working that ground involves putting forward five familiar constitutional arrangements—the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Quebec Act of 1774, the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Union Act of 1840, and the British North America Act of 1807—as basic in Canadian history. These are seen as fundamental not simply because they framed and organized Canadian experience at critical historical moments but because they recognized, or could be interpreted as recognizing, the claims and interests of the various groups that made up Canada. Upholding the rule of law, providing coherence, and giving structure, they also framed diversity, accommodated the other, and allowed for construction of a whole whose parts remained in tense, dynamic, conflicted relation. Paradox, ambiguity, and irresolution emerged as central to the unfolding Canadian story. Legal systems intended to stabilize became fields for contestation and struggle as First Nations, French speakers, Métis, and women asserted their claims to recognition and legitimacy. Form and content mixed together in peculiar ways, as principles of citizen self-government penetrated and reshaped a system founded on the idea that the crown is sovereign. The anomalous nature of that development was in its turn doubled as the monarchy-republic that came into being was not seen for the hybrid it was: Canadians' democratic practice made their view of the crown imperfect and unclear, while Canadian fear of appearing too American drove a refusal to acknowledge *de facto* republicanism. Break and rupture dominated—the disappearance and replacement of so many "constitutions" allow no other conclusion—but Canada's reputation as a stable, ordered, deferential, continuity-based society masked that fact and obscured the reality it was supposed to be defining. Canadians became a people to be understood in terms of their need "to learn how to contend with . . . five styles of the performance of power and social appearance—drawing out from each of these how a version of the law interacted, often ironically, with rhetorical forms and formulations" (p. 315).

Not everything in this attempt "to identify the deep structures of constitution itself" (p. 120) contributes to the realization of that purpose. The argument is sometimes hard to follow: for example, one sees only with difficulty what is meant as the law is variously presented as "a technical discourse system" (p. i), "a silent network . . . of cultural cross-effects" (p. 76), and a force that "reconstitutes the life-world" (p. 129).

Sentence structure, phrasing, and terminology are unnecessarily complicated. Allusion, reference, and citing of authorities is obtrusive and sometimes pretentious. Argument often moves away from the original point, builds outward, develops in many dimensions, and loses itself in a tangle of verbiage and overgrowth. But for all that the book too frequently seems a parody of the analytical and conceptual modes of analysis it puts into play, its usefulness is clear. In developing ideas concerning Canada's character as a society of flux, process, becoming, and negotiation, in complicating understanding of fundamental law, and in bringing a rich body of theory to bear, it will both stimulate and provoke those for whom the workings of Canadian politics and society continue to offer a compelling model of what life in a state involves and requires.

ALLAN SMITH
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PATRICK BRODE. *Courted and Abandoned: Seduction in Canadian Law*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, for The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, Toronto. 2002. Pp. xi, 252. \$45.00.

Patrick Brode has set out to provide a history of the tort of seduction and associated actions in Canadian law in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His book focuses on developments in Upper Canada/Ontario.

The portion describing early decades of the nineteenth century relies on evidence of extramarital heterosexual activity as revealed in the reported and unreported cases for Upper Canada. The author would clearly have his readers believe that such activity, particularly premarital, was frequent throughout the colony. Such a finding is at odds with that of Peter Ward, who argued some years ago that the rate of illegitimacy in Upper Canada was notably low. While the author is aware of Ward's article, he makes no attempt to address its argument.

Despite this significant problem, Brode cites a broad number of seduction cases, some of which are quantified. The number of seduction cases peaked at forty-five in the 1870s, with a median number of fourteen per decade and a mean of 19.3. Whether one would consider these sort of numbers frequent or not is subjective, but they do not satisfy me—particularly when reduced to a yearly average. I would argue that these numbers do not support the assertion that civil seduction "was a regular feature of the courts of late nineteenth-century Canada" (p. 101). Similarly, no numbers or persuasive evidence is offered to support the assertion that "breach of promise and seduction cases became staple fare for the lawyers of the late 1800s" (p. 108). The numbers are derived from reported cases, unreported cases in judges' bench books, and newspaper accounts (although the methodological use of newspapers, whether systematic or not, is not revealed), so the research base is certainly broad.

The discussion of extramarital sexual activity is linked to a broader discussion of behavior in colonial society. The lack of privacy is discussed, as are some of the characteristics of courtship. Upper Canada (Ontario) rejected English poor law at an early stage so the colony lacked that means of pursuing the putative fathers of illegitimate offspring, the costs of whose upbringing might otherwise fall on the local community. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, English precedents insisted that a tort of seduction lay only where the young woman's father had lost the services of his daughter and where a pregnancy had resulted from the seduction. It was the resulting pregnancy and the loss of service that created a legal loss. Brode frequently cites instances where the case failed to meet these tests but the jury nevertheless went beyond the law (and often beyond the judge's explicit instructions) to award damages. The independence of juries in awarding damages to harmed women and their families is a repeated theme of the book. Most of these verdicts went unchallenged by the judges and the damages were unreduced. Indeed, seduction actions, according to the author, "were remarkably successful, even when the evidence was unclear and the character of the seduced woman was in question" (p. 26).

In 1837, the Upper Canadian legislature adopted a potentially important reform of the law. The new legislation dispensed with the need to prove that the young woman's services had been lost by her parents and facilitated the compelling of putative fathers to pay damages. The legislation thus followed the same tendencies as the juries in favoring the "wronged" woman, but judges resisted the new legislation and it was several decades before it was consistently applied across the province. Further legislative reform followed. In the 1880s, federal legislation criminalized seduction of a previously chaste woman under the age of sixteen. As well, any man over the age of twenty-one who used a promise of marriage to seduce an unmarried woman under the age of eighteen was guilty of an offense.

Twentieth-century developments are more cursorily discussed by Brode. Alberta legislation empowering the provincial superintendent of child welfare to take a direct role in obtaining support for the unwed mother is discussed briefly, but its efficacy is not assessed. Similar legislation in Ontario in the 1920s is revealed as somewhat ineffective in terms of the numbers of cases resulting in support collected for the unwed mother (twenty-five percent).

Near the end of the book, the author branches out to give his readers a detailed presentation of the well-known case of *Macmillan v. Brownlee* (1933). Although this case is intrinsically interesting, it does little to explain the history of seduction law in the twentieth century. Furthermore, it is one of the author's few forays beyond the borders of Upper Canada/Ontario. The amount of non-Ontario material in the book

challenges the claim in the title to deal with all of Canada in some comprehensive manner.

Brode's study brings together a good deal of information about the topic but is by no means exclusively based on legal records. The subject is an interesting one, but the author tends to provide description rather than analysis. At no point could I detect Brode's basic argument, nor could I create a thesis statement on the basis of the book's contents. A good editor should have prodded the author to take a little more time to present a more considered study of the topic.

JAMES SNELL

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SUZANNE MORTON. *At Odds: Gambling and Canadians, 1919–1969*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. Pp. xi, 272. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

As I write this review I stare at one of the many signs on my block: "Stop the Slot Machines in Hastings Park." The park refers to a nearby race course where betting on horses has been legal for decades, but the park's push for 800 slot machines has provoked intense opposition. Suzanne Morton argues that Canadians have been and remain ambivalent about gambling. In part, Morton's purpose is to explain this "ongoing ambivalence" (p. x) while she analyzes how gambling went from "a stigmatized minor vice to an acceptable activity regarded as appropriate and perhaps necessary to fund the Canadian welfare state" (p. 5).

As Morton points out, gambling was never completely illegal in Canada, except on Sundays. Individual betting was permitted, as long as no third party profited. Churches and charities held raffles for products, and carnival games of chance were allowed at agricultural fairs. Finally, betting was permitted at government-chartered race tracks. Morton argues that this last example underscores the continuing influence of a colonial elite. For them, horse racing was "class-appropriate leisure" (p. 11), which they also claimed—even after the carnage of World War I—helped to defend the British Empire with the potential cavalry contribution.

In opposition stood what Morton calls "Old Canada," the Anglo-Celtic, Protestant middle class whose Victorian values had remarkable staying power. Anchored in the churches, especially the Methodist and its successor, the United Church of Canada, opponents claimed that gambling violated principles of labor, thrift, and merit. It encouraged the abandonment of honest work through (the hope of) acquiring something for nothing. Until well into the twentieth century, these moral beliefs were reinforced by a capitalistic system still oriented to investment and production rather than consumption. Yet the economy cut more than one way in regard to gambling, for it was often difficult to separate capitalistic speculation from gambling. Buying stock could be a wise investment or a foolish gamble—depending on how well one did.

Morton investigated gambling in five of ten prov-

inces and concluded that a diversity of opinions and practices prevailed, even among Protestants. Yet the fundamental division was between Protestants and Catholics, notably French Canadians in Quebec. Not all Catholics approved of gambling, but it had more support in Quebec than anywhere else in Canada. Thus, debates over gambling intensified the dominant cultural cleavage in Canada. To make matters more complicated, the Criminal Code of Canada, federal legislation, regulated gambling across the country, but law enforcement was largely a provincial responsibility, and enforcement varied according to time and place.

While Old Canada was quite successful in thwarting legal changes, support for liberalization continued to increase, especially after World War II. Thrift and self-discipline were less prized by an economy now dominated by consumption and services. Proponents of change argued that illegal gambling was a source of revenue for organized crime and promoted the corruption of police, politicians, and judges. They claimed that legalized, regulated gambling would help charities and churches and undercut the influence of organized crime. Moreover, by the 1960s politicians were looking for new sources of revenue to fund the welfare state without dramatically increasing taxes. In 1969, the Canadian Parliament amended the criminal code to allow for government-controlled lotteries, and gambling has continued to expand since then.

Since little has been written on gambling in Canada, the author draws on the relevant American and British literature, notably the work of Jackson Lears and Ross McKibbin. A number of important comparisons are made to the United States, and they could have been more systematic, perhaps to the point of having their own chapter. The structure of the book is a little awkward, since some chapters are thematic while others are more chronological. The thematic approach helps to highlight the gendered, racial, and ethnic dimensions of gambling, but it makes the book repetitive and hard to follow at times. Yet what I found most frustrating was the minimalist citation of sources in the endnotes, especially archival ones. While the book has a bibliography of secondary sources, it could have benefited from a list of the archival sources used.

This is a good book, and I appreciated Morton's respect for the opponents of gambling. She rejects their racist and classist assumptions but admires their idealism. She also is uneasy about governments promoting gambling and operating gambling facilities. She is not alone. I buy the occasional lottery ticket, but I don't want 800 slot machines down the street.

ROBERT A. CAMPBELL
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JACKSON LEARS. *Something for Nothing: Luck in America*. New York: Viking, 2003. Pp. ix, 392. \$27.95.

Anyone who enters a casino today walks into a space long made magical by promises of self-transformation.

Luxurious interiors invoke materialist dreams of heaven that date back to the antebellum period. Slot machines make promises encoded in mana-conjuring glyphs: cornucopias in the nineteenth century, Elvis Presley today. Once the chips are down and the wheel spins, past, present, and future collapse in a moment of sweaty anticipation. This moment, according to Jackson Lears, involves more than the throwing away of good money. It represents a playful alternative to an official culture of control, a rebellious yearning for a conversion experience, grace freely granted apart from dominant ideals of self-control and meritocracy.

These rebellious yearnings, according to Lears, have survived centuries of efforts to banish chance from American culture. In the seventeenth century, evangelical rationalists attacked luck with an ordered logic of providentialism, a worldview in which all unfolded according to a divine plan and nothing occurred by chance. For Puritan merchants and Christian slave traders, winning was a sign of God's love, success a measure of individual merit. In this context, a culture of luck adhered to older traditions, emerging from a synthesis of European, African-American, and Indian folk beliefs. For people near the bottom of the social order, the world remained chaotic and fraught with risk. They tossed shells, created stick bundles, and crafted fetishes to read the whims of fortune, to conjure mana—luck made material, palpable, and accessible.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the discourse of evangelical rationalism remained on the rise. Yet chance survived. Sailors carved charms and visited fortune tellers. Tavern tables shuddered with the pounding of dice cups. Members of the southern gentry developed a culture of gaming and horse racing. Many Christians continued the old practice of bibliomancy, opening the Bible to random passages as a means of divination. Luck flourished in ethnic subcultures: in the rituals of Irish Catholics or the increasingly exotic objects of African-American conjure such as voodoo rites, gris-gris, root-work, and mojo.

The greatest challenge to America's dominant culture of control came with the rise of a more chaotic version of entrepreneurial capitalism in the early nineteenth century. The emergent culture of stakes, stocks, and risks blurred easy distinctions between stolid capitalist investors and lawless gamblers. Town lotteries proliferated. The California gold rush imbued gambling with frontier color. Even Horatio Alger's rags-to-riches stories stressed luck as well as pluck. Everyone, it seemed, needed a share of lucky breaks; and, if this was the case, what was the difference between the riverboat sharper and the captain of industry? What separated Andrew Carnegie from Diamond Jim Brady?

Apologists for capitalism could never quite resolve these questions. But as Lears writes, they "did their damndest." As providentialism gave way to a rhetoric of progress, reformers linked gambling to addiction and belief in luck to superstition, to "primitives"

awaiting the thrust of imperialist improvements. By the middle decades of the twentieth century, the defenders of control had nearly banished random force. The tycoon was different from the gambler: cheater, up-sucker, or both, he frowned on risk, rigging the game or making his own luck. True gamblers were helpless slaves to chance. Or they were the poor saps who really believed in fortune's transforming power: the Harlem numbers players, the Chinatown lottery addicts, the losers who sent away for love potions advertised on the back pages of crime magazines.

The New Deal and the postwar consumerist order represented the high point and most humane form of the culture of control. Here was the "hamster cage" version of risk aversion: white welfare, a managed economy, cycles of steady pay raises and blissful purchasing. But the reaction had already started. Even at the beginning of the Progressive era, thinkers like William James had pushed for a revitalization of chance as contingency, as a fact of experience more real, and certainly more ethical, than the banalities of merit or progress. At the turn of the century, folklorists began to recover rituals and games from the ethnic subcultures to which they had been banished. Soon a modernist avant-garde began experimenting with art produced by accident. By the 1950s, the rebellion against a gray-flannelled order was on in jazz, dada, surrealism, abstract impressionism, beat poetry, Jungian metaphysics, Zen, and performance art. Luck was back. And so, argues Lears, were traditional yearnings for grace, for idiosyncratic places outside the dominant order.

Much of this, as Lears admits, is pretty far from standard anecdotes about the rise of gambling in America. Readers who expect criticisms of gambling as false consciousness will be disappointed. There are no equations here between lotteries and mass opiates, no tales from the Las Vegas gutter, no scolding of suburban retirees, the great white welfare beneficiaries who "earned every dime they ever made" and so "earned the right" to throw each one into the slots. Lears's goal is not to damn luck or its adherents but to recognize a culture of chance, its long existence as an alternative to capitalism, and its often trenchant criticisms of the ideologies of providentialism, progress, and meritocracy. Indeed, the book's major contribution to the field may be Lears's assertion that such criticisms and alternatives need not be located in a preindustrial "golden past" but exist throughout American history.

BRIAN ROBERTS

University of Northern Iowa

RICHARD L. KAGAN, editor. *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*. (Hispanisms.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 286. \$42.50.

Here is a superb anthology that trances the development, institutionalization, and professionalization of the study of Spain's history and culture in the United

States from the American Revolution to the mid-twentieth century. Gathering essays by some of this country's foremost Hispanists, editor Richard L. Kagan provides a dense genealogy of the origins and reception of ideas, the political and economic forces that shaped individuals and their thoughts, and the complicated ways women and men found personal meaning in their writing about Spain. Kagan contributes three of the most comprehensive essays to the tome. *Hispanismo* or Hispanism, as Spain's *Diccionario de la literatura española* defines it, is "the study of the language, literature, and history of Spain by foreigners." This volume takes a much broader approach, including the study of Spanish art, music, and folklore in its scope.

Kagan informs us that U.S. relations with Spain were born of the minor help Spaniards offered the rebel cause, sending Louisiana's Governor Bernardo de Gálvez to distract British naval power in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, and thus blunt its force. Bourbon King Charles III was hardly disposed to helping the Americans rebels. Instead he hoped that a British defeat would allow him to recoup his occupied territories in Jamaica, Honduras, and portions of western Florida. When the United States became independent, relations with Spain festered due to territorial disputes over control of the Mississippi River, the Gulf Coast, and Florida. Some of these disputes were finally settled by the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819. Weakened by colonial revolt in the Americas, Spain then ceded Florida and recognized the Louisiana Purchase, which Thomas Jefferson had negotiated with Napoleon Bonaparte in 1803. In return, Spain got a vague promise that the United States would stay out of Mexico, something that quickly became moot with the Monroe Doctrine in 1823.

Jefferson was probably the person most instrumental in establishing the study of Spain in the United States. Capable of reading Spanish, a frequent correspondent with Spanish scientists, and the owner of many Spanish books that ultimately became part of the Library of Congress, Jefferson introduced Spanish into the curriculum at the College of William and Mary and later at the University of Virginia, anticipating the importance that trade with the Spanish-American colonies would have. But it was mainly from diplomats and trade representatives that American readers first learned about Spain. Mordecai M. Noah's 1819 *Travels in England, France, and Spain and the Barbary States in the Years 1813-4 and 1815* (1819) was the first detailed description of Spain written by an American citizen. Many others soon followed.

Nineteenth-century U.S. Hispanism, as Kagan explains, was of two broad types. The first, a popular and romantic literary tradition best characterized by writers such as Washington Irving, Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, Caroline Cushing, Caleb Cushing, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, depicted Spain as a picturesque land full of gypsies, fandangos, bullfights,

and *pícaros*. This Spain was imagined as locked in the past and unable to embrace modernity. Such stereotypes sold books but hardly fit the realities of the Spanish industry, commerce, and democratic rule at the end of the nineteenth century. The second tradition was scholarly and eventually academic, propelled by those interested in the relationship between national character and history and literature. George Ticknor, William Hickling Prescott, John C. S. Abbott, Edward Everett Hale, John Lothrop Motley, and Hubert Howe Bancroft were but some of the scholars who characterized Spain as backward and the very antithesis of America. "America was the future—republican, enterprising, rational; while Spain—monarchical, indolent, fanatic—represented the past," wrote Prescott (cited p. 10).

Just as war and trade first sparked American interest in Spain, the Spanish-American War of 1898, the U.S. acquisition of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, and increased trade all renewed American interest in things Spanish at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1885, only ten Spanish professorships existed in the United States; by 1900 rare was the institution of higher learning that did not offer instruction in Spanish language and literature. Histories of U.S. Hispanism logically followed.

Against the rich background of American ideas about Spain that Kagan elaborates, other contributors provide more narrow views. Rolena Adorno brilliantly delves into Irving's major works, particularly *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828). Analyzing the broad impact of Irving's Columbus biography and the controversies surrounding his intellectual debts and acknowledgements, Adorno also explores the rhetorical techniques that romantic historians used to draw readers into texts as active participants. Thomas R. Hart, Jr. offers an informative essay on Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (1849), which is followed by a much more stimulating and robust chapter by James D. Fernández on the history of Spanish-language instruction and the place of Latin America in U.S. Hispanism. Hart argues that while U.S. interest in Spanish was mainly born of commercial ties to Latin America fostered by the Monroe Doctrine, a double displacement shifted U.S. interest in Latin America to Spain and its literature, culture, and history. Mitchell Coddington offers readers a fascinating biographical chapter on Archer Milton Huntington and his founding of the Hispanic Society of America in New York. Janice Mann contributes an essay on two devotees of Spanish medieval art responsible for its dissemination in the United States: Georgiana Goddard King (1871–1933) and Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883–1933). The collection ends with a comprehensive survey of the performance and study of Spanish music in the United States between 1778 and 1940.

In sum, this is a rich and dense history of ideas about

Spain in the United States that should be of great interest to scholars of Europe and the Americas.

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DOUGLAS ANDERSON. *William Bradford's Books: Of Plimmoth Plantation and the Printed Word*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 280. \$45.00.

This book represents an increasingly rare commodity in the ever-tightening marketplace for scholarly publication: the comprehensive study of a single author and a single work. The author and work in this case do have a foundational place in American history (and myth), but to an unsympathetic eye—perhaps that of an overworked acquisitions editor at an academic press—William Bradford's *Of Plimmoth Plantation* could easily be categorized as yet another largely unread, dry-as-toast document from the days before things got really interesting in this country. Under the current circumstances, the publication of Douglas Anderson's fine book seems, well, providential, and one hopes that it finds the audience that it so richly deserves.

Anderson's main theme is the relation of Bradford's manuscript to the culture of print (and, by extension, reading and writing) in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, both in England and on the continent. The book's project involves not only identifying the books with which Bradford was familiar and which influenced him as a historian, but indicating Bradford's investment—one that may have literally involved his own capital—in the activity of printing. (His close associate William Brewster worked briefly in Leiden as a printer of radical Protestant tracts before emigrating to New England with Bradford on the *Mayflower*.) Anderson argues in his introduction that this investment appears tangibly in Bradford's painstaking efforts to make his manuscript resemble a printed book, as if with an awareness that his nominally private historical reflections belonged to, or at least carried the marks of, public discourse.

As prominent as it is, this is one theme among many; Anderson describes his book as an "interwoven, rather than sequential, account of Bradford's artistic achievement" (p. 23). It is concerned with, among other things, the modern history of the manuscript (not printed or generally distributed until 1897, and then under the burden of being a sacred piece of "Americana"); practices of reading and hermeneutics in Puritan and separatist communities; Renaissance theories of historiography; the genealogical links between *Of Plimmoth Plantation* and the book from 1622 known to posterity as *Mourt's Relation*, the first printed account of the Pilgrim colony; Plymouth's responses to the native inhabitants of Massachusetts, and its difficult coexistence with the Bay Colony; Bradford's liberal use of correspondence (i.e. letters) in the manu-

script; his attitudes toward such troublesome, feckless, and idiosyncratic contemporaries as John Lyford, Thomas Morton, Isaac Allerton, Christopher Gardiner, and the great, often implacable Roger Williams; his intellectual debt to John Robinson, the spiritual leader of the Pilgrim community who remained behind in Leiden and never emigrated; and, inevitably, Bradford's handling of the notorious case of Thomas Granger, the teenager executed in 1642 for committing bestiality with various livestock and a turkey (this has surely become the most often anthologized section in *Of Plimmoth Plantation* after the passages describing the Pilgrims' first landing on Cape Cod). In fact, the book, while hewing to its literary-critical intent, nonetheless offers a serviceable biography of Bradford and general history of the Plymouth colony. It would be an excellent introductory or supplemental text for a graduate seminar on the culture of early New England.

Capturing the milieu of the Pilgrim community is Anderson's primary intent, but he is also concerned with countering and correcting the old, persistent "declension" argument, in which *Of Plimmoth Plantation* becomes a mournful inventory of providential punishments for a community in steady decline from its original integrity of purpose. Anderson instead argues that Bradford's history is a more complex, open-ended, inductive, and even optimistic work than its reputation suggests, that Bradford's concern with human motives and the psychology behind them, and his frequent willingness to suspend personal judgment and forego attributing the causes of events at Plymouth to God's will all set him apart as one of the least tradition-bound, if not one of the most innovative, writers of history in the seventeenth century. This is the aspect of Anderson's study that will likely be of most interest to historians. It is also one area where the book could probably be improved, since the historical thesis represents one thread in the author's "weave" and has to be teased out perhaps more than necessary; Anderson emphasis on texture over linear presentation sometimes leaves his chief claims about Bradford camouflaged in the background. But I suspect that readers of this exceptionally nuanced account of Bradford will be sufficiently interested in the weave to draw out the nuances of Anderson's historiographical argument as well.

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SHARON V. SALINGER. *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 309. \$42.00.

Sharon V. Salinger's book offers a fresh perspective on one of the colonial period's most important social institutions and the drinking behavior that was central to it. Taverns, as any number of previous studies have observed, were a central element of the colonial social scene and attended every bit as religiously as houses of

worship. Historians have long seen drinking itself as an important social marker, reflecting and interacting with wider elements of cultural norms and historical environments. In this study, however, Salinger has provided a rich mixture of social, political, and cultural history that sheds some genuinely new light on the importance of drinking and drinking establishments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The scope of Salinger's volume is especially important. There are good regional studies of early taverns and drinking behavior—David Conroy's volume on taverns in the political culture of Boston comes to mind—and Salinger uses them to advantage. However, most of this regional scholarship has offered little in the way of a comparative perspective across the British North American provinces as a whole. Now we have it, and the picture is surprisingly consistent. While colonial authorities on the eastern seaboard had an extensive legal structure to control liquor licenses, beverage alcohol sales, and the number of taverns, they honored it mostly in the breach. No matter what the legal structure, and no matter where, alcohol sales expanded in rough proportion to population growth, which meant that drinkers usually had no trouble finding a drink. In Charleston, South Carolina, which Salinger found typical of colonial urban areas, one of every thirteen dwellings was licensed to sell beverage alcohol. When illegal sales are added to the equation, total alcohol sales must have been considerable indeed, a view fully consistent with existing scholarly opinion supporting high estimates of colonial alcohol consumption. There seems no quibbling with the author's conclusion that local authorities were more interested in satisfying popular demands for access to alcohol than in enforcing legal restrictions on taverns or drinking in support of any social code or ideological perspective.

Equally convincing is Salinger's largely novel observation that the taverns were not incubators of democratic social leveling. True enough, rich, poor, and middling sorts commingled at the bar, especially during the early eighteenth century. In port cities, the first generation of taverns clustered along the waterfronts and catered to virtually all classes. But as this book makes clear, such instances became increasingly rare; over time, new public houses farther from the docks served a more genteel clientele, and taverns became differentiated by the socioeconomic status of their patrons. Eventually, most drinking establishments served roughly homogeneous populations and generally were not places where different social groups interacted. In the end, rural public houses played much the same segregating role. Taverns were forums for political and social discourse of considerable sweep, and, especially with the approach of the American Revolution, some authorities cast a skeptical eye on the patrons of certain drinking establishments known for their Whig proclivities. Yet such establishments usually were the haunts of local elites, and democratic rhetoric and even radical planning over a convivial

glass did not translate into regular association with those on lower rungs of the social ladder.

The taverns were also strictly gendered places. Salinger offers an incisive analysis (in fact, one of the best in the literature) of the extent and conditions of female tavern proprietorship—it was more widespread than we have suspected, although not often a path to wealth—but women were virtually absent from the ranks of tavern patrons. Certainly they were absent from the political discussions that marked the taverns frequented by colonial elites. Blacks, free and slave, who drank regularly despite laws to the contrary, were only a minor part of the tavern scene as well. Free white males predominated as patrons, and to the extent that taverns were public places, they were a reflection of the extent to which white men dominated public life in early America.

Salinger's work is compelling throughout. Her writing is fine and her organization clear, and she has an eye for anecdotal material that adds to the reader's enjoyment without straying from her interpretive thread (see her wonderful account of the woes of early travelers coping with truly egregious local tavern accommodations). Her scholarship is thorough and sound and combines a superb command of the existing literature with genuinely impressive original research. These attributes inspire confidence in her conclusions and in the merit of this significant and satisfying book.

MARK EDWARD LENDER
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ANNE S. LOMBARD. *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 244. \$45.00.

Anne S. Lombard examines "what did it mean to be a man" (p. 2) in colonial New England in the century after the end of King Philip's War in 1676. In particular, she develops the prescriptive ideal that adult men should exhibit rationality, moderation, and self-control. They should also competently perform the roles of provider, family head, husband, and father. Like most historians of gender writing today, Lombard emphasizes manhood as a historical and cultural construct and correspondingly downplays its biological or essentialist aspects. Unlike contemporary scholars of gender, however, New England colonists did not focus on the relational dimension of masculinity. Authors were more concerned to define what it meant to be an exemplary member of a Christian community. Further, to the extent that manhood was defined relationally, the "other" category was more likely to refer to boys than to women.

The changing roles marked by the life cycle—infancy and early childhood, boyhood, youth, and maturity—provide the organizational framework for four of the chapters of this volume. Mothers were the primary caregivers in infancy and early childhood. At the age of reason, around age six or seven, fathers

became more active parents and models for their sons to emulate. Beginning about age fourteen, boys became youths, and in this life stage they began to have the possibility of interacting with others—male peers and youthful females—beyond the bounds of the family. In separate chapters, Lombard contrasts the stage of youth before and after 1700. In the seventeenth century, young men attempted to maintain rationality and self-control. They were also more controlled by society than they were later, and their reference group was elders rather than peers. In this period, Lombard argues, expressing emotion during courtship was regarded as effeminate. Many historians, and Lawrence Stone most prominently among historians of the family, have argued that the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of affection. Rather than primarily meaning a relationship to a sponsor or patron, friendship more commonly meant an emotional tie to an equal belonging to the same age cohort. At the same time, young men were not so guarded in controlling their emotions in courtship. Increasingly in the eighteenth century, both friendship and courtship evoked intense emotion.

Lombard's interpretations of the stages in the cycle are generally consistent with those of other historians of the Anglo-American family. Maturity meant marrying and becoming a father (numerous times), a householder, and a provider. She does not deal with the transition into old age and retirement, but in her social history, *Ye Heart of a Man: The Domestic Life of Men in Colonial New England* (1999), Lisa Wilson has recently covered this final stage of the life cycle.

To study the connections between masculinity and the use of force, Lombard examines assault cases from the court records of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, between 1680 and 1760. Since there were only seventy-two such cases with sufficient detail about the participants, firm conclusions about patterns and change over time are not possible. Lombard emphasizes the surprising incidence of conflicts between neighboring property holders in the period before 1710. Sixteen of the twenty-one private disputes involved disputes over property. The use of force in the defense of property rights, she argues, was controlled and rational rather than violent. In the eighteenth century, by contrast, she discerns a tendency toward more uncontrolled violence inflicted by young men bent on asserting an aggressive masculinity in confrontations with other young males. As in many studies of colonial New England, increasing commercialization and the expansion of markets are the causes invoked to account for change over time.

Another chapter explores the use of metaphors of masculinity in three episodes in the political history of Massachusetts, culminating with the revolt against the parent country in the 1760s and 1770s. Instead of a rebellion against patriarchal authority, Lombard suggests that the gendered language, when employed by participants in the conflict, represents a reaffirmation of long-standing ideals about responsible fatherhood. In her epilogue, Lombard looks forward in time,

speculatively contrasting the ideal of the rational, moderate male of colonial New England with the stereotype of the autonomous, self-made man of nineteenth-century America.

Studying masculinity in this period is challenging because of the need to discern the elements of gender that are embedded and obscured in other discourses. While Lombard's interpretations in this concise volume are not especially novel, her book nicely complements Wilson's.

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JOHN RUSTON PAGAN. *Anne Orthwood's Bastard: Sex and Law in Early Virginia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. 222. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

John Ruston Pagan's book is a concise and readable study of lust, law, social climbing, and society in seventeenth-century Virginia. These themes overlap and merge in the four legal cases discussed, cases that began with the pregnancy of Anne Orthwood. Twenty-three-year-old Orthwood emigrated from England in 1662 as an indentured servant. In November 1663, she became pregnant with twins, fathered by the nephew of her former master. The situation of a single female servant, seduced with promises of marriage and left pregnant, was not an unusual story in this time and place. What is unusual is that this particular incident, Orthwood's pregnancy, led to four separate but inter-related court cases. The extant documentation permits Pagan to reconstruct the lives of the participants and analyze the transformations of English legal traditions and practice in seventeenth-century Virginia.

Pagan notes that case studies are valuable "because they facilitate the exploration of large themes through specific examples" (p. 8). In this book, the four court suits serve as windows into the workings of colonial Virginia social and political life, and "the process by which Virginians created their own legal identity" (p. 10).

The first case, *Waters v. Bishopp*, was a breach of contract action brought about after Orthwood's fourth master, William Waters, discovered she was pregnant. William Kendall bought Orthwood's contract after she arrived in Virginia and then sold her indenture to another planter, Jacob Bishopp, in order to keep her and his nephew apart, since he expected his nephew to marry an heiress and continue the family's social ascension. Orthwood and John Kendall managed to find time to become intimate, however, changing both their lives forever. A short time after Anne's weekend encounter with her lover, Bishopp, possibly suspecting that Anne was pregnant, sold her indenture to Waters. The jury in this civil case determined that Bishopp had misrepresented what he was selling—a healthy, virgin servant—and ordered him to repay Waters, plus pay the costs of the suit. By this time, Orthwood had died

in childbirth. One of her infant twins also died; the remaining one was named Jasper.

The next case, *Ex Parte Kendall* found Kendall "morally innocent yet legally guilty" (p. 105). Despite Orthwood's testimony to the midwife, Eleanor Gething, naming Kendall as the father of her children, the magistrates did not believe that he was. This was because Gething declared that the twins were born full term and thus could not have been conceived when Orthwood claimed they were. At the same time, the law held Kendall responsible due to Orthwood's declaration during childbirth. Pagan determines that this verdict departed from English practice, which favored the woman's allegations but allowed for rebuttals by the named father. Magistrates in seventeenth-century Virginia were interested in speedy resolutions, and they adjudicated cases in an area where servants were highly desired. Men found guilty of fathering bastard children were ordered to support them until they were indentured as servants, but the children were usually indentured in infancy.

Despite the verdict in *Ex Parte Kendall*, Kendall was still prosecuted for fornication in *Rex v. Kendall*, the third case covered in the book. This case was ultimately dismissed. The final case resulting from Orthwood's pregnancy came many years later, when Jasper Orthwood sought, and ultimately won, his freedom in *Orthwood v. Warren*.

Each chapter focuses on a participant in the story, including not only Orthwood and the Kendalls but also the presiding justice, John Stringer, the clerk of the court, Robert Hutchinson, the midwife Gething, and others. I found particularly effective Pagan's descriptions of the court and the behind-the-scenes social/political connections of the various participants. As the book is based mainly on legal proceedings, we hear the voices of participants only as they appear in court records. I would like to have known in particular what the women along the eastern shore thought about the various people and events discussed here. Except for Orthwood and the midwife, women seem strangely absent, mentioned mainly as a means by which men gained property and cemented alliances. It may be that sources are lacking to give them voice, or it may be that Pagan is simply more concerned with how English law was modified and transformed in early Virginia. In this, his well-written narrative succeeds very well.

MERRIL D. SMITH
Independent Scholar

TERRI L. SNYDER. *Brabbling Women: Disorderly Speech and the Law in Early Virginia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 182. \$34.95.

Until recently, the history of women in colonial British America stopped somewhere near the southern border of Connecticut, while the history of women in the southern United States began around 1830. Julia Cherry Spruill's antiquated classic, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (1938), found a place in

college classrooms well into the 1980s simply because so little had been written to replace it. During the last decade, however, a host of innovative books have demonstrated the importance—perhaps even the centrality—of the southern colonies, especially Virginia, to American women's history. Adding to the conversation begun by such scholars as Jacqueline Jones, Kathleen M. Brown, Mary Beth Norton, Cynthia A. Kierner, and Kirsten Fischer, Terri L. Snyder's book enhances our understanding of the complex interplay of gender, race, class, and law amid what she calls "the changing sea of inequalities" in early America (p. 2).

This book is thoroughly grounded in time and place, a specificity which proves at once a strength and a limitation of Snyder's study. She focuses on the second half of the seventeenth century, the years when the Chesapeake's (in)famously fluid gender roles and racial lines began to calcify. It was during this period, when male elites felt "so tender about their dominion," that women's words resounded most loudly, and most menacingly, in colonial law and politics (p. 5). Snyder pieces together the fragmentary surviving evidence of women's disorderly voices, drawing chiefly on the legal records of York County in coastal Virginia. The sources are few and recalcitrant, and her research is both meticulous and inventive. But the harvest of cases remains small, and Snyder's decision to highlight select appearances by women in the courts makes the universe seem smaller still. Her second chapter, on women protesting sexual coercion, parses two cases, as does her third, on adultery; a penultimate chapter on the petitions of unfree women centers on four supplicants. Because the laconic nature of the records renders a rich microhistorical treatment of them impossible, these few cases cannot quite bear the interpretive weight Snyder places upon them.

But if the nature of the evidence frustrates Snyder's forays into microhistory, it powerfully enhances her claims as a legal historian. Acutely conscious of the legalities that shaped the words of men and women alike in seventeenth-century Virginia, she offers compelling readings of the interaction of law and culture in that place and time. Women's disorderly speech, she explains, was often constructed for the law, as female complainants and defendants crafted their narratives to gain the ear of the "legal fraternity." And women's voices were constructed, in turn, by the law, as anxious elites played out their fears about social unrest by passing laws against the unruly tongues of women—especially married women—in 1662, 1677, and 1699. Where other scholars (this reviewer included) have claimed to look through colonial court records to get at the theater of everyday life, Snyder looks squarely at them, with illuminating results for our understanding of the relationship between law and society in early Virginia and elsewhere.

In addition to its strength as a work of gendered legal history, the book adds new depth to our understanding of the role of elite women in the official politics of the colonial period. Snyder's treatment of

the part played by female rebels and loyalists during Bacon's Rebellion is particularly compelling. With the judicious use of gossip serving as her chief weapon, Lady Frances Berkeley, the wife of then-governor William Berkeley, became a central player in imperial politics during the 1670s. Whether flattering the royal commissioners appointed to investigate the rebellion or slandering her husband's opponents, Lady Frances used well-placed words to overturn gender hierarchies and cement political allegiances, earning power and opprobrium in the process. The wives of Nathaniel Bacon's men likewise came to be seen as "paragons of misrule," domestic as well as political usurpers "who fomented treason through their disorderly speech" (p. 35). Snyder finds proof of the challenge posed by these women's words in the colony's statutes, which "took aim at the brabbling speech of married women" with renewed force in the wake of the rebellion (p. 38). Bacon's Rebellion is a familiar chestnut of colonial American historiography, but her fresh focus on women's words makes Snyder's retelling as lucid and vital as any in recent years.

Snyder is quick to point out that the power of women's words was always carefully bounded; even Lady Berkeley found relatively few public outlets for her voice. But her descendants would find fewer still. If early Virginia makes a sorry sort of "golden age" for American women, this book is nonetheless a declension narrative. By the turn of the eighteenth century, women—especially black women—found ever fewer ways to express themselves officially, legally, or politically. "In eighteenth-century Virginia," Snyder argues, "women were less likely to use brabbling speech to empower themselves or find that such speech was publicly effective" (p. 140). Ironically, then, the very tenuousness of life in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake gave something as ephemeral as women's words exceptional reach and power.

JANE KAMENSKY
Brandeis University

JOHN FERLING. *A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 558. \$30.00.

The public demand for retellings of the American Revolution saga remains insatiable, and the market continues to oblige. John Ferling's contribution to the genre is lively and engaging, with a writing style that is marred only by some ham-fisted references to revolutions of the sun and seasons ("twilight turned to sooty darkness" [p. 128]; "the mild days of spring nudged aside winter" [p. 226]). What is most remarkable about this book is something most consumers will not even notice: ninety-five percent of it could have been written half a century ago.

By the time of the bicentennial in 1976, historians of the American Revolution, launching a revolution of their own, had begun to show how the imperial conflict affected Indians, slaves, and women of all ranks—and

how they in turn influenced the struggle between colonies and crown. Very little of that scholarship shows up here. Topics that have become standard in American History textbooks—women's participation in boycotts of British merchandise, Indians' and slaves' alliances with the British army—are slighted or ignored altogether. Even some of the women and people of color who appeared in older accounts—for example, the Indians Pontiac, Cornplanter, Blue Jacket, and Joseph Brant, the African Americans Phillis Wheatley and Benjamin Banneker, and the "mulatto" Crispus Attucks—failed to find a place in Ferling's 488 pages. He names only one African American (President George Washington's cook) and no Indians. The few women Ferling mentions are mostly the wives and mistresses of Founding Fathers, such as Abigail Adams (whose famous injunction to "Remember the Ladies" is omitted) and Maria Cosway (but not Sally Hemings).

Ferling focuses instead on traditional politics, meaning not only the imperial conflict but also struggles among patriots. Although his greatest interest is in intra-elite struggles, his definition of politics embraces the struggle, first described by the so-called progressive historians, over just how radical the American Revolution was. The book devotes considerable space to *Common Sense* (1776) and the Boston crowd (Pope's Day and anti-impressment riots are omitted, however). Ferling summarizes two important studies by John K. Alexander: his article on the October 4, 1779 "Fort Wilson" riot in Philadelphia, and his excellent new biography of Samuel Adams.

One might expect an author who neglects social history in favor of politics to devote a great deal of space to the military conflict. But Ferling is not much more interested in battles than he is in women, slaves, and Indians. Combined, the military conflicts of 1778, 1779, 1780, and 1781 occupy less space than the so-called Conway Cabal, a plot to replace General Washington that Ferling acknowledges did not amount to much. Ferling's battlefield reporting also betrays a disturbing tendency to leave characters hanging. Washington provokes the Seven Years' War by attacking Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville's party on May 28, 1754, but we never learn about Washington's surrender of Fort Necessity scarcely a month later. Barry St. Leger (who is named only in a well-drawn map) is seen leading a British army of 1,000 southeast across upstate New York toward a planned junction with John Burgoyne in Albany—and is never heard from again.

It would be a mistake to equate Ferling's interest in politics with an endorsement of the ideological interpretation of the revolution advanced by scholars such as Carol Robbins, Bernard Bailyn, and J. G. A. Pocock. Actually, this scholarship is barely mentioned. There are pages and pages on the struggle to royalize the proprietary colony of Pennsylvania (Ferling wrote a well-received biography of Joseph Galloway) and the Boston Massacre, but there is almost nothing on early 1760s imperial encroachments other than the Stamp

Act or on the thirteen British colonies that chose not to rebel. Ferling elected to ignore some topics, such as the writs of assistance, altogether.

Readers reach the Yorktown victory before passing the mid point of the narrative. This is their first clue that what really interests Ferling are the conflicts of the 1790s. He devotes nearly 200 pages to describing the well-known struggles pitting Alexander Hamilton against Thomas Jefferson and later John Adams. In this very detailed section, Ferling draws numerous parallels to the events he narrated at a brisker pace in the first half of the book.

The last chapter describes Jefferson's inauguration in 1801 and provides capsule updates on the subsequent fates of a dozen white male politicians. The book ends on a note that will be music to the ears of the nation's current political leaders, even as they leap into the dark (and seemingly un-Jeffersonian) world of detention without trial, domestic spying, and foreign adventure: Jefferson's inaugural description of the nation as "the world's best hope" (p. 488). Such an interpretation comes easier if one ignores those Americans (always the majority) who are not white or not male or neither, as Ferling has essentially done throughout the book.

Unsurprisingly, the bulk of Ferling's arguments concern the 1790s. He asserts that Jefferson's collaborator James Madison "missed Jefferson's deft feel of the popular pulse" (p. 393); that Madison was not actually fundamentally opposed to the federal assumption of state debts (Ferling thinks Madison was just holding out for quid pro quos—which of course he got); that historians err in portraying Jefferson as a "hopeless visionary" (p. 328); and that, in the negotiation of Jay's Treaty in 1794, "Britain would have relinquished more had Jay pushed harder" (p. 378). On issues where Ferling takes a stand, he sometimes neglects opposing viewpoints. He presents one interpretation of the Boston Massacre as though it is undisputed, which of course none is. He is quite certain that President Washington's physician erred in diagnosing him with anthrax in 1789, although other scholars think the diagnosis may have been correct.

Ferling has set himself a modest goal—to narrate the political history of the American Revolution with a slightly greater than usual emphasis on conflicts between elite and ordinary whites—and achieved it.

WOODY HOLTON
University of Richmond

H. JEFFERSON POWELL. *A Community Built on Words: The Constitution in History and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. x, 251. \$35.00.

Historians weary of pestering colleagues in politics, philosophy, and law about the need to take account of historical context will be pleased that H. Jefferson Powell has joined the effort with his new book. In what the dust jacket claims is a "powerful new approach," Powell seeks to demonstrate how constitutional argu-

ments and outcomes are shaped by historical circumstances and politics, what he calls a "historicist" interpretation of constitutional law (p. 7). So far, so good.

Powell's approach is to set out a series of constitutional conflicts, using a variation of the traditional case method. His examples start with the earliest years of the republic and go up to 1944. These vignettes are written in a lively and readable fashion and meant to focus on how things are said, as much as what was said. The examples, unusually, include some cases from state courts. The reader will find well-known national debates like that over the Alien and Sedition Act and a national bank, as well as less familiar state cases on slavery and judicial review. Together they provide a fascinating account of some of the significant controversies that drove and shaped constitutional interpretation and government over the years. The founders were involved in some of the earliest of these controversies and worried, Powell reminds us, that the Constitution's plain language would be construed away.

Powell's selection is heavily skewed toward the earlier period. The book's first 160 pages take readers up to 1829, leaving only forty pages for the next 170 years of U.S. history. That being said, since many fundamental issues arose and were (or were not) resolved in the early years of the nation, there is certainly some justification for Powell's emphasis. He is at his best in dealing with these examples.

Powell is less sure-footed, occasionally even contradictory, and certainly more controversial when he lays out his own overarching theory of constitutional law. His background as deputy assistant attorney general and deputy solicitor general in the Clinton administration perhaps has pushed him forcibly in the direction of seeing politics, not law, not the Constitution, not even history—except as the context for politics—as controlling the game. His views, although not his examples, at times drive the Constitution to the sidelines. Powell maintains that the contentious issues that often occupy the courts "under the rubric of constitutional law" lead to judicial answers that are "from many perspectives, entirely political, in the sense that the answers are determined not by legal argument, but by policy preference" (p. 3). Yet it does not follow that because he finds no period in the nation's history when there was "a golden age" of apolitical thinking or complete unanimity over the meaning of the Constitution, the Constitution has been, and is, just a political football to be tossed about and carried off by one political party or the other, while serving what he sees as the wholesome purpose of focusing the attention of the players on the same object. However wedded to the importance of context historians are, few would agree with L. H. LaRue, whom Powell cites, that "the most important fact about a case is its date" (p. 3). Powell's rather narrow view of history leaves him surprised that founding-era constitutionalists consulted "fundamental principles" in interpreting constitutional texts. If, as he claims, constitutional theory

aims to escape from history and politics, he has attempted to correct this bias with a vengeance.

Powell's emphasis on political division leads him, in his final chapter, to feel obliged to assert that "the United States does have a set of shared constitutional first principles," and to list these (p. 205). Among them he includes the understanding that no political or social dispute be resolved by military means, orderly electoral procedures, and constitutional authorization for all actions of the federal government and its agents.

One does not have to completely agree with Powell's argument to find his book a most valuable contribution to the field. More persuasive and nuanced than his own argument are two comments he cites. One is Canadian philosopher George Grant's reference to "English-speaking justice," which Powell characterizes as the "deep-rooted allegiance to the rule of law" that "flows in the United States, along constitutional channels" (p. 212). The second is novelist E. L. Doctorow's accolade to the Constitution: "This is what we cherish and honor, a document that gives us the means by which we may fearlessly argue ourselves into clarity as a free and unified people" (p. 212).

JOYCE LEE MALCOLM
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JAMES HORN and PETER S. ONUF, editors. *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. Pp. xix, 431. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$22.50.

Looking back from the year 1819, Thomas Jefferson pronounced his victory in the election of 1800 to mark a "revolution," "as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form." This collection of sixteen essays examines Jefferson's claim. The contributors range from the very senior and well-established scholars (e.g. Jack Rakove, Joyce Appleby, Alan Taylor) to the relatively young and up and coming (e.g. Jeffrey Pasley, Robert McDonald, Bethel Saler). The volume originated in a conference at the International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello in 2000 and shows more unity and coherence than the average collection of essays manages to muster. As editors James Horn and Peter S. Onuf acknowledge, "we do not suggest that all these essays elaborate a single, overarching thesis" (p. xix), which is true enough, but the volume achieves coherence though the persistent recurrence to the question implied by the title: in what ways, and for whom, was (or was not) 1800 a "revolution"?

The essays are organized in what can best be described as a concentric circles pattern. The volume begins with two essays (by James Lewis and Rakove) that focus narrowly on the election itself and the revolutionary possibilities (in a number of different senses) of the super-heated political atmosphere in the context of the odd mechanism governing the presidential election: the electoral college producing a tie

between Aaron Burr and Jefferson that had to be resolved in the House of Representatives. As several of the essays make clear, these mechanisms could have produced any number of anomalous results, including Burr, John Adams, or even Charles Pinckney as president. Or perhaps no president.

A circle a short radius away from the dead center of the election itself places the election into broader contexts and considers several different "revolutionary" aspects. Michael Bellisle engages in a counterfactual speculation on the genuinely revolutionary possibilities (i.e. recourse to violence) had an outcome other than the election of Jefferson occurred. Joanne Freeman looks at the party process at work in the election, trying to escape from the tendency to view party practices in terms familiar to us from later developments. Not surprisingly, she finds honor more important than partisan loyalty; she highlights the way a quiet and quite unplanned revolution in the way politics was conducted was underway. Pasley, in one of the finest essays in the collection, explores the more standard question: was there any good reason for Jefferson and others to think that 1800 was in any way "revolutionary"? He challenges current revisionism that finds little to the revolution thesis by exploring the role of the press in transforming parties and politics in the early republic and the democratizing effect this transformation had.

Just a slight ripple beyond these essays is Appleby's discussion of Jefferson's "psychology of democracy," another of the real high points of the collection. Appleby demonstrates that Jefferson quite self-consciously recognized the need for and worked to effect a transformation in mores to make the new practice genuinely (or more) democratic. A circle or two beyond Appleby is a series of five essays exploring the implications of the Revolution of 1800 for religion (McDonald), slaves (James Sidbury, James Oakes), women (Jeanne Boydston), and southeastern Indians (Greg Dowd). Most striking here are Sidbury's arguments that the effects of Jefferson's election and subsequent policies were disastrous for the population of Virginia slaves. Also striking is Dowd's very strong essay exploring the Jeffersonian efforts to "civilize" the Indians by getting the men to work at farming and the women to take on more domestic tasks. Dowd's essay combines astute anthropological insight into the nature of Indian culture with a clear grasp of the Jeffersonian policy initiatives to explain the unsettling outcome of this policy: Jefferson succeeded only where Indians could substitute the labor of black slaves for the field work normally done by Indian women.

The next circle comprises a set of five essays putting 1800 into a broader international context. Particularly of interest are the analysis of the interaction of events in the Caribbean with the eventual purchase of Louisiana (Laurent Dubois, Douglas Egerton) and Saler's powerful discussion of how the requirements of empire limited the possibilities for cutting back on the na-

tional state, even as Jefferson transformed the way that state operated.

This collection takes its point of departure from Jefferson's assessment of 1800 as a revolution in "principles" to match the 1776 revolution in "form"; none of the contributors picks up the reference to Montesquieu, who distinguished the form from the principle of governments. Therefore, no one traces out Jefferson's own way of understanding what the Revolution of 1800 was about. Nonetheless, this is a fine collection, worth the attention of all students of the early republic.

MICHAEL ZUCKERT
University of Notre Dame

JON KUKLA. *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2003. Pp. x, 430. \$30.00.

The diplomatic crisis leading up to the Louisiana Purchase centered on control of New Orleans and the Mississippi watershed, not on the immense wilderness to the west. To facilitate a deal, American minister and negotiator Robert R. Livingston floated the possibility of including the trans-Mississippi region in the purchase so that the United States could in turn offer the Bonaparte family a private land grant. Neither Livingston nor the Jefferson administration could see much other use for this wilderness, Jon Kukla writes in his engaging and authoritative new history. Napoleon Bonaparte's brothers (in this case, Joseph) might be susceptible to bribes, but the first consul's interest in the region depended on the success of his tragically abortive campaign to suppress the insurrection in St. Domingue and establish a "colonial empire in the Caribbean" with Louisiana as its breadbasket. "As many as sixty thousand French soldiers" lost their lives in the 1802-1803 campaign, climaxing a "decade of carnage" in which "some three hundred fifty thousand Haitians of all colors" also died (p. 225). Anticipating resumption of the war in Europe, Bonaparte abandoned Louisiana. The sale turned what promised to be a total loss into a welcome infusion of sixty million francs in cash; another twenty million francs of the total purchase price of eighty million francs (\$15 million) covered American claims resulting from French maritime depredations in the 1790s.

In retrospect, the Louisiana Purchase could be called the greatest real estate deal in world history. At the time, however, its chief significance was to secure the port of New Orleans and preempt the threat of a powerful, potentially hostile French neighbor in the American hinterland. The wilderness beyond the Mississippi had little apparent value to a weak union of scattered states and territories that many thoughtful commentators already considered overextended. Livingston and his fellow negotiator, James Monroe, would have much preferred to purchase the Floridas, thus gaining access to the gulf coast for rapidly expanding southwestern settlements.

Kukla is at his best in reconstructing the politics and diplomacy of the purchase. His emphasis on the centrality of the Haitian revolution does not break new ground, although his mastery of developments (and sources) in European capitals as well as in New Orleans is unparalleled. Kukla's most original and important contribution is to relate the diplomacy leading up to the purchase to ongoing tensions within the American union dating back to its founding in the 1780s. Divisions within the union constituted the best defense of Spain's valuable Mexican mines against American expansionism. Separatist tendencies prevalent in New England and the growing alienation of settlements in the Ohio Valley from an unresponsive Congress unable to secure Mississippi navigation helped to neutralize the American threat. Kukla's emphasis on the volatility of loyalties and the tenuousness of the union, before and after ratification of the federal Constitution, is essential to understanding Louisiana's history: it was by no means clear that westerners would continue to be "American" or that the union itself would survive. The Pinckney Treaty of 1795 temporarily stabilized relations between Spain and the United States—both nations "were negotiating from weakness" (p. 181)—before the Spanish retrocession of Louisiana in the secret San Ildefonso treaty of October 1800 again changed the strategic calculus.

Kukla's mastery of this complex narrative only falters when the "destiny" of his book's subtitle comes into view. Although ties between North and South would remain tenuous, Kukla argues that proliferating commercial ties cemented the union between east and west well before the denouement of his story: the flow of "British and American manufactured goods across the mountains in the 1790s ended the threat of separatism in the Ohio River Valley just as surely as blue jeans and rock music helped bring down the Berlin Wall in the 1980s" (p. 210). But market relations can divide as well as unite, and conflicting assessments of Britain's role in the American economy constituted the most divisive, union-threatening issue through and beyond the War of 1812. Happily, Kukla's broad geopolitical focus and sensitivity to the ongoing problem of union largely keep his teleology at bay until his concluding pages. The account then turns celebratory as mixed motives and unanticipated consequences give way to an inspiring history of multicultural diversity. "The Louisiana Purchase," Kukla concludes, "was a turning point at America's halfway mark toward an inclusive national history." America's "national" history thus began at Jamestown and was until this time a white man's story. But "starting at New Orleans in 1803, five million Americans along the Atlantic Seaboard accelerated an encounter with diversity that had been sustained by geographic expansion and immigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (pp. 338–39). If we take this very long view, we can look beyond the Louisiana Purchase's immediate consequences and so shift our gaze from south to west. In the shorter time frame where historians generally

operate, the purchase points in another direction, toward the expansion and entrenchment of the Cotton Kingdom's slave regime, an "encounter with diversity" with much darker implications for America's "destiny."

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IRENE QUENZLER BROWN and RICHARD D. BROWN. *The Hanging of Ephraim Wheeler: A Story of Rape, Incest, and Justice in Early America*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 388. \$26.95.

This book by Irene Quenzler Brown and Richard D. Brown tells the tale of Ephraim Wheeler's death after his conviction for the rape of his daughter in 1805, but, more importantly, it tells the story of his life. Indeed, this study in microhistory, inspired, the authors tell us, by Natalie Zemon Davis's *Return of Martin Guerre* (1983), unfolds in great detail the sober saga of Wheeler, a sad and impoverished man, his wife, Hannah Odel, a woman of mixed race, and his daughter Betsy (who was one of five children). The tale is set in Berkshire County in the western hills of Massachusetts, and the authors use it as a window into the history of family, community, and the judiciary in the early years of the republic. As the book unfolds, we learn much about a particularly troubled and dysfunctional family; about prominent men of the community, including the important Federalist jurist, Theodore Sedgwick; about crime, justice and punishment; and, most importantly, about a new culture struggling to define ideas of crime and justice at a singular and formative moment.

The structure of the book is important, and it establishes the parameters of the study. The book begins with a description of the setting, a portrait of class and community, the establishment of county courts, the nature and extent of violent crime in the region, and an exploration of the relevant new literary genres, among them the new and secular trial report. Subsequent chapters focus on the trial itself and on extensive portraits of the principal participants: Betsy, the thirteen-year-old daughter and the victim, her mother and her extended family, and Wheeler himself. Final chapters explore the process of sentencing, the event that was the execution, and the aftermath and repercussions of the case. The book depends heavily on the critical testimony of the trial taken from the trial narrative, *Report of the Trial of Ephraim Wheeler* (1805), as well as on Samuel Shepard's execution sermon and Wheeler's own *Narrative of the Life of Ephraim Wheeler* (1806), an account taken orally shortly before his execution; it also rests on extensive research about other crimes, trials, and punishments that contextualize and inform the discussion. It is this larger contextualization that gives the study its depth and historical significance.

Throughout the study, Wheeler emerges as a prob-

lematic individual, a "poor, ex-Shaysite farm laborer . . . an uneducated, unruly man whose unsettled way of life contrasted with both the polite village standard and the rustic upland ideal of hardworking manly independence" (p. 44). Accused of the rape of his daughter, and proclaiming his innocence until the end, Wheeler became part of the historical record because his case raised issues of justice and punishment at a key historical moment. Indeed his trial, conviction, and execution would raise judicial issues, most importantly the place of capital punishment in the new republic. The issue of capital punishment was already a topic of extensive political debate; it would ultimately make Wheeler's case a significant marker in Massachusetts history, transcending the relative insignificance of Wheeler and the members of his troubled family.

The book addresses a series of very contemporary issues: family violence, child sexual abuse and incest, marital discord. Tangentially it touches on issues of race and class as well. While the authors clearly demonstrate that these issues have a history that goes back to the beginning of our nation, at times their insistence on the primacy of these issues leads them to read the present into the past. Indeed, in an attempt to present the psychological dimensions of the event, they speculate on the psychological and emotional state of the their subjects, a practice that often left me skeptical and uncomfortable. Can we really know that young Betsy was "stricken by guilt" (p. 123) at a particular moment, or that her mother's "heart compelled her to protect Betsy" (p. 147), or even that Ephraim Wheeler was "never a happy man" (p. 155)? And, while it is legitimate to use contemporary analytic categories like "post traumatic stress syndrome" to analyze this material, it diminishes the argument to include imagined narratives about the subjects' decisions and states of mind. (See, for example, the analysis on p. 124.)

This extensive subjective commentary is problematic only because it is not necessary to support the finely written and sensitive analysis of Wheeler's case. The research for this study is prodigious, and the authors' comprehensive understanding of the period and its social and political history, speaks for itself.

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WENDY A. WOLOSON. *Refined Tastes: Sugar, Confectionary, and Consumers in Nineteenth-Century America*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 20th series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 277. \$44.95.

Wendy A. Woloson has produced a thoroughly researched, exceptionally well-written, and very accessible account of the incorporation and transformation of sugar within American food and foodways in the nineteenth century. She argues convincingly that sugar emerged first as an emblem of masculine power through the European conquest of land, crops, and

people. Until the late eighteenth century, its utilitarian associations as a powerful medicine, preservative, and drug coexisted with highly ceremonial displays of ornamental sculpture—all testaments to Western male power. Its progressive democratization, ubiquitous consumption by all social classes, and ultimate association with largely feminine spheres of cultural consumption and social relations transformed sugar from a public masculine good into a domestic feminine product. This domestication explains the enduring ambivalence and contradictory associations with which sugar continues to be burdened, a point well illustrated in Woloson's masterful postscript.

One of the author's main accomplishments is to link the burgeoning, even insatiable appetite for sweets to a shifting political economy marked by expanding industrialization that engendered both a sharp divide between public and private spheres and a gendered division of labor at home and at work. Woloson weaves important nineteenth-century changes into her narrative, including increased class differentiation, prevailing ideologies of motherhood and femininity, new scientific knowledge on nutrition and addiction, and dramatic technological advances in manufacturing and in advertising that made sweets more available and more desirable but also morally suspect for "weak" consumers such as women and children.

Woloson's book has been shaped by her reading of Sidney Mintz's now classic history, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (1985). She also draws on more recent anthropological and historical case studies dealing with specific foods, including both sugar and chocolate. She makes good use of theory that privileges exchange and consumption rather than production and that considers the cultural meanings that commodities acquire and shed as they move across space and through time. This material no doubt informed her decision to organize the book in chapters that trace the complex cultural biographies of specific commodities from hard candy and sugar ornaments to homemade sweets. In each chapter, Woloson strives to link technological advances in production with new consumption outlets and larger social forces to reveal strategic changes in the meaning and uses of the products under study.

In this effort, Woloson is both enabled and constrained by the primary sources available to her. On the one hand, she makes excellent use of a huge prescriptive literature drawn from cookbooks, medical treatises, etiquette manuals, and women's magazines. This opens a fascinating window onto normative conceptions of family, class, gender, and food, particularly those of the privileged social orders. Her use of the voices of women who were home economic advisors, nutrition experts, and taste arbiters is a powerful device to reveal hegemonic ideas regarding class and gender. Moreover, her detailed examinations of material culture from fanciful chocolate boxes and sugar ornaments to Jell-o packages in conjunction with myriad examples from trade journals and advertising

add significantly to her argument. On the other hand, despite Woloson's claim to show how personal accounts "balance, contradict, and confirm the often conflicting and always self-interested perspective of the prescriptive and trade literature" (p. 265), few of these contradictions emerge in the text. We learn little about the contestations, negotiations, and resistances in the behavior of individuals within and between social classes. Trade journals often express the viewpoints of a few powerful spokesmen and/or the politics of competition at specific historical moments. Moreover, Woloson seems to rely too heavily on advertising and appears to conflate marketers' claims with consumer behavior, leading to occasionally extravagant and unsubstantiated conclusions about popular perceptions. The overall effect is to emphasize the agency of certain powerful actors and their ability to define and control the consuming regimens of all classes. In fact, as the book's title suggests, its primary focus is the symbolic struggles for social distinction among the privileged classes and members' ongoing attempts to differentiate themselves from both the emerging middle classes and the working classes.

This struggle is well documented in the wonderful chapters on chocolate and sugar within the home. We learn how early American promotions of chocolate made inventive use of its exotic origins and exploited its association with the esoteric cachet of French foods to market it as a high status good. It was linked to courtship, sexuality, and new commercial holidays during this period. This reinforced chocolate's popularity but also heightened anxiety about the dangers it posed for women's morality, particularly that of the "unrefined" working classes. These developments paved the way for chocolate to become, by century's end, the privileged medium for the bland, desexualized, and cheap candies and drinks deemed suitable for women and children. Sugar at home also underwent a process of domestication and emasculation as it was progressively incorporated into the production of wives and mothers within the domestic sphere. This was a process that relied on and solidified gender stereotypes objectifying women as childlike inferiors whose "natural" place was in the home and the kitchen.

Woloson astutely decided to end her book with the place of sugar in the present, showing the ubiquity of sweetness to postmodern lives and the new artificial forms it takes. She reminds us of the power of sugar to continue to shape powerfully American culture and foodways. She also reminds us that the perceptions of "good" food are never medically, morally, or socially neutral but are always tied to shifting circumstances and cultural meanings. This book is a vivid and engaging example of such perceptions and an important and original contribution to a growing historiographic and anthropological body of work on commoditization and consumption.

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ROBERT BRUCE MULLIN. *The Puritan as Yankee: A Life of Horace Bushnell*. (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2002. Pp. xiv, 296. \$21.00.

This general introduction to the life and work of Horace Bushnell (1802–1876) is now the place to start for students and other nonspecialists. Written by Robert Bruce Mullin, it offers the most accessible and up-to-date account of Bushnell's life. Mullin has written several other books, on American Episcopals, Protestant liberals, and, most recently, *Miracles and the Modern Religious Imagination* (1996). Widely recognized as an expert in what used to be called American church history, he is a diligent scholar and a seasoned wordsmith, one well suited to contribute a new biography of Bushnell.

Mullin's book takes part in Eerdmans' award-winning "Library of Religious Biography," coedited by Mark Noll, Nathan O. Hatch, and Allen Guelzo. Earlier biographies in this series include Harry Stout's life of George Whitefield (1991), Edwin Gaustad's life of Thomas Jefferson (1996) and Guelzo's life of Abraham Lincoln (1999). Without exception, these books are exceedingly well written and offer compelling interpretations of the religious lives of their subjects.

Mullin resists the common tendency to interpret Bushnell's significance primarily in relation to subsequent American Protestant liberalism. He grants that Bushnell played a role in paving the way for later liberals. But as such successors recognized, his "real contribution to them was negative." Bushnell was a theological "liberator." He served as a conduit of German idealism—especially as translated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge—for a new generation of American clergy, and his critique of evangelicalism "[broke] the hegemony of the old orthodoxy." But Mullin's Bushnell was a man of his times, one who proved "far more successful in destroying the old than in replacing it with a new" (p. 254). As his critics often alleged, Bushnell communicated in a manner "more evocative than precise" (p. 203). He seemed not to have a systematic religious or theological agenda, except when it came to mediating New England's Unitarian controversy: a tragic feud, he thought, that dissipated his region's religious legacy. At the end of the day, moreover, he remained "a conservative child of New England Puritanism, progressive up to a point, but convinced that there was a set order of things that needed to be preserved at all costs" (p. 246).

Indeed, Mullin's concern to depict Bushnell against his own cultural background yields a portrait of a culturally conservative Congregationalist preacher, a devout and committed parish pastor (of Hartford's North Church, which he served from 1833 until he retired from parish ministry in 1859), and a Protestant supernaturalist. Mullin's thesis is that "Bushnell was a bold innovator, reconceptualizing in his writing and orations almost everything that crossed his path, and a

great tinkerer, always interested in improving that which he found before him" (p. 4). But Mullin insists in the next breath that "these innovations were all motivated by a profoundly conservative desire to preserve the values and confidences of the world of his youth. He was both a Yankee and a Puritan: a Yankee in his love of innovation, a Puritan in his abiding trust in the values he first learned as a child in Connecticut."

As Mullin claims in his introduction, his life of Bushnell "differs from earlier ones in four distinct ways" (p. 5). It stresses more strongly than ever before the importance of Bushnell's travels in Europe (in 1845–1846), shedding new light on his mental development from the (barely legible) manuscript journal he kept on this journey. It offers a synthetic interpretation of his work in the late 1840s (arguably Bushnell's most fertile period), highlighting his concern "to restore the lost religious unity of the children of the Puritans" (p. 5). It updates our understanding of the details of Bushnell's quotidian rounds, relating them to the recent explosion of scholarship in American religious history. And it elevates the significance of Bushnell's *Nature and the Supernatural* (1858), a book that made clear his concern to defend "the idea of divine personal activity in the world" and that demonstrates, for Mullin, that "Bushnell can equally be seen as a proto-liberal and a proto-Pentecostal" (p. 6). These words are clearly meant to surprise us. But what Mullin means by them is this: "Behind Bushnell's universe was not some universal spirit, but a personal God . . . The realm of nature was not simply where one experienced God in the splendor of creation, but where one could also experience him at times in a far more direct and dramatic way" (p. 25).

The predominant image that Mullin employs (excessively, one might add) in characterizing Bushnell's life is that of the storied Yankee tinkerer, always making practical improvements on bequests received in trust, but for the sake of preserving the best of his cultural heritage. This image is apt in more ways than one, for it also distinguishes Mullin's method as a religious biographer. In the spirit of his subject (and of the series in which he takes part), Mullin has tinkered with Bushnell's life instead of rewriting it *de novo*, offering numerous practical improvements on the traditions of Bushnell scholarship. Mullin will not have the final word on his subject's life and legacy. He rarely gets to the bottom of things or even attempts to present an overwhelming case for the claims he makes. Others have written more detailed treatments of Bushnell's organicism (Conrad Cherry), language theory (James O. Duke, Philip Gura, David L. Smith, Donald A. Crosby, William Shea), social and cultural criticism (Howard A. Barnes, David W. Haddorf, Lee J. Mankowski), and approach to Christian doctrine (Bruce M. Stephens, William A. Johnson, Claude Welch). But no one has crafted a better introduction to this Yankee Puritan. Mullin's prudent tinkering has produced a

useful synthesis, one to be read and enjoyed widely for years to come.

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DIANE BATTS MORROW. *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828–1860*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 336. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In 1828, a group of free black women in Baltimore organized a Roman Catholic religious sisterhood, the Oblate Sisters of Providence, to educate children of color. Diane Batts Morrow's account of their story manifests their prophetic stance within antebellum culture. Black and free in a racist country, female in a patriarchal church, Catholics in the midst of Protestants and celibate rather than married mothers, the Oblates lived to refute the bigotry that all black women were drawn toward immoral behavior. They gave quiet but effective testimony against many rationalizations for maintaining slavery in the United States. Their own exemplary record eventually prompted a reluctant hierarchy to acknowledge their claim to membership in the Catholic community, refuting the notion that nuns were passive recipients of whatever the church handed them.

Morrow uses the Oblates to challenge the idea that the humility practiced by religious sisters characteristically allowed them to assert themselves only on behalf of other women. For the Oblates, humility represented not self-effacement but a balanced understanding of both their strengths and weaknesses. For them, humility meant also the honesty of owning one's talents. They did so even when both church and white society showed them indifference and hostility.

Morrow often notes the ambivalence of the church in Maryland toward the Oblates. More than racism and patriarchy may have been involved. Studies of the Jesuits, and in particular of the history of Georgetown University, have noted that Catholic clergy were divided between priests of Anglo-Irish culture, who were enthusiastic about the American Revolution, and émigrés from revolutionary France, who suspected the American event as too closely related to the anticlerical upheaval they had fled. Control of the church in Maryland oscillated between these factions; where did the Oblates stand in relation to them?

The answer must come from a broader context than the mere study of antebellum Maryland society. Many church historians believe that nineteenth-century Catholicism cannot be understood apart from the universal church's response to the French Revolution. Therefore, the French spirituality of the Oblates is extremely important. Morrow herself handles this spirituality warily, referring to it only when it serves her preference for the social and cultural experiences that the sisters shared with other free black women. Further studies beckon, therefore, for Oblate spiritual writings

are likely to afford major clues to the sisters' responses to the French Revolution and the Enlightenment. Many of them were mulatto, planter-class refugees from the retaliation of slave revolutionaries in the Caribbean, and perhaps, therefore, identified more with the Old Regime than with the championing of the American republic. If so, that may explain the resistance they encountered from Anglo-Irish or American-born prelates and priests.

More efforts to set this story in the context of worldwide Roman Catholicism in the nineteenth century, therefore, are desirable. In many nations, the spiritual health of the church increased in proportion to its lack of political freedom and social acceptability. Morrow accurately points out that the papacy of this period gradually moved toward greater acceptance of female religious communities who wished to exercise an active apostolate rather than strict cloister. Papal approval of the Oblates was not necessary because their vows were annual rather than perpetual, but church authorities in Baltimore obtained it anyway. Morrow believes that this was considered desirable due to the controversial nature of the assertion that women of color might be suitable religious. However, it may also have been part of a plan to protect the sisters from further shifts of power in the local church.

A welcome feature of the book is Morrow's perception that religious life is a form of freedom. This fact is not always easy to uncover because religious orders often use rhetoric of enslavement to Christ, taking up the cross, etc. These sisters did it for the liberation of resurrection, an interesting correspondence with the focus of black Protestant spirituals.

This book needs both expansion and supplement. Do we know how corresponding Catholic lay women of color behaved during the years covered in this book? Even more interestingly, how did these sisters respond to the Civil War and its aftermath? In 1866, the Catholic bishops of the United States expressed regret that abolition had been so abrupt, without any preparatory period. Did the hierarchy at any time contemplate the Oblate sisters as part of such preparation?

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MARVIN McALLISTER. *White People Do Not Know How to Behave at Entertainments Designed for Ladies and Gentlemen of Colour: William Brown's African and American Theater*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. x, 239. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

On New Year's Day, 1824, "gentlemen of color" in Manhattan and their escorts attended a charity ball to aid Greek rebels struggling for national independence against Turkish oppressors. The newspaper ad announcing the event hoped that the cause would be "felt with peculiar force on that day, which cannot fail most powerfully to recall to the descendents of Africans, the blessings of freedom, and prompt them to unite with

their white brethren in resisting the arms of despotism whenever it may be reared" (p. 180), for that day also marked the legal end of American involvement in the international slave trade. Poignantly, the ball was to be held on Mercer Street, at a theater where a troupe of African Americans under the management of theater owner William Brown had performed. Marvin McAllister's moving book tells the story of Brown, his company of Afro-New Yorker actors (which included James Hewlett and Ira Aldridge, both of whom later gained renown outside the United States), and their efforts to establish multiracial theater in New York City. Brown staged theater that followed from his own life experience: black, American, and free. His radical concept of selfhood, nationalism, and theater was that one aspect of identity did not have to exist at the expense of the other.

McAllister's study of the African Company (often colloquially known as the "African Grove Theatre") traces the three seasons of its short life, from 1821 through 1823. During that time, Brown's venture went through four phases, all of which consciously aimed for "an inclusive, intercultural, multicultural, and triracial national imaginary" (p. 1). In Brown's theaters—which were located intentionally in nominally white, even upscale, areas of New York City—black actors played white and Native American roles. McAllister argues that Brown, perhaps more than any other New York theater manager, could stake a claim to producing quintessential American theater. He mounted plays of general interest (including several by William Shakespeare) and by native-born dramatists, appealed to a mixed audience, racially integrated his theater orchestra, and produced plays that represented the nation's European, Native American, and African heritages. McAllister calls Brown's ploy, ingenuously, "whiteface minstrelsy" in which "blacks perform white privilege" (p. 7). Brown endeavored to produce theater that was a rehearsal for future racial equality. In the early phases, white and black audiences mingled freely and with relative ease. It was only when newspaper editor Mordecai M. Noah and the manager of New York's prestigious Park Theatre, Stephen Price, began to fear that the enterprise might actually succeed that Brown and his actors were subjected to harassment, public ridicule and debasement, and, in the end, premeditated mob violence.

McAllister's work treats the whiteface prehistory of blackface minstrelsy, which is also a theatrical form that manifestly depends upon visages, identities, and meanings not being as they seem. Given the multivalent ambiguities of minstrelsy (both blackface and whiteface), the author does a remarkable job of keeping in full view for the reader the gray lines between reality/representation and hope/horror. Brown's experiment lasted a short time, but its legacies are vividly with us still, for "ironically, the mere existence of Brown's African American company made [blackface] minstrelsy in America a theatrical possibility" (p. 5). Eventually, virulent and demeaning forms of blackface

representation fixed in the nation's imagination the social place, function, and role of African Americans, and signaled the end of Brown's producing career.

Afro-New Yorkers (some of them, at least) felt enough kinship with their "white brethren" in Greece that they were willing to turn traditional New Year's revelries into an opportunity for demonstrating support. That they did so in Brown's African Theater is emblematic, for it was there that a company of actors had previously staged for multifarious New York cultures and communities the potentially transformative act of ritual reaching—a gesture that spoke of common humanity. This was a time when there was commitment on the part of courageous thespians to act out a belief that character could determine the worth of a person, and not crude, racial representations. The tragedy of the two hours' traffic on Brown's stage was, of course, that the play had such a short run.

This fine, wide-ranging work, exhaustively researched and impressive in its interpretation, will be required reading for those concerned with a range of issues in antebellum America, particularly those who reflect on theater history, race and class, the role of culture in the formation of the body politic, and the construction of American urban space. Improvement would come mainly with the addition of illustrations, for this is a study of representation (often visual in content) with, surprisingly, no supporting imagery.

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ELIZABETH MCHENRY. *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 423. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

In exploring the rich associational life of African-American readers during the century between the end of slavery in the urban North and the flowering of the Harlem Renaissance, Elizabeth McHenry faces a surprising challenge. Despite the centrality of literacy and print to a generation of studies of African-American culture and literature during the nineteenth century, many of the institutions, movements, practices, and actors uncovered in her research remain unfamiliar. This oversight, McHenry points out, has less to do with the availability of evidence and more to do with the way scholars have approached reading and writing in nineteenth-century black life. Since over ninety percent of enslaved African Americans in the antebellum era were illiterate, studies of black culture have emphasized oral modes of identity formation and cultural transmission, both before and after emancipation. And when historians or literary critics have considered the power of reading among the literate minority, they have typically followed the cues of abolitionist writers such as Frederick Douglass in emphasizing the triumphant acquisition of literacy as the singular achievement of conscientious, self-possessed individuals. To read slave narratives as keys to the history of black

reading is to focus on the threshold of literacy rather than its uses, on the isolated reader rather than the community. On top of all of that, African-American literary societies have suffered from the scholarly neglect of elite segments of the black community.

Against this backdrop, it is perhaps not surprising that McHenry's book is more of a reconstruction and a revaluation than a critical examination. From the associations of free blacks in northern cities in the 1830s to Georgia Douglas Johnson's Saturday Nighters society in Washington, D.C., almost a hundred years later, the author has uncovered an impressive array of mutual aid societies, magazines, lecture halls, reading rooms, libraries, and clubs—the institutional core of a largely continuous (excepting a lull in the years immediately following the Civil War) black literary culture devoted to developing and exhibiting literary skill, disproving racist prejudice, and enabling civic participation. She draws diligently on programmatic statements of the organizations' founders and on enthusiastic testimonials by participants, explaining in each case how a given literary society forged links between literate practice and political identity. Antebellum clubs encouraged "experiment[s] with voice and self-representation" (p. 56) much as black women's clubs at the century's end inculcated in their members a confidence "that textual means of representing themselves and sharing these representations with others" would help to advance the race (p. 242). In producing, circulating, discussing, and criticizing texts, middle-class and upper-class African Americans found shared political meaning not in the literary achievements of exceptional authors and solitary readers but in acts of association that defiantly asserted black equality in the world of letters.

As might be expected, these assertions were often deeply conservative in their endorsement of elite attitudes. McHenry observes at points that African-American print culture embraced nonreaders or expanded the boundaries of literature, but there is much countervailing material in her story. In the 1830s, for example, the *Colored American* insisted that "he that would be an intelligent person must be a reading person" (p. 104) and dismissed the value of reading novels. By the 1890s, Boston's *New Era* had rehabilitated fiction but was equally insistent on the need to read the right kind of books. Especially in the case of the black women's club movement (the subject of McHenry's longest and most in-depth chapter), African-American claims to literary equality appear to have depended upon standard *fin-de-siècle* notions of high culture. Readers hoping to find in the black literary society an alternative model of literate practice will have to make what they can of a handful of suggestive moments.

Instead, what McHenry shows, with impressive research and striking sympathy, is a vibrant and durable network of urban publications and organizations through which black intellectuals insisted upon the value first of literacy and then, crucially, of literature.

The role of this network in legitimating literary distinction and artistic power as politically potent features of black literate practice is in fact one of the key discoveries of the book. In a rare counterintuitive reading, McHenry traces this shift to Douglass's incredulous response to the slave narrative of Henry Bibb. By doubting Bibb's veracity while affirming his power, Douglass was laying the foundation for a celebration of the literary achievements of African Americans—a project quite close to McHenry's own. Students of Douglass (and of David Walker, Martin Delany, Frances Harper, Jean Toomer, and other canonical figures discussed in the book) will enjoy wrestling with McHenry's interpretations. Scholars in many other fields will be grateful for this substantial and important labor of love.

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STANLEY HARROLD. *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D. C., 1828–1865*. (Antislavery, Abolition, and the Atlantic World.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 280. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

This is an excellent study of the antislavery struggle in the streets and back alleys of Washington, D. C. The book is exceptionally well constructed. The argument is clear and easy to follow, and the prose, while not elegant, is straightforward. The notes are ample and at the bottom of the page. The pictures may be the best feature of the book. There are twenty of them, scattered appropriately throughout the text, and each one is worth at least 750 words if not the proverbial thousand. Charles Torrey, for example, is described as a courageous but delicate man. One look at his picture and there is no doubt that the word "delicate" was well chosen.

What makes the pictures doubly important is that Stanley Harrold has not written an account about the "stars" of the antislavery movement. The only "star" who gets much attention is Joshua Giddings, the antislavery Whig congressman from Ohio, but even the pages devoted to Giddings are less about what he said or did in Congress than about his connections to the "subversives" in Washington, the ordinary men and women who risked imprisonment and death, beatings and mob violence, to distribute abolitionist literature, to prevent families from being separated, and to aid runaway slaves. And it is these little-known men and women, black and white, who sprang forth from the capital's back alleys, and to a lesser extent its elegant homes, that are at the heart of Harrold's study. Having a better sense of what some of these men and women looked like adds immensely to this account.

Harrold's main focus is on biracial cooperation. Although the book's title suggests that it covers only the period from 1828 to 1865, he actually begins with cooperative efforts in the Chesapeake from the 1780s

to the 1820s. During that period, Chesapeake blacks had the help of a few whites, mainly Elisha Tyson and other northern-born Quakers, in their struggle against the worst features of slavery, especially the slave trade and the dismemberment of black families. After 1828, Washington, D.C. blacks built on this system. This time, white abolitionists, led by the likes of Torrey and William Chapin, joined the movement not just out of empathy for desperate black families whose loved ones were being sold "down river." They also wanted to strike a telling blow against slavery at its most symbolic location. For while slavery in the nation's capital was weak and declining in numbers, it was also vicious, with coffle gangs trudging along its street bound for the Deep South, and with slave pens and auction blocks capturing the attention of foreign visitors more than the Capitol itself.

In both periods, African Americans took the initiative in seeking out sympathetic whites. They also provided most of the manpower and did most of the scut work as well as most of the dangerous work. They acted out of desperation, out of fear of kidnappers, slave traders, and the auction block. Positions of leadership, however, usually ended up in white hands. White leaders often worked well with blacks who shared their middle-class orientation but tended to patronize the vast majority of Washington's black population. This attitude eventually contributed to the collapse of interracial cooperation during the Civil War. But for forty years, the Washington "subversives" managed to hold their unstable coalition together. That is the story that Harrold tells, and he tells it well.

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DAVID S. CECELSKI. *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 304. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

Contrary to the title, this book is not about music or music making; it is a thorough exploration of African-American participation in the many occupations of the seashore, tidal areas, and intercoastal waterways of antebellum North Carolina. David S. Cecelski marshals an impressive collection of primary and secondary sources to support his investigation of the contributions of slaves and free persons of color to the vibrant African-American maritime cultures whose range extended from Maine to the Caribbean.

Since North Carolina's blacks represented nearly thirty-five percent of the state's population in 1786 and forty-five percent of the total in the tidewater communities from 1800 to 1860 (p. xii), the contributions of African Americans to the state and national economies deserve serious historical and cultural study. Cecelski successfully launches such an investigation by focusing on the laborers in the along-shore and tidal lands of the state's outer banks, principally in two

sounds, the Albemarle and the Currituck, both of which are shown clearly in the book's best map (pp. 6–7) of the antebellum maritime region from Cape Fear to Knott's Island.

Cecelski's book is divided into two parts, "Working on the Water" (four chapters), which is the strongest and best organized section, and "The Struggle" (three chapters, respectively, followed by an afterword), which, because it lies outside the chronological limits established in the first part and deals with post-Civil War political life, seems less integrated into the overall themes of the book, even though it details the brief life of a local African-American abolitionist and activist, Abraham Galloway. Circling around his subject like a pilot traveling the maze of waterways in Albermarle Sound, Cecelski often repeats his main arguments: that African Americans contributed significantly to the coastal economy, the reclamation of swamps and marshes, the establishment of the commercial fishing industry in North Carolina, and the construction of canals; that the association of slaves and free persons preserved family and tribal ties as well as supported a vigorous abolitionist movement in fields, plantations, and swamp hideaways; and that the proximity of African Americans to the water encouraged strong African cultural retentions. Thus Cecelski's nostalgic assertion that "African Americans . . . found their hope uplifted and their lives unbounded merely by the nearness of the sea, by working on the water, and by the vast horizon over Pamlico Sound and the Atlantic" (p. xx).

The movement of African-American sailors from southern to northern ports and beyond also established strong communications links with the "cosmopolitan maritime world." Cecelski bases his often poignant observations on first-hand accounts from slave narratives as he strives to document, not always persuasively, the overt and covert links between fugitive slave communities in the North Carolina marshlands and the small towns and plantations on the mainland. This fertile site for cultural exploration had heretofore not been investigated thoroughly. The history of the Dismal Swamp Canal project and other canal-building ventures captures in sometimes terrifying detail the brutality of slavery while exposing the narrow economic vision of the entrepreneurs whose desire for profit transformed the ecosystems of the region forever. What is even more revealing is the slave watermen's domination of the maritime trades, which included the transportation of shingles, turpentine, and lumber—North Carolina was the largest supplier of building materials to the North before the westward migrations and the advent of the railroads in the 1840s—as well as the fishing, clamming, oystering, and whaling industries.

Cecelski demonstrates that communications could take place among the communities formed by labor, but his arguments are less persuasive regarding the content of those dialogues. The narration of work activities is fascinating in its details and in the master-

ful description of the effort involved, while the transactions among the slaves themselves receive little comparable attention. This study is less about "life" along the seashore than "labor" on or near the water, more an economic or labor history than a study of social communities created because masters could not supervise all the slaves who hired out their labor and worked the waterways.

The book accomplishes its author's goal of evoking "the broader experience of the maritime South" and supports his argument that the experiences of African-American bondmen in North Carolina were "in many ways more similar to, and more in touch with, African American life in southern ports like Norfolk, Charleston, and Savannah than farm market towns some 30 miles away" from the shore (p. xix). Cecelski opens a window on what will someday be a larger, more comprehensive view of Atlantic maritime culture through the words and labors of those who bore the brunt of the work.

WILLIAM J. MAHAR
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HAROLD S. WILSON. *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2002. Pp. xxii, 412. \$45.00.

This book is an important addition to the emerging literature on early southern industrialization. Using extensive primary research, Harold S. Wilson simultaneously attempts to explain the perils and opportunities of engaging in industrial manufacturing in the South during the Civil War and to explain the evolution of the system of procuring war materiel by the Confederate government's Quartermaster Department. Although the mix of goals often obscures as much as it reveals, the richness of the research will make it required reading for serious students of the U.S. South, the Civil War, and industrialization for the foreseeable future.

Wilson convincingly demonstrates the vitality of industry in the Confederate South. His book begins by recounting the war of words about the nature of the southern economy during the secession crisis, showing that southern politicians knew that the South contained a sizeable industrial sector that could contribute to a war for independence. Despite the Unionist leanings of most southern industrialists during secession winter, most ultimately supported the Confederacy. In the first two years of the rebellion, Confederate national and state governments threatened manufacturers with confiscation of property or conscription of laborers due to the manufacturers' "extortionist" profits, but most industries followed their own paths nonetheless: some producing only for state or national contracts for war materiel while others manufactured only for public consumption and others still settled on a mix of both. Wilson demonstrates that profits were large despite runaway inflation. In the waning years of

the war, the Confederate national government imposed its will over the competition for manufactured goods and fully mobilized southern industry for service in the war effort. By the time the Quartermaster Department implemented this system of procurement, however, Union forces had already begun systematically to destroy southern factories in order to impair the Confederacy's ability to wage war. Confederate supplies dwindled as a result of the destruction, despite the quartermasters' best efforts to systematize procurement.

Wilson spends considerable effort in describing the evolution of the Quartermaster Department as well as its successes and failures. The Confederacy's first quartermaster general, Abraham C. Myers, a New Orleans Jew who had proved an effective quartermaster in the Mexican War, consistently failed to satisfy the military commanders who needed the shoes, clothing, and other material his bureau supplied. Part of his failure stemmed from the competition from state governments seeking supplies for their own troops, and from the competition from other agencies of the national government, such as Josiah Gorgas's Ordnance Bureau. But it also stemmed from the controversies surrounding Myers's use of traditional procurement tools such as patronage. President Jefferson Davis finally replaced him with Alexander Lawton, a Georgian who did impose standards of efficiency and accountability lacking under Myers. Despite the impressive system created by Lawton, Union campaigns increasingly isolated Confederate armies from needed suppliers located in the trans-Mississippi and the Tennessee Valley. This forced the quartermasters to augment deficiencies by running the Union's naval blockade from Wilmington, North Carolina, to obtain supplies from Europe in exchange for cotton, via Bermuda and the Bahamas. Although the quartermasters' blockade runners proved less successful than runners from other Confederate agencies, they provided enough to make it worth the effort. Once Wilmington fell to Union forces in early 1865, however, the South lost that method of procurement as well. By then, everyone could see defeat on the near horizon.

In the end, the book takes an unexpected twist by arguing that presidential Reconstruction under Andrew Johnson specifically benefitted southern manufacturers. Presidential pardons allowed many manufacturers to retain their stores of cotton, giving them the assets to rebuild and restart their factories with relative ease. Wilson concludes that the advantages gained during presidential Reconstruction propelled manufacturing to the forefront of the southern economy, ushering in the era of the New South. This conclusion, however, is more speculative than proven.

This is an important although frustrating book. The richness of the primary evidence, which Wilson presents state by state for each step of his argument, is its greatest strength. One cannot help but be impressed with the quality of the research and the sheer number

of factories he discusses. But Wilson rarely addresses historiographic issues, and he does not give context outside discussions of what happened within the Confederacy. Finally, his ad hoc mixture of Turabian-style endnotes with parenthetical citation is extremely irritating. Notwithstanding these negatives, advanced students will find Wilson's book a good starting place for their own efforts to go beyond description and engage in an analysis of manufacturing in the Confederate South.

MICHAEL GAGNON
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MICHÈLE TUCKER BUTTS. *Galvanized Yankees on the Upper Missouri: The Face of Loyalty*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2003. Pp. xiv, 292. \$29.95.

This book by Michèle Tucker Butts tracks the story of a Civil War-era regiment that saw duty not on eastern battlefields but on the northern Plains. The First United States Volunteers drew its ranks from Confederate deserters and prisoners of war who in 1864 accepted an invitation to enlist in the Union army. Organized at Maryland's Camp Hoffman, the recruits found themselves occupying Fort Rice, on Dakota Territory's Upper Missouri River. The U.S. army desperately needed forces in the West, and officials feared that these soldiers, if taken captive in fights with Confederates, would face certain death. So the "galvanized yankees" steamed into Sioux country and spent one year fortifying the growing federal presence there. Their primary duties involved attempting to keep peace with Indian neighbors and to maintain open transportation and communication lines to points west.

What makes this group particularly interesting, of course, is the origins of its members. Why would former Confederates join this regiment rather than pursue other options offered them: go north, work on federal government projects, or be exchanged for Union prisoners of war and return south? Butts concludes that there are several answers to this question. Some were immigrants who ended up in the Confederate army by circumstance rather than conviction and felt no loyalty to the South. Others were reluctant "rebels," conscripted against their will. As Confederate hopes dimmed, their loyalties, which were thin to begin with, disappeared. For most, however, commitment to family trumped all other considerations, and many concluded that, in the long run, those interests were best served by joining the regiment. In sum, personal far more than political issues explain their motives. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Dimon, the New England-born commanding officer, relished the responsibility of bringing these men back into the national fold and ultimately won their admiration. Alarmed by the extremely high rate of desertion as the troops steamed up the Missouri River, Dimon cracked down and executed one particularly disgruntled sol-

dier. This heavy-handed response, pursued without the sanction of his superior officers, could have proved catastrophic. But Dimon's superiors exonerated him, and the act stemmed further desertions. Meanwhile his genuine concerns about the soldiers' diet, health, and overall well-being endeared him to his troops, and they demonstrated their appreciation through gifts and speeches of gratitude. Only when the soldiers mistakenly believed Dimon was postponing their dismissal from the army at war's end did they threaten mutiny.

Dimon's inexperience with Indians, however, meant that his efforts to secure peace on the Upper Missouri were ineffective. Peace conferences punctuated by skirmishes, assaults and other acts of violence typified interactions. To be fair, he entered an exceedingly complex situation, and the military campaigns undertaken by Generals Henry Sibley and Alfred Sully in 1863–1864 and Colonel John Chivington's Sand Creek Massacre (1864) did more to unsettle than resolve Indian affairs. Realistically there was little that Dimon could do. Some Sioux leaders opted for peace and accommodation, but they could not control all their men nor stem the violence either. The final conquest of the northern Plains would take another twenty years.

Perhaps the "galvanized yankees'" greatest achievement, then, was simply survival. These southerners endured a brutal northern Plains winter, without proper clothing and equipment. Only in the 1870s did the army provide sufficient blankets, coats, and boots to its winter campaigners. Further, these former Confederates were not pictures of health at the outset of their Union enlistments. Before joining this regiment, they had already endured warfare, capture, and imprisonment. Dimon's efforts to improve their diet brought minimal results, and the men suffered from scurvy, chronic diarrhea, dysentery, and tooth loss. Alcohol abuse, among officers and enlisted men alike, further undermined health. In the end, a high mortality rate from these causes was the regiment's greatest problem.

Butts's description of daily life at Fort Rice is particularly compelling. Based on careful and comprehensive archival research in official documents and Dimon's personal papers, she offers an almost visceral sense of their experiences. So closely does she stay with the narrative of the First U.S. Volunteers, however, that I wanted her to open the lens a bit wider, to provide a greater sense of context and significance. Butts also relies, at times, on anachronistic language. It is doubtful that Colonel Dimon would have referred to his sweetheart as his "girlfriend." More troubling is her repeated assertion that the "galvanized yankees" attempted to "forge a multicultural society on the Upper Missouri" (pp. 5, 136). Neither this concept nor this language would have occurred to mid-nineteenth-century men. Such relatively small matters aside, Butts has produced a solid history of this interesting chapter in Civil War and western military history. It will

justifiably become the first book to which all future students of "galvanized yankees" will turn.

SHERRY L. SMITH

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STEPHEN V. ASH. *A Year in the South: Four Lives in 1865*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xiv, 289. \$26.95.

Ordinary folk who have been dead for a century generally leave few traces. No longer directly remembered by anyone still alive today, they fade into the anonymity of old photographs, tombstones, and genealogical records. But there are rare exceptions among those who leave letters, a diary, or a memoir. Such documents breathe life back into people who would otherwise be forgotten.

Stephen V. Ash has undertaken a composite biographical study of four southerners who provided a detailed record of their inner lives at a key juncture in the history of the region. In 1865 the Civil War ended, the Confederacy disintegrated, and slavery ceased to exist. Using three memoirs and one diary, supplemented by voracious research into other sources, Ash has crafted an immensely readable book. Seen through the prism of four disparate individuals, the anguished transition from the Old South to the New comes into sharp and memorable focus.

Cornelia McDonald faced overwhelming adversity in 1865. Widowed in late 1864, she faced the task of trying to hold together a family of seven children. Without property, or a livelihood, or any means of external support, she and her brood lived as refugees in a rented home in Lexington, Virginia. Her troubles were made more acute because she had been born to privilege and found it almost impossible to reveal to others in genteel Lexington how desperate her plight had become.

Sam Agnew's circumstances were better. Even though raids and fighting had occurred at his father's plantation in Tippah County (in northeastern Mississippi), where the young minister and his wife continued to live, the slave system and the rhythms of rural life remained in place. The war made life increasingly difficult, however. Food supplies were scarce, and their draft animals were "weak from heavy work and light feed" (p. 84). When the war ended, former slaves refused to labor with customary intensity. Fortunately for the Agnews, they had some cotton to sell, and it commanded record prices in 1865, enough to buy necessary provisions.

Louis Hughes, a talented slave, was owned by the McGehee family of Panola County, Mississippi, in the delta region not far south of Memphis. Between 1863 and early 1865, he and his wife Matilda were sent to the Alabama saltworks upriver from Mobile, but the end of the war brought them back under the thumb of "Master Jack." He and a son with an itchy trigger finger kept the slave system in place through May and June. On July 2, however, the clever Hughes hired two

Union soldiers on Sunday leave to help him rescue his family from the McGehee plantation. From there Hughes and his wife and infant daughter escaped to Memphis, and before long to Cincinnati.

John Robertson had the misfortune to be enmeshed in East Tennessee's brutal war within a war. A Confederate patriot in a region dominated by unconditional Unionists, young Robertson had participated in a home guard unit that preyed on families that refused to support the southern cause. After Federal forces occupied East Tennessee in late 1863, he became a marked man. Although he moved from his native Greene County to live with an uncle in Roane County, Robertson's escape from those with scores to settle proved only temporary. The would-be minister fled to Iowa in September 1865 after several hair-raising encounters. He left behind a sweetheart whom he would never marry.

This slender, tightly written volume is a notable accomplishment. It immediately joins a small list of essential books on the fateful year when the Old South changed forever, most notably, Dan T. Carter's *When the War Was Over* (1985). Ash shows why slaves hated slavery and wanted better for themselves, and also why southern whites dreaded the loss of a system that got the work done while maintaining racial hierarchy. He enables readers to share the nervous uncertainties that attended the last spasm of fighting, the collapse of the Confederate armies, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson's efforts to chart new post-war arrangements, and the unsettled situation in his native South that ultimately defeated Johnson's version of Reconstruction.

The narrative, broken into four seasonal segments, recounts the experiences of the four principals while also showing how their lives illuminate the larger whole. Ash enables readers to see the South up close: the Agnews hiding out in the woods to avoid Yankee raiders; Hughes and his wife surviving harsh separations from family and the demeaning brutality of their owners; the odysseys of Hughes and Robertson, as they traveled in hope of finding a better life; and McDonald and her children getting back on their feet and basking in the presence of Robert E. Lee, who moved to Lexington in September.

Ash's approach to history merits special notice. His fellow professionals too often write narrowly conceived monographs, some of which bristle with theoretical material that repels all but the initiated elite. Meanwhile, a few academic historians hit pay dirt with topics that the wider reading public already assumes to be of interest—biographies of Founding Fathers and presidents, military history (especially the Civil War, World War II, and Vietnam), and colorful episodes such as the Lewis and Clark expedition or the California Gold Rush. What Ash has undertaken is something fresh and distinct. His research, especially in the unpublished and still underutilized wealth of material in the National Archives, sets this book apart from most popular history. At the same time, he has crafted

a wonderfully accessible narrative, even if not on a predictable subject that the elusive general reader already "knows" about. Happily, Ash has found a commercial publisher who has brought out his book at an attractive price. One eagerly hopes for its success.

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JAMES ALEX BAGGETT. *The Scalawags: Southern Dis-senters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 323. \$55.00.

This is a work that scholars of the nineteenth-century South should notice, if only because it presents fresh data on an older political topic. Historians of Reconstruction have long debated about who native white Republicans were. James Alex Baggett engages the issue with a collective biography of 742 leading scalawag politicians, undertaken in combination with a profile of over 600 of their Democratic counterparts of similar prominence. The comparison group seems a bit arbitrary, but it does effectively reinforce the author's main contentions. I know of no other such attempt to examine the scalawag phenomenon regionwide, and the author's analysis is persuasive. One doubts that we will ever discover much more about the characteristics of the scalawag leadership.

In Baggett's telling, native Republican leaders were somewhat less prosperous than their Redeemer counterparts. Nonetheless, they were conspicuously well-off and educated. Fully half of them held slaves, and, unfortunately for the future biracial Republican coalition, only one in twenty demonstrated antebellum antislavery sentiments, although a substantial minority developed such beliefs during the Civil War (p. 261). Future scalawags were disproportionately former Whigs, and politically, their Unionist proclivities stand out. In the crucial 1860 election, they voted for John Bell or Stephen Douglas, the candidates most identified with southern Unionism. Opposition to secession was their "most common characteristic," in Baggett's estimate (p. xi). Even after Abraham Lincoln's election, future scalawags rejected disunion by whopping margins, in most states by ninety percent or better. Most became complicit in the Confederacy after fighting began, but their reluctance was evident. Many became peace men by the middle of the war, and multitudes defected openly before the end. Large numbers fled to the Federal lines, and in the upper South many joined the Union army.

The point is that scalawag politics possessed a certain internal consistency. Baggett conceptualizes a continuum of political antecedents in the direction of greater likelihood of becoming a Reconstruction scalawag. "The line moves as follows: an 1860 anti-secessionist Breckinridge supporter/1860 Bell or Douglas supporter/1860 anti-secessionist/passive wartime unionist/peace party advocate/active wartime unionist/postwar Union party supporter" (p. 271). There are

regional differences, which Baggett notes in detail, but the general effect is to emphasize continuities in the scalawags' political development. One sees the logical unfolding of a political tendency, and even if postwar alliance with northern Republicans was a stretch, it was the only way to vindicate their Unionist prior choices. The book thus largely absolves scalawags of the old taint of opportunism. Their racial views remained retrograde, but that was not the point of Reconstruction for these men.

This is an excellent book, a genuine contribution to the field. Still, the work raises certain issues, for the author implicitly generalizes his findings broadly, without ever explaining the basis for doing so. Statements about scalawag leaders somehow morph into characterizations of their mass following. At the start, Baggett does note that his study profiles "only the most prestigious, best-salaried, highest-ranking officeholders," but this limitation seems to drop from sight once stated (p. 7). These leaders' political motivation is arguably representative of their following; presumably they spoke for someone. But in social terms, the well-heeled character of the higher scalawag leadership is likely not typical of the broader phenomenon. As Allen W. Trelease's calculations demonstrated decades ago, scalawag voters were overwhelmingly up-country yeomen of modest means. The evidence for this position remains compelling, and although Baggett notes the scholarship, his book does not consistently manifest this obvious point. This work is not the place to look for the broader phenomenon of white support for Reconstruction. Nor does it have much to say about the social origins of up-country dissidence in the decades ahead.

Fortunately, the book's strengths overshadow these liabilities. This is an excellent, well-researched study of the background and political characteristics of the scalawag leadership. That is a worthwhile accomplishment in itself. The book should become the standard account of the scalawag elite for decades to come.

MICHAEL W. FITZGERALD
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MICHAEL W. FITZGERALD. *Urban Emancipation: Popular Politics in Reconstruction Mobile, 1860-1890*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 301. Cloth \$67.50, paper \$24.95.

Michael W. Fitzgerald's previously published work deals with the political history of Alabama and Mississippi during the Reconstruction era, and in this volume he turns his attention to an often overlooked city. Fitzgerald's description of politics in post-Civil War Mobile, Alabama, demonstrates that it has a colorful history rivaling its more famous gulf coast neighbor, New Orleans. The Louisiana city has a well-earned historical reputation as a sinful place of vice and corruption, run by officials actively engaged in or tolerant of the illegal activity in their midst. Mobile has also been an "easy" city, despite its location in the

Bible Belt, and anyone doubting its historical lack of virtue need look no further than this book. If the Gilded Age was, as one historian has put it, an "Era of Good Stealings" for politicians, Mobile's leaders energetically joined in the spirit of the times. The corruption was not limited to a particular race or party. Race was the controlling factor in Mobile's public affairs, but Fitzgerald's story is by no means a simple one of black versus white. Anyone looking for the author to take sides with a particular "school" of Reconstruction historians will be disappointed. Even a Dunningite, if any are left, could find much to support his views here, and much to disagree with.

Fitzgerald concentrates most of his efforts on the politics of African Americans, but makes it clear that there was no unified "black community." Instead, there were different groups or "factions," each with an African heritage, that fought for power against whites and against each other. African Americans had been factionalized since the 1850s, when it became apparent that a group of free Creoles (people of French-Spanish, Indian, and Anglo as well as African heritage) had better jobs and more privileges than other free people of African descent and looked down their noses at those who were enslaved. The Creoles fought to maintain their separation from black society after the Civil War. Mobile had a large antebellum non-Creole free black group that also played a major role after the war, and its members also stood above the former slaves. Newly freed blacks from rural areas near Mobile who moved into town after the fighting were even further down the social ladder than ex-slaves who were city natives. According to Fitzgerald, these various groups continued their stratification throughout the last three decades of the century, and this had much to do with the inability of blacks to gain more power, but the intransigent opposition of a majority of whites to racial change was the most important factor.

Even though Mobile had a sizeable core of white Republicans sometimes willing to make common cause with blacks, their support for racial change was always limited. Fitzgerald describes most of them as "moderates" willing to accept a modicum of black involvement, but drawing a hard and fast line before real political equality. They counseled blacks to accept lesser positions and even to stay in the background of Republican politics in order to mollify Mobile's white majority. This refusal to include blacks in top positions was often the result of the desire of white Republicans to keep political patronage under their control. For a couple of years blacks were willing to go along with this in order to keep peace, but not all of them remained content.

After the advent of Congressional Reconstruction, they began to change their tune. One of the most surprising aspects of Fitzgerald's story is the number of incidents of black militance. Mobs, riots, shootings, and carefully planned demonstrations were a lively part of the city's political life from 1867 to 1874. While whites engaged in these activities, it seems clear that

blacks were even more active and sometimes just as violent. It was often difficult to tell who was responsible for the outbreaks of violence, but it was clear that each incident of black militance drove the conservative white majority into even deeper opposition to equality.

Fitzgerald provides a detailed account of two important political struggles that starkly reveal the various factions, racial differences, and the venality of politics in the port city. One involved efforts to control a belligerently Republican party newspaper called the *Nationalist*, and the other concerned the fierce fight over who would run the Mobile customhouse. For a brief period, the *Nationalist* was a pro-black paper that refused to accommodate white moderates, but its editors were constantly getting into difficulties that made the enterprise a dubious one. In the early 1870s, it finally disappeared. In the battle for the customhouse, Fitzgerald exposes the dark underside of southern Republican politics that is too often downplayed by revisionist historians. Republicans, including white carpetbaggers, and scalawags as well as African Americans, all wanted the jobs and the money that came with control of the federal port facility, and they were willing to do almost anything to get them. Democrats were no less cynical. Many black leaders were willing to make alliances with white Democrats or racially conservative Republicans in order to secure individual positions for themselves.

Like all studies of local politics, Fitzgerald's narrative suffers from the need to include the numerous names of the obscure people involved in Mobile's political life. Keeping up with all of these people does become tiresome and even confusing, but Fitzgerald introduces important and previously unstudied African American political figures. Some were outstanding advocates for their race, some were after money and jobs, and some merely wanted to maintain their social position in Mobile, but by the end of the 1870s it had become clear that none of them would be able to exercise significant political power. With the coming of Redemption in Alabama, the port city's white Democrats seized power and kept it. Blacks did continue to hold some federal jobs, even responsible ones, but their dependence on whites was obvious.

One unexpected and important portion of Fitzgerald's evidence demonstrates that segregation of public facilities was a fact of life from 1865 onward. For brief periods blacks did gain the right to ride streetcars, but even this was violently contested, and they were excluded from nearly every other area. There was little "fluidity" in this aspect of race relations, and the classic position of C. Vann Woodward on the subject finds no support here.

Despite all the cynical political behavior, Fitzgerald concludes that there was a kind of "practical consistency" in the demands of the great majority of Mobile's blacks, who insisted that they would support no candidates of any race who did not serve their "values and concrete interests" (p. 266). Even so, he asserts that in "the wider historical literature, the polemical

needs of the second Reconstruction obscured certain aspects of African-American political behavior in the first" (p. 267). Scholars, he says, "have implicitly celebrated grassroots black activists by de-emphasizing" their "pursuit of individual self-interest" (p. 267). What Fitzgerald has been forced to recognize is that in American politics, no matter who the practitioners happen to be, individual economic and power interests usually trump commitments to ideals, and always have.

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CHARLES PERROW. *Organizing America: Wealth, Power, and the Origins of Corporate Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 259. \$34.95.

Organizational sociologist Charles Perrow is concerned with "why it happened that the most important feature of our social landscape is the large organization" (p. 1). He finds the answer in the emergence of the bureaucratically organized corporation in the nineteenth century. Perrow traces the emergence of late nineteenth-century corporate capitalism with its characteristics—"formalization, standardization, centralization, hierarchy" (p. 19)—through a close and selective review of mainly secondary literature. He focuses on two central phases of that century's bureaucratic trajectory: the growth and evolution of the textile industry of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts in the first half of the century, and, more important, the emergence of behemoth national railroad networks later on. In both stages of economic centralization, Perrow emphasizes alternative efficient paths to economic development that were cast by the wayside—mainly, he argues, because organizational elites actively worked against them and sought to centralize and bureaucratize production and distribution of goods and services. The quest for power lies at the root of his explanatory model.

Perrow begins by tracing the development of various industrial systems—the large mills of Manayunk, Pennsylvania, Lowell (pre-1840s) and "Lowell II" (post-1840s), Massachusetts, and the smaller shops of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—examining the different organizational patterns and externalities of these systems. Relying on important secondary works by Cynthia Shelton, Philip Scranton, Barbara M. Tucker, and others, he marshals evidence to demonstrate an "organizational interpretation" of protest and militancy, of class alliances, and of cultural phenomena—suggesting even the possibility that "the form and content of organized religion were shaped by . . . organizational interests" (p. 61). Perrow argues that the differences in the development of Philadelphia's and Lowell's textile mills should be explained on the basis of organizational theory and not differing cultural foundations. Comparing Lowell II (post-1840s) and the Kensington (Philadelphia) models, Perrow asserts that they "elaborated on quite different aspects of that

[American] culture and could be said to create culture at least as much as each model responded to it" (p. 93). To suggest that cultural change is a product of organizational imperatives rather than vice versa, however, requires the author to go far beyond the few pages he devotes to this controversial point; Perrow stands on a thin evidential foundation in these and other propositions. (To his credit, he admits it.)

Perrow confronts an even more serious empirical challenge in trying to explain the failure of viable economic alternatives, specifically the *decline* of small-scale manufacturing in Philadelphia. Relying on Scranton's *Figured Tapestry: Production, Markets, and Power in Philadelphia Textiles, 1885–1941* (1989), which challenges simplistic theoretical explanations for the decline of flexible production mills in Philadelphia, Perrow simply concludes "it is a sobering reminder that much of organizational life and behavior is simply beyond the generalizing powers of analysis at this time" (p. 93).

In the second part of the book, Perrow explores the "second big business" of the nineteenth century: the railroads. Why did railroads privatize so quickly? Why were they so poorly regulated and for so long? Here he probes the organizational logic of railroad development, relying heavily on the work of Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Walter Licht, Gerald Berk, and especially Frank Dobbin's *Forging Industrial Policy* (1994). Challenging Chandler's explanations for structural change, Perrow suggests that there were several available and equally efficient developmental options open to mid-nineteenth-century railroads; the logic of efficiency did not dictate a single path toward integration and centralization. Taking a comparative approach (as he had in exploring the divergent paths of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts mills), Perrow examines rail industry development in the United States, Great Britain, and France. Although state power figured differently in each nation, in many ways the three did not radically diverge until well into the nineteenth century; railroad development in the United States "started out with a well-established tradition of mixed public-private ownership or government ownership, with substantial regulation" (p. 158). By the 1860s, U.S. railroads, unlike those in Europe, were privatized, almost unregulated, and well on their way to becoming the behemoths that Grangers and Populists would rail against. As in Europe, state-owned railroads, like the Western & Atlantic Railroad in Georgia, had been able to operate efficiently and profitably. There was nothing inevitable in bureaucratic national consolidation; departmentally structured regional railroads and firms relying on contracting out were *both* viable alternatives to centralized rail development. Both were destroyed by the organizational power of the nation's larger railroads. The explanations offered by others—including imperatives of efficiency and culturally rooted emphases on economic individualism and opposition to big government—are all strongly refuted by the author.

Taking on Chandler's structuralist and functionalist

arguments, and Dobbin's neo-institutional views, Perrow's discussion of corruption is, to this reader, one of the most interesting and compelling parts of his book. Perrow treats instances of corporate corruption—bribery, illegal and deceptive financial dealings, and violation of regulatory statutes—as important instruments for concentrating wealth and power (pp. 144, 155). These, along with more "legal" exercises of power, were important determinant variables in the rise of corporate bureaucracies. Corruption and bribery, Perrow argues, are more compelling explanations for any failures to regulate railroads than cultural explanations.

Perrow's book does not offer a fully realized and airtight argument of his thesis, but his case is clearly and cogently expressed, and his refutations of alternative theories are often strong and convincing. This is a useful and stimulating book that will generate much controversy and, I hope, additional research. The passionate intensity of the author and the lack of obfuscation in his arguments are refreshing.

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SUSAN WILEY HARDWICK. *Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America's Third Coast*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 175. \$42.95.

Celebrated by singer Glen Campbell, Galveston is a place that invites visitors to stroll along its beaches and marvel at its historic buildings. Yet for generations of immigrants, it was also the Ellis Island of the South. This slim but meticulous study recaptures the lives of those immigrants and how they shaped this Texas city. Susan Wiley Hardwick, a cultural geographer, argues that it was the relentless boosting by merchants and the waves of immigrants who passed through Galveston that made it a "key part of a distinct and as yet undefined geographic region" (p. 10). It is in the city's vernacular forms and archival materials that she finds evidence for Galveston as the lynchpin for America's "Third Coast" (p. 150), building on the work of her noted colleague, Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, along with the late John Brinckerhoff Jackson. But for all of its strong insights into Galveston's built and social environment, Hardwick's book tends to overlook the historical complexities that put the city on the map.

From its beginnings, Galveston's rise rested on the ability to attract capital and residents. Built on little more than a grassy sandbar, its fortunes rose with the expanding cotton economy that dominated Texas after its rebellion against Mexico. The expansion of cotton brought enslaved African Americans to the island along with migrants from overseas. German immigrants followed, and many stayed instead of moving on to the hill country further inland. Galveston's Germans, however, did not fully participate in the political system; voting laws effectively concentrated power in

the hands of native-born whites prior to the Civil War. Following the war, still more immigrants from Italy, Poland, Greece, and Mexico, along with free blacks, poured into the city, but political fragmentation did not yield rigid segregation. To be sure, the white merchant elite continued to dominate, but the social effects of dispersal yielded a rich, interlocking mosaic of churches and homes that gave Galveston an integrated, unified feel.

Inventing both the city and the region, Hardwick concludes, also required overcoming environmental shortcomings. Prior to the Civil War, the island relied on steamships; afterwards it belatedly turned to railroads in a bid to outflank its rival, Houston. In this sense, Galveston's development paralleled that of more populous New Orleans. Both cities faced down severe yellow fever epidemics; both were continually challenged by other cities upriver and inland. But the Great Storm of 1900 delivered a crippling blow. Hardwick avoids a simple tale of decline by carefully tracking how citizens reformed local government, first by passing the Galveston Plan, which put power in the hands of municipal directors elected at large, and then by empowering politicians to reorganize the island's physical space. Engineers raised street grades and built a massive seawall, seventeen feet above mean low tide, to keep at bay. Although Galveston continued to lose trade and residents, reforms and rebuilding after the 1900 hurricane prevented this trickle from turning into a flood.

It was the end of immigration, however, that would set Galveston past apart from Galveston present. In the book's most intriguing chapter, Hardwick tells how the "Galveston Movement," a short-lived effort to redirect Jewish immigration from New York to the Midwest, brought the world to the city once again. Movement leaders selected Galveston over New Orleans because of the city's preexisting immigration facilities and rail links. Beginning in 1907, movement workers met Russian and Polish refugees fleeing pogroms at the docks before sending them onto their new homes. Hardwick stresses that it was the concatenation of Galveston's small but influential Jewish community and international organizations, such as the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau, that made the movement possible. But its success was short-lived. By the beginning of World War I, popular sentiment had turned against immigration, but before the movement collapsed, it rescued at least ten thousand people while changing the religious complexion of America's heartland.

In her conclusion, Hardwick argues that when the bottom fell out of the cotton and shipping economy during the Depression, city leaders settled on heritage tourism as the island's new draw. She suggests that this new gambit might hold promise because Galveston, although still dominated by its white elites, has maintained an "integrated residential and commercial landscape" (p. 142) typical of America's Third Coast. Yet her argument implies that the city was more of a

gigantic melting pot, something akin to what tourist boosters proclaim today, rather than the flawed historical product of race, class, and politics characteristic of many southern cities. Hardwick ultimately details the geography of diversity in Galveston but not the geography of power that underlies it. As a result, she is wise not to claim too much, saying that she offers only a prologue to a much larger story. Her well-documented study should inspire others to uncover the more complex past lurking behind Galveston's historic facades.

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ERIC SANDWEISS, editor. *St. Louis in the Century of Henry Shaw: A View beyond the Garden Wall*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 251. \$32.50.

During the nineteenth century, St. Louis, Missouri, became one of the nation's largest and most important cities. From a frontier town of 4,600 at its incorporation in 1823, by 1900, St. Louis stood as the nation's fourth largest city with nearly 600,000 residents. The new metropolis served as a great emporium drawing on Mississippi River trade and extensive rail connections to its hinterland and beyond. The city also developed a manufacturing base of considerable import, while its institutions and civic leaders became models for the nation. As with a number of older river cities, St. Louis history writing recently experienced a mini-renaissance including important works by contributors to this volume.

This collection of nine essays, commissioned by the Missouri Botanical Garden, the Missouri Historical Society, Tower Grove Park, and Washington University, emerged from a St. Louis conference held in 2000 on the one hundredth anniversary of Henry Shaw's birth. Shaw, a successful and wealthy St. Louis businessman and philanthropist, emigrated to the city from England in 1819; he died in 1889, having contributed significantly to the city and the book's sponsoring organizations. The essays trace St. Louis's nineteenth-century transformation into a western metropolis of "skyscrapers and steel factories, ragtime dance halls and German beer gardens, kosher groceries and Gilded Age mansions" (p. 7).

The book covers a range of topics including public culture, "biographical sketches of representative men," African Americans, immigration, economic history, scientific research, public education, theater culture, and literary life. Several essays stand out for their sharp insights into St. Louis and U. S. history. Walter Kamphoefner places his essay on nineteenth-century immigration in the context of a "majority-minority" city, an issue of current and historical interest. As St. Louis evolved from a French village into an American metropolis, immigrants (and migrants) profoundly influenced the city, especially those from Germany and Ireland. By 1860, immigrants constituted half of St. Louis's population, but Irish and German Americans

experienced considerable social and spacial distance from each other, as their low intermarriage rate suggested. As a result, St. Louis's political geography varied from the "reigning interpretation of nineteenth-century American politics" in part because of the city's French-Catholic roots (p. 86). In the early years, German and Irish immigrants worked through the Democratic Party; by 1860, Germans, "the most enthusiastic supporters of the Union and emancipation" (save for African Americans), joined with Anglos in the Republican Party, while St. Louis's Irish remained Democratic (p. 89). Moreover, Yankee Protestant Republicans supported German language instruction in public schools that from its institution in 1864 until its termination in 1887, successfully drew as much as eighty percent of German-American children; initially most had attended parochial or private schools.

Economic historian James Primm provides valuable insight into St. Louis's development and its rivalry with Chicago. While earlier studies reported the city's business elites to be unwilling "to take risks for the sake of" urban development, Primm demonstrates that they actively engaged in transportation development "with 8 trunk-lines and six short-line railroads serving the city" (p. 131). Similarly, the Eads Bridge across the Mississippi, completed in 1874, along with a diverse economy of commerce and manufacturing, suggest an aggressive business elite. St. Louisians also demonstrated risk taking by creatively inflating the city's 1870 U. S. Census population and economic data, so they could "stay ahead of Chicago" (p. 130).

In contrast to today's highly critical image of urban public schools, educational historian William Reese reports that late nineteenth-century schools "were often regarded as the most progressive in the nation" (p. 167). St. Louis produced several key figures who influenced the city's educational policy as well as that of the nation. These include William Harris who promoted "a free liberal-arts education" and his policy nemesis, Calvin Woodward, a major proponent of manual training (p. 171).

Historian Louis Gerteis's analysis of St. Louis theater from 1815 to 1860 provides valuable insights into the evolution of local and national theaters as well as the emergence of social types in drama and painting. Early St. Louis theaters segregated audiences by class and race. African-American characters, played by white actors in black face, commonly appeared in these early plays; audiences also participated actively helping to shape "the substance of theater culture in America" (p. 193).

Other essays prove valuable for their subjects. Antonio Holland places black St. Louisians's experiences in the larger context of AfroMissourians. Kenneth Winn traces the ever changing tides of Missouri politics and their impact on key political leaders. Lee Ann Sandweiss considers how "the city developed as a place of competing literary images" (p. 218), while Michael Long reveals the tortuous efforts of St. Louisians to develop scientific institutions and research, ultimately

focusing on the emergence of the Shaw-financed Missouri Botanical Gardens.

Clearly the volume is a treasure trove for students of St. Louis history; there is also much to interest urban historians and others. The book does not cover all possible topics evenly or well. The histories of labor, women, social class, and amusements, among other topics, lack full consideration. There are exceptions; Reese notes the import of Susan Blow in developing kindergartens, while Primm hints at the important role played by elite women, despite legal and cultural restrictions, in urban development. This includes Shaw's sister, Caroline, "who ably conducted her brother's extensive commodities trading business during his long sojourns abroad" (p. 115). The book is well illustrated, but there are no maps and only one "bird's eye view" to provide a visual sense of the changing city.

Despite Kamphoefner's coverage of Irish and German social geography, few essays deal with emerging and changing social spaces and their uses or the city's varied landscapes. Although effective for the topics covered, the book falls short of the promised story of a western metropolis of "skyscrapers and steel factories, ragtime dance halls and German beer gardens, kosher groceries and Gilded Age mansions" (p. 7).

JAMES BORCHERT

Independent Scholar [All reviewers of books or films by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

GARY J. HAUSLADEN, editor. *Western Places, American Myths: How We Think About the West*. (Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 343. \$49.95.

The great historical geographers Carl O. Sauer, Isaiah Bowman, James Parsons, and Donald Meinig published pathbreaking books and articles that wedded human activity to particular places across the American West. Offering up a variety of regional geographies set in widely differing cultural and spatial perspectives, Sauer and his colleagues established the real and mythical parameters of a vast region of basins, mountains, and high deserts that defy easy and simple definition. The West is both a definable place on a map with economies, cultures, and topographies that transcend international boundaries and a component in an increasingly global capitalist economy. Grouped into three parts, the essays in this book explore conventional regional themes, the perspectives of marginalized gender and ethnic voices, and truly western cultural expressions that identify the region.

Like most collections of its kind, the contributions to have strengths and obvious shortcomings. Editor Gary J. Hausladen's introduction points to the ambiguities of the West as both geographical region and mythical concept, a place "that repeatedly transcends simple historical-geographical description" (p. 1). Despite sharp criticism of some recent work in western history, Hausladen sides with those who argue that the idea of

a western region provides a powerful counterpoint to the rampant globalization of the postindustrial world.

In one of the strongest essays in part one, William Wyckoff argues that the West offers a spectacular laboratory setting for historical geographers to study environment and place, emphasizing that much of the profession is at one with recent research in western history and its interest in cultural diversity—the mix of Indians, Hispanics, African Americans, Asians, and European ethnic groups who have inhabited the region. With the exception of its Native American population, Wyckoff reminds, that the West is largely an immigrant society. Finally, Wyckoff emphasizes the common ties between western historians and historical geographers who have studied the larger capitalist transformation of the region, including its economic inequalities and its centers of power and influence. More problematic and disappointing is Paul Starr's prose-challenged attempt to defend livestock ranching in the West. Aside from errors of reference (Bernard De Voto's famous "Plundered Province" essay was published in 1934, not 1939), the most egregious shortcoming in this essay is the author's effort to be stylistically clever. More insistent copyediting would have greatly enhanced its readability.

"America was born of conquest and the raw, unadorned application of force" (p. 88), John Wright contends in an assessment of western land tenure. With the federal government acting as a generous real estate broker, the West gradually took on today's visible checkerboard pattern of land ownership and its seeming unending rectangularity. Wright briefly traces the federal disposal of land in Arizona, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah and the subsequent land-tenure policies in each state. His findings single out Utah as "the least conservation-minded state in the American West" (p. 103), largely in consequence of its being a largely theocratic state pursuing aggressive capitalist policies. Only fools, heretics, and apostates, Wright contends, suggest limits to land practices in Utah. In an essay on how the West is represented in the national park system, Lary Dilsaver points to the haphazard growth of national parks and the extent to which the system has preserved the region's natural and cultural heritage. The West provided the initial rationale for natural parks through set-asides such as Yosemite, Yellowstone, Glacier, Grand Canyon, and other spectacular places of magnificent scenery. The national park system then evolved through important congressional enactments such as the Antiquities Act of 1906, the commemoration of Civil War battlefields, the preservation of famous historic sites, and the establishment of places for public recreation. By means of these various initiatives, Dilsaver rightly concludes, the National Park Service protects and interprets a moderate cohort of western resources.

In part two, "Enduring Regional Voices," Richard Jackson describes how the Mormon region evolved from its nineteenth-century utopian roots as an "agro-centric society" into a bifurcated twentieth-century

area that embraced the power center in urban Salt Lake City and the rural Mormon world beyond. While this essay offers an uncritical account of the Mormon settlement process and concepts of community, it provides useful statistics on the numerical distribution of the Saints over time. In an essay on the Mexican-American West, Terrence Haverluk argues that Hispanics never "faded away" after the Conquest. Rather, Hispanic people "built railroads and dams, mined copper and gold, cleared and harvested crops" (p. 173). And despite their sometimes economic and political marginalization, today Mexican-American food, music, apparel, and building designs can be found across the West. Akim Reinhardt's chapter on the Native American West is flawed, error prone, and given to preposterous statements. The last essay in part two, Karen Morin's account of British travel writer Isabella Bird, suffers from frequent lapses into postmodern obscurantism that weaken and confuse a subject with considerable potential.

In part three, "The West as Visionary Place," Paulina Raento offers an interesting take on gambling as a western institution. Beginning with mining camp saloons, the author carries the story of gaming through its first large-scale commercial successes in Las Vegas to the literal explosion of Indian casinos in the last two decades. In "Magical Realism," Peter Goin provides a creative and avant-garde photographic essay of western desert places. Dydia Delyser's essay on western ghost towns offers a delightful rendition of the places that touring Americans have visited with increasing frequency since World War II. Finally, Hausladen closes the volume with a persuasive assessment of the enduring role of Western film in shaping mythic perceptions of the region.

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BONNIE CHRISTENSEN. *Red Lodge and the Mythic West: Coal Miners to Cowboys*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 312. \$34.95.

Red Lodge, Montana, founded by the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1887 as a source for coal, has a beautiful setting on the eastern edge of the Beartooth Mountains that makes it an attractive place to visit. Given its rocky economic prospects after outliving its usefulness as a coal mining center, Red Lodge's survival turned on a nimbleness in shifting identities and making tourism a priority. It has not so much walked away from its years as a coal mining town with an ethnically diverse population as it has incorporated a sanitized version of that past into an appealing package encompassing rodeo and the outdoor activities associated with the American West.

Red Lodge's successive identities are the primary subject of Bonnie Christensen's case history, although a secondary theme is one community's relationship to the mythic West. Christensen contends that broad studies of the American western myth can be usefully

amplified by focusing on the nuanced, negotiated relationships between the local and the national. Western towns might at different times reject the mythic West, embrace it, or manipulate it to serve local ends. When Red Lodge in the 1890s chose to present itself as a progressive industrial community, it rejected Old West trappings as an embarrassment. Neighboring Indians and cattlemen alike were dismissed as obstacles to respectable agricultural progress; cowboys were nothing more than tramps. But as mining declined in the 1920s, Red Lodge hitched its future to the public's infatuation with cowboy heroes and made itself over into a wild and woolly western town, with a full-fledged rodeo and a name that takes some beating when it comes to conjuring up things Indian. Exploitation of the recreational potential of the nearby mountain wilderness followed naturally on the town's newly acquired western identity, and was substantially bolstered in 1936 with the opening of the Beartooth Highway, proclaimed the most scenic route to Yellowstone Park. "Mining was dead; long live scenery and fishing and camping and hiking," Christensen writes (p. 169). Subsequently, in the wake of World War II, Red Lodge discovered the economic benefits of *e pluribus unum* and in 1951 began staging a "Festival of Nations." As a community celebration, the festival downplayed racial and class conflict in the coal-mining era and praised ethnic diversity within a triumphalist paradigm of differences overcome in the process of creating a seamless social fabric. "Heritage," in short, had been added to the mixture that constitutes Red Lodge's identity today.

Christensen's dissection of the constructed identities of one Montana town is valuable for complicating easy generalizations about the American West or the western myth. That said, her book suffers from repetition as arguments are made and then recapitulated, often with italics added lest the reader miss the point. It also suffers from overstatement in making the case for a fundamental shift in Red Lodge's identity from "coal miners to cowboys," as the subtitle has it. Christensen contends that boosters in the 1890s not only promoted Red Lodge as a progressive industrial center but "despised" vestiges of the Old West. Such strong language is employed to make Red Lodge's subsequent reconciliation with the mythic West appear all the more dramatic. In successive paragraphs, Christensen claims that it was "infuriating to local boosters" that "cattlemen actually allied with that other despised Wild West figure, the Indian." The boosters "hotly denounced," "fumed," "furiously insisted," "blasted the ranchers," and "produced scathing articles" in the local newspaper while waging "a vicious propaganda battle" that is also characterized as a "vicious propaganda attack" on Indians and ranchers alike, the representatives "of a much-despised Wild West" (pp. 25–27). Such overheated rhetoric undermines confidence in the author's argument. It seems likely that contrary identities always coexisted in Red Lodge, with mountain man Liver Eating Johnson and rancher

Malcolm Mackay offering an alternative during the town's coal-mining heyday, just as the town's industrial past was never eradicated in a later era that foregrounded the mythic Old West. The introduction of Red Lodge's Festival of Nations was possible precisely because no one identity ever eliminated competing identities.

Trimmed and toned down, this book would be more effective, but it still makes a substantial contribution to the growing literature on western tourism. Given that local boosters have always pretty much worn their motives on their sleeves and cheerfully admitted to the primacy of commercial calculation, it is puzzling that the creation of a tourist identity—Olde English, Wild Western, or what have you—so vexes some historians. In trying to separate the authentic from the ersatz, true history from a commodified heritage, they occasionally lose sight of what this study of Red Lodge persuasively establishes: pixie dust is as "real" as coal dust. With Christensen's monograph, Red Lodge, a town of 1,875 in south central Montana, now joins the distinguished company of Las Vegas and Santa Fe in the picture gallery of western tourist centers that have had their portraits taken.

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HORATIO'S DRIVE: AMERICA'S FIRST ROAD TRIP. Directed by Ken Burns. Produced by Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns. Written by Dayton Duncan. Narrated by Keith David. 2003; black and white and color; 107 minutes Distributed by Florentine Films.

Horatio's Drive is a classic Ken Burns production, lively, well-written, and featuring numerous historical photographs interspersed with modern footage shot in the same locales and peppy music from the period—in this case, ragtime—to draw the viewer into the mood of the era. Most of the documentary is in black and white, including much of the recent footage of western roads shot from a surviving 1903 Winton. Many modern views, however, particularly those of spectacular western scenery and Plains electrical storms, are in full color.

Burns tells the intriguing story of Horatio Nelson Jackson's successful drive from San Francisco to New York City in 1903, which garnered him the honors of being the first man to make the trip by motorcar. A more unlikely intrepid traveler would be hard to find, however. A retired Vermont physician, only thirty-one years old, Jackson had no driving experience and no proven mechanical aptitude. He was drawn into the adventure on May 19, 1903, in a smoke-filled private San Francisco club where he overheard an argument about whether automobiles were capable of long trips. Jackson impetuously bet fifty dollars he could drive a car from coast to coast in fewer than three months. In four days, he purchased his first car, a slightly used two-cylinder, twenty-horsepower 1903 Winton; hired a

bicycle racer, twenty-two-year-old Sewell Crocker, to accompany him; bought the supplies he thought he might need; plotted his route; and hit the road. Jackson's wife, whom he unaccountably called "Swipes," went home, and he wrote to her frequently. Burns uses his letters to allow Jackson to speak for himself. Every podunk western town weekly carried news of his arrival, and Burns makes liberal use of these articles to describe the daily routine of Jackson's problems and progress.

In the first fifteen minutes, the film establishes the importance of Jackson's feat by explaining that it took Lewis and Clark two and one-half years to go the same distance. Burns also offers a short history of the automobile from the Duryea brothers in 1893 that he brings up to the wager by explaining that two other men had already tried to drive across the country. One ill-fated attempt started in 1899 and did not get very far, while Alexander Winton set out in 1901 from San Francisco only to end 530 miles east bogged down in Nevada's sands.

Even though Jackson headed north into Oregon to avoid such problems, he was still afflicted with every contretremp that could befall early motorists: frequent tire punctures, dead batteries, engine failures, broken springs and axles, dirt embedded in exposed moving parts, "buffalo wallow" mud holes, wrong directions, torrential rains, and rock-strewn roads. He overcame them all and proclaimed to his wife each time that his bad luck was over—just as something else untoward happened. To build tension, Burns follows two other cars that were trying to cross the country at the same time. The Packard Motor Car Company funded an attempt that left later than Jackson and almost overtook him, while Oldsmobile put a tiller-steered car of its own into the field. Both made the crossing, the Packard in a shorter time than Jackson, but the Vermonter won the laurels of being first.

Jackson, Crocker, and their be-goggled bulldog, Bud, chugged into New York City on July 26, 63 days, 12 hours, and 30 minutes after departing San Francisco, thereby making as Burns notes, the world smaller and inaugurating a popular movement for improved roads. In telling Jackson's story, Burns has created a visual delight overlaid with appropriate sounds of a chugging two-cylinder engine, distant steam whistle, dog barking, and ragtime beat. Jackson remains at the forefront, however, even when Burns detours to create a context for the trip. *Horatio's Drive* is an entertaining and informative jaunt across the country in an earlier and tougher age, an excellent film for high school or college undergraduate classroom use.

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RENNIE B. SCHOEPFLIN. *Christian Science on Trial: Religious Healing in America*. (Medicine, Science, and

Religion in Historical Context.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2003. Pp. 301. \$39.95.

This book is a meticulously crafted and enticing chronicle of the life of Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) and the legal battles ensuing from her controversial philosophical tenets. It is at once a biography of its founder and a sociolegal history recounting how the courts were used to assert cultural hegemony against her teachings. Rennie B. Schoepflin amassed a stunning array of sources, including biographical evidence, religious and healing demographics by region and social class, charts and graphs of healers accused of crimes in various states, practitioners' correspondence, and courtroom testimony illuminating the personal and public Eddy.

The first part of the book explores Eddy's childhood and young adulthood, which was wracked with constant illnesses, mental despair, and religious anxieties. In her quest for relief of bodily ailments and torturous spiritual disquietude, Eddy, like countless others from the 1830s onward, fleetingly embraced various sectarian cures. She found little, or only temporary, relief, and around 1860 she adopted the mental healing techniques of Maine's Phineas Parkhurst Quimby. In the years that followed, "she constructed a myth about the origins of Christian Science that denied her dependencies and accentuated the uniqueness of her discovery" (p. 32). Eddy coupled these mental healing techniques with the spiritual relief she found through reading Gospel accounts of Jesus's healing. She proclaimed her "healing truth" by disavowing the material body's pain, relying on the mind's ability to heal through faith and scriptural devotion.

Personal problems continued to plague Eddy even as her sect gained ascendancy. Failed marriages, deaths of loved ones, and her repeated fallings-out with those whose teachings greatly informed her own left her isolated and insecure. The publication of *Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures* (1875) provided the foundational text from which she argued her views.

Schoepflin's research also provides a splendid gendered analysis of mid and late nineteenth-century Victorian womanhood. Eddy's philosophy was particularly appealing to women whose authority and wisdom were culturally undermined. She successfully tapped into women's desire for healing expertise, religious evangelical authority, and economic autonomy. In the early 1880s, she was denounced by dissenting students and former devotees. In response she reorganized the church, its educational branches, and its leadership. Helped immeasurably by an 1881 vision from God (attested to by a few devout followers), she claimed decisive leadership as pastor of the Church of Christ Scientist. Only she and her followers were "true" versus "pseudo" scientists. She continuously sought to solidify her power, control, and authority over the church. Dissenters splintered off and formed the New Thought Movement.

The second half of Schoepflin's book chronicles "Christian Science on Trial." Until the late 1880s, Christian Science went largely unnoticed by organized medicine. From that point on, regular physicians engaged in debates about the economic threat posed by these healers and the havoc they brought to the public's health. The dominant medical campaign denounced Christian Science as nonsensical and dangerous; others sought to incorporate its appealing elements into regular medical practice. The latter fueled the acceptance of mental health fields and psychoanalysis in American society.

The medical community, through its writings and legal accusations (resulting in high-profile trials), assailed Christian Science on two levels: its threat to public health, and its endangerment of children. Because Christian Scientists did not report infectious diseases to public health officials, and because they believed in parents' rights to treat their children without the mechanistic medical model, they were deemed threats to social order. In response, Christian Scientists recast themselves, through the courts, as nonthreatening ministers rather than healers. This tactic greatly belied their historical roots and did not still criticism. Twelve years after Eddy's death in 1922, opposing viewpoints within the church caused a much-publicized debate over adapting Eddy's teachings to a changing world. The less doctrinaire advocates emerged victorious. Despite their diminishing confrontational stance, the church was once again bombarded with trials and accusations of abuse in the 1980s and early 1990s, framed by concern for children's welfare. The church's notoriety as it fends off a century of accusations continues to be its greatest challenge to survival.

Schoepflin has interwoven voluminous data with complex issues into a fascinating and compelling read. He does not engage in psychological probing of Eddy's personal idiosyncrasies. Instead, her exceptional and conflict-ridden life frames the struggles that her church continues to experience. This book combines the best of medical history, gendered analysis, and philosophical curiosity. It is an outstanding contribution to intersecting scholarly fields: history of medicine, women's studies, cultural studies, and American history.

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CAROLYN THOMAS DE LA PEÑA. *The Body Electric: How Strange Machines Built the Modern American*. (American History and Culture.) New York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 329. \$35.00.

In this engaging and well-written study Carolyn Thomas de la Peña offers a detailed cultural history of the medical-technological interface in the period 1850–1940, and in so doing tells us a great deal about how the body and its relation to modernity were conceived. As she shows, the body's energies were understood in

terms of two central groups of ideas: those relating to blockage and flow (aiming at the release of energies), and those relating to energy levels (aiming at the replenishment of energy or the stimulation of fresh energies). In both cases, the underlying notion was a return to the "natural" body, technologically reproduced by various devices and cures.

The book deals in detail with three areas: the muscle-building and jolting machines produced by Dudley Allen Sargent, Gustav Zander, and others; the application of electricity to the body by electric belts and other devices; and the use of radium in elixirs and irradiated water. Moving with assurance through a plethora of apparatus and therapies, official and fringe medicines garnered from the American Medical Association's (AMA) Health Fraud Collection, the Bakken Library and Museum of Electricity in Life, and other archives, Thomas de la Peña throughout belies the rather limiting Library of Congress classification of this book ("Quacks and quackery") by showing sympathetic attention to the social construction of medicine, and to the fact that in the context of the questions asked of them many of these devices seemed to offer cures. One of the interesting aspects of the book is that it underlines the continuance of popular therapies into the 1920s and 1930s, long after legislation and campaigns by the AMA had supposedly rendered the world of Lydia Pinkham redundant. In any case, it is, as she points out, impossible to dismiss these machines to the historical backwater of "Quackery." Many exercise machines were developed and promoted by the famous Hemenway gymnasium at Harvard, creating a "scientific" gym culture based on the segmented and rebalanced body that is still very much with us; and electrotherapy still has common specialized uses (the TENS machine, ECT) and is even used as a general stimulant.

At the same time, Thomas de la Peña makes clear that what is at issue in these cures is the embodiment of metaphor. The "Power Lift" was supposed to energize the system, overcoming its blockages. Electric belts did not simply cure neurasthenia; they plugged the user into the current of modernity—which was why the low-current I-ON-A-CO device was one of the most successful, doing little else other than offer up that metaphor. Electricity was also intimately connected to the conceptualization of sexual energies and resulted in such devices as electrified anal and prostate probes (the suggestively named Thermalaid), marketed as late as the 1930s and stimulated by masculine anxiety at women's sexual powers (the book is sure-footed on tangential issue like gland therapy, but some of the wackier extensions of these ideas—for example, Wilhelm Reich's Orgone Accumulator—are not discussed).

A final chapter deals with radium treatments in the period from 1902 to 1940, and with the idea that radium elixir or irradiated water might flood the body with energy. This was garnered in part from the fact that radium, giving off heat and other radiation,

seemed to overturn the dissipation of energies into heat-death predicted by the Second Law of Thermodynamics. A variety of products including the Vitalizer, the Radiumator, VigoRadium, and Radithor were promoted by practitioners like William Hammer and William Bailey. Here we are more firmly on the territory of patent medicines, given a scientific gloss. This material seems the strangest to the modern reader: the solemn drinking of radioactive elixirs, or the application of strong radioactive sources to black skin in the hope of whitening it, evoke a sense of wonder and horror at social and technological metaphor in its raw, new-born state (as opposed to mechanical and electric shocking, which have been with us since the eighteenth century).

Thomas de la Peña sticks to her subject admirably, and at the end essays some comments on the persistence of the paradigms and therapies discussed here. It would also be interesting to take a wider view and cross-reference some of the mechanical techniques discussed here with nonmechanical techniques dating from the same period (Pilates is mentioned briefly; others include the Alexander technique, Rudolph Steiner's eurythmy and other dance techniques, and the Stretch and Swing method). Hillel Schwartz has argued that the kinaesthetics of the twentieth century is that of torque—of flowing, swinging motion; freedom rather than the man-machine coupling—and it would be worth considering whether this suggests an alternative or a complementary tradition in terms of body culture.

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LISA DUGGAN. *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 310. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Lisa Duggan faces a challenge: how to build a significant historical argument on the basis of a long-forgotten murder that took place in Memphis in 1892. In that place and time, nineteen-year-old Alice Mitchell slashed the throat of seventeen-year-old Freda Ward after the younger woman apparently broke her promise to elope with her partner in passion and begin a new life in which Mitchell would pass as a man. Although some might be tempted to dismiss this episode as an isolated incident that reveals more about the psychopathologies of Mitchell than about important developments in the late nineteenth century, Duggan succeeds admirably in moving between the microhistorical and the macrohistorical. Her book convincingly demonstrates that narratives of "lesbian love murder" (p. 2) at the turn of the twentieth century both reflected and helped to produce a racialized and gendered American modernity that imagined middle-class white lesbians as threats to the dominant order.

The first part of Duggan's book focuses on narratives about the murder that circulated widely in the

popular press and that were deployed in local courtrooms. Duggan's method involves "analyzing cultural narratives as political interventions embedded in concrete, material institutions" (p. 4). Less interested in uncovering the empirical (truth) of the murder itself, this section instead explores the multiple stories that made "American" meanings out of fragmentary local details. Sensational, strategic, and sexological accounts of the murder and its aftermath did more than simply pathologize an "unnatural" relationship; by contrasting Mitchell's masculinity and Ward's femininity, highlighting their plans to elope, imagining an erotic triangle involving the two women and a male suitor, invoking violence as the consequences of female deviance, and constituting Mitchell as mentally ill, they helped to build a modern framework for class, gender, race, and sexual discipline. These chapters represent cultural history at its best, paying critical attention not only to the content of the stories told but also to how they were told, who did the telling, what interests they served, and with what effects. The analysis of how power and knowledge constituted one another in newspapers and courtrooms is particularly insightful. Duggan's conclusion is that "this influential cultural narrative, portraying romance between women as dangerous, insane, and violent, worked to depoliticize, trivialize, and marginalize the aspiration of women for political equality, economic autonomy, and alternative domesticities" (p. 2).

A secondary theme juxtaposes these stories with another set of narratives that resonated with particular significance in the same time and place: those related to Ida B. Wells's campaign against lynching, which began after a brutal Memphis attack in 1892. Without losing sight of the important differences between the two sets of narratives, Duggan links them by arguing that both achieved notoriety in sensational newspapers and courtroom spectacles, both concerned race, gender, and sexuality, both were based on perceived threats to middle-class white domesticity, and both played roles in "the emergence of a master discourse of national whiteness at the core of twentieth-century American modernity" (p. 2).

In the book's second part, Duggan moves beyond the local context to look at other popular narratives of lesbian "violent passions" (p. 123) that circulated in this period, at medical and scientific accounts by "doctors of desire" (p. 156) who wrote about these cases, and at the "thousand stories" (p. 180) of lesbian love murder that proliferated in the decades after 1892. According to Duggan, the new turn-of-the-century narratives reworked two earlier cultural stories, one of which featured marriages between working-class "passing" women and their wives and the other of which featured middle-class women(s) romantic friendships. From "intimations of an emerging social identity based on same-sex desire among women" (p. 153) there eventually developed modern lesbian identities and cultures. One of the many virtues of this section and the appendix that follows is that

they provide readers with extensive excerpts from primary texts, which will encourage further research and analysis.

The book is not without limitations. As Duggan acknowledges, she focuses on "dominant narratives" (p. 5) and does not offer a social history of lesbian cultures or an in-depth analysis of lesbian resistance; it would have been fascinating to see what the author would have come up with had this been a more central concern and had Duggan had situated her arguments more directly in relation to the turn-of-the-century lesbian and gay histories produced by other scholars. In her epilogue, Duggan argues that elements of the Mitchell-Ward story "can not be written within the parameters of histories of lesbianism" (p. 199). Clearly she has a point, but the point only makes sense if lesbian history is defined in very narrow ways (which, fortunately, the book as a whole does not do). In addition, Duggan is more successful at showing how the macro informed the micro than the reverse. Here, more in-depth analysis of the "thousand stories" would have helped, although the scholarly labor required to do this might have delayed publication. When moving from the micro to the macro, Duggan also might have recognized that in addition to constructing "American" modernity, the narratives examined also constructed local, regional, and transnational modernities that coexisted with national ones.

In the end, Mitchell's legal advocates succeeded in convincing a jury that their client was "presently insane" and in having her committed to an asylum, where she died six years later. In less capable hands, her story, or rather the stories produced about her, would merit at most a footnote in histories of the period. In Duggan's hands, these stories help us to understand the operations of power and knowledge in American society, then and now.

MARC STEIN
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PHIL ROBERTS. *A Penny for the Governor, a Dollar for Uncle Sam: Income Taxation in Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 198. \$35.00.

The title and the preface of Phil Roberts's otherwise cogent study of income taxation in Washington are more than a little confusing. The author's avowed purpose is "to test the existence of urban-rural conflict by examining that most fundamental of political issues, taxes." But he immediately adds that "by formulating the debate in terms of urban-rural conflict (and of course taking into account class) one may gain an increased understanding of how taxation policies influenced (and were influenced by) the economic and cultural forces in the United States from the days of Lincoln to the New Deal." Is the author using the saga of the income tax to distill the essence of urban-rural conflict, or did he, in the course of analyzing the debate over income taxation, find urban-rural conflict

to be the defining paradigm? His conclusion that "the Washington example shows that the concept of a [urban-rural] dichotomy still has value when examining how a consensus was reached on that most critical of political issues, tax policy" (pp. viii-ix) does little to resolve the dilemma.

Equally perplexing is Roberts's focus on Washington instead of on one of the forty-two states that have adopted an income tax. On the one hand, he presents Washington as "a typical developing state, mirroring the national mood and experience in nearly all respects," and asserts that the forces influencing the course of the income tax debate there "were present everywhere in the country." On the other hand, he demonstrates in some detail how and why the income tax contest played out very differently in Oregon, the state most similar to Washington on most criteria. Skirting the issue of Washington's typicality, the author asserts that the book "is limited to the narrower issue of how income taxes were applied or resisted in the Pacific Northwest" (pp. vii-ix). Perhaps the most compelling reason for focusing on Washington, as Roberts freely admits, is that the state's frequent use of the initiative on taxation questions provides the most complete and accurate evidence possible for evaluating popular sources of support and opposition.

Despite his somewhat skewed statement of purpose, Roberts has produced a first-rate piece of scholarship precisely by focusing the book itself tightly on that "narrower issue." The first half of the book examines the response of Washingtonians to efforts by the federal government to impose a national income tax during three historical periods: the Civil War, the short-lived levy of 1894, and the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1911. The second half focuses on the failures and frustrations endured by those Washingtonians who have tried unsuccessfully over the past ninety years to institute a state income tax.

During the various debates over federal income tax, the operative word was clearly consensus. Like the great majority of westerners, Washingtonians viewed a federal tax largely as a remedy for the internal colonialism through which eastern capitalists had extracted booty through absentee ownership, exploitation of natural resources, and interest on bonds and bank deposits. The ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment, however, "brought an end to the era of consensus on income taxation" (p. 55). The realization that a state tax would be paid entirely by Washingtonians set off a contentious struggle that increasingly divided citizens along class and geographical lines. Complicating the issue were proposals to cap property taxes or to impose a sales, business, or occupation tax instead of an income levy. Support for an income tax, as measured by several initiative votes over the years, was consistently highest in rural areas and in urban working-class districts. Three times between 1932 and 1950, the legislature passed an income tax, only to see it overturned by the state supreme court. (One of the

most intriguing parts of the book is Roberts's discussion of the parallels between the state court's five to four negative decision of 1933 and the U.S. Supreme Court's infamous *Pollock* Decision of 1895.) Since that time, income tax initiatives have suffered seven defeats in eight attempts, due largely to the public's gradual acceptance of the sales tax and to the fact that the state's expanding economy has significantly increased the number of potential taxpayers. For the foreseeable future, Roberts concludes, a state income tax in Washington is a "political impossibility."

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TOM COFFMAN. *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i*. (A Latitude 20 book.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 419. \$42.00, paper \$16.95.

Tom Coffman, an independent scholar-journalist, is widely recognized for his excellent publications and films on Hawaiian history and politics. This most recent book explores the island's twentieth-century experience within the context of the broader American record of the era, and it, too, should be well received.

Combining standard historical reporting with revealing anecdotes, Coffman sketches the principal developments of the earlier years of the century and then commences one of the best interpretations to date of the period from World War II through the first several decades of statehood, a time when Hawaii evolved from its earlier "sugar coated fortress" role (as several earlier writers described it) to become a notable factor in American culture and politics. As a unique multicultural society that pioneered numerous social changes, including the election of America's first major leaders of Asian and Pacific extraction, the islands emerged as a symbol of what many—John F. Kennedy among them—believed was the nation's eventual societal destiny. That this view became the dominant perception of Hawaii's place in the national epic is one of Coffman's key points.

The story of modern Hawaii has been told many times but never with Coffman's particular emphasis. Although he discusses a wide spectrum of the period's events and issues, he concentrates on the local Japanese-American community and elevates its already widely acknowledged significance by observing that this group is "the single most important factor in the development of the State of Hawaii and also the making of Hawaii's unique contribution to America" (p. 15) and later concluding that the "Nisei [first American-born generation of Japanese Americans] of Hawaii changed America" (p. 352). To support these claims, Coffman, like most others, cites the heroism of Nisei soldiers during World War II and their role in changing the nation's then-suspect view of Japanese Americans. He goes on to detail the role of key Hawaiian leaders, Nisei included, in persuading Amer-

ican military officials—particularly those in Hawaii's martial law administration—of the loyalty of local Japanese-American citizens and, in the process, laying the groundwork for the eventual sociopolitical transformation of Hawaii's then paternalistic society. Much of this information appears in print here for the first time. Coffman devotes particular attention to the careers of John A. Burns, the acknowledged leader of the reformist Democratic Party's post-World War II rise to dominance and its first elected governor, and George R. Ariyoshi, Burns's protégé and successor whose record, at least until now, has not received the attention it deserves.

Another major difference in Coffman's approach involves his interpretation of the Federal government's role in wartime Hawaii. He pays far more heed than most scholars to the role of key civilian and military figures and convincingly argues that many of them found something special in Hawaii's ethnic and cultural diversity, especially in the beleaguered Japanese-American sector, and went out of their way to help block such wartime excesses as the internment endured by the West Coast Japanese Americans. In making this point, Coffman also indirectly challenges a substantial portion of contemporary ethnic scholarship by suggesting the likelihood that Hawaii's Nisei community enjoyed significant support from the dominant Caucasian establishment and, more generally, that its sociopolitical experience was decidedly more positive than that of Japanese Americans on the West Coast.

One aspect of Coffman's study that critics may note is his rather brief coverage of the Japanese-American record in Hawaii prior to the war years, the juncture at which his work deepens. Although he does not make the point directly, he is describing an immigrant community that, within one generation, achieved middle-class status, became the dominant force in local politics, and rose to prominence in numerous other areas, a feat unprecedented in American immigrant history. Complex as the matter may be, more detail on the earlier developments that helped make this possible would have been useful. The book effectively concludes with the end of Ariyoshi's tenure in 1986, despite the Democratic Party's continuing domination of local politics. Coffman appears to have selected the date because it marks the end of what he considers the visionary era. A bit more elaboration on the reasons for this choice would have been welcome.

These concerns, however, are peripheral. Coffman's book is a major work that charts important new historical territory while offering fresh interpretive insights. No serious student of modern Hawaii can afford to ignore it.

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STEPHEN J. PITTI. *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Northern California, Race, and Mexican Americans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 297. \$29.95.

GLENNA MATTHEWS. *Silicon Valley, Women, and the California Dream: Gender, Class, and Opportunity in the Twentieth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 313. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.

These two books provide sober correctives to popular celebrations of California's Silicon Valley and its high-tech economy of the 1980s. Although their emphases differ slightly, authors Stephen J. Pitti and Glenna Matthews use analyses of race, gender, and class to counter myths about the wealth generated in the region.

Stephen J. Pitti's title refers to the "devil" of racism as viewed through the perspectives of the valley's largely working-class Mexican-American inhabitants. He suggests that they, and not computer programmers or business magnates, should be at the center of histories of the Santa Clara Valley. While Matthews portrays Mexican Americans as only one element of the working classes of the valley, her history also concentrates on workers' often frustrated pursuit of a "good life," symbolized by frequent use of the term "the California Dream." Both authors are interested in the poverty and political conflicts expunged from boosters' portraits of the valley, past and present. For Matthews, the central question for historians is how a region that generated so much wealth, for so long, also distributed it so unevenly. More than Pitti, she is concerned with how gender complicated the path to the California Dream, while also briefly in the 1970s making the valley known nationwide for its feminist leadership. Yet Matthews would also agree with Pitti on one important point: the defeat of unionization—begun among cannery workers in the 1930s—destroyed the most plausible foundation from which more recent generations of valley workers might have confronted the high-tech and globalized economy of the past two decades.

Pitti's book offers a detailed, broad-ranging history of ethnic Mexicans in the Santa Clara Valley. It serves to correct a Mexican-American historiography that has focused almost exclusively on southern California. Pitti argues that northern California has been too dynamic economically to be ignored by historians of ethnic minorities. His analysis focuses on the entwining of economic development, racism, and the formation of racialized Mexican communities over two centuries. It begins with the arrival of the Spanish and the development of a ranching economy under Spanish and then Mexican rule, but its main focus is the period after conquest by the United States. It traces the work, communities, and political movements of Mexican Americans, migrant workers, and immigrants as the valley economy was successively transformed by Americans' investment in, first, large-scale wheat cultivation and quicksilver mining and, later, extensive orchards and canning operations. Only in the last chapter of the book is the reader introduced to the new economy that labeled the region "Silicon Valley."

The heart of the book is a series of chapters focused

on ethnic Mexican workers in mining, agriculture, and canning. Pitti traces the changing forms of political mobilization that accompanied labor in each sector during its era of predominance. Miners mobilized around a persisting interest in Mexico, nationalist *Cinco de Mayo* celebrations, and mutual aid associations that could, on occasion, support resistance and strikes even among transnationally mobile workers. The orchard/cannery economy that emerged in the late nineteenth century facilitated the expansion but also the segregation of a Mexican community that in turn made possible the amazing burst of union organization and activism of the 1930s. The employment of *braceros*, along with the nationalist passions of wartime (persisting into the Cold War), broke the power of the most important cannery union, the UCAPAWA (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packinghouse, and Allied Workers of America). Nevertheless, the legacy of union activism provided the example, and created a cadre of activists, that would support new initiatives to organize farm workers and to seek local political power and civil rights after 1960.

As the valley's economy was again transformed by the new computer industry, its ethnic Mexican community became both more powerful and more divided. Pitti points to growing disparities not only between the ethnic working classes and the predominantly white and highly paid engineers and entrepreneurs but also between educated, middle-class, long-time ethnic Mexican residents and the newer and poorer arrivals from Mexico. In an epilogue, Pitti reminds readers of the continued salience of racism, pointing in particular to local efforts to promote historical memories that render invisible both Mexican Americans and political conflicts.

Although it begins only in the late nineteenth century, Matthews's book provides a clearer introduction to how a local economy based on mining and agriculture eventually became a center of a high-tech, computer industry. Matthews's account of the area's fruit industry and of how workers created a brief moment of union democracy in the 1930s and early 1940s differs from Pitti's mainly in its analysis of the ethnic diversity and interethnic relations within the workforce, as well as in its greater interest in the female component of that workforce. Matthews traces the origins of Silicon Valley's recent high-tech economy to the location of military investment on the west coast during World War II, and to the postwar rise of what Dwight D. Eisenhower later called the "military-industrial complex." In a particularly insightful chapter, Matthews describes the gendering of the valley's early electronic and technical industries; she points to the development of a significant minority of women engineers and unionized female technical workers. Like Pitti, Matthews also emphasizes the disadvantaged position of recent women immigrants in the new computer industry. She also offers a fuller discussion of union strategies—and frustrations—in organizing this multiethnic

workforce of assemblers, many of whom work for piecework wages at home.

Perhaps the book's most important chapter is the one that focuses on the valley as the "feminist capital of the nation" in the 1970s and 1980s, when both the mayor and majorities of the San Jose City Council and Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors were female. Rather than present the lives of the largely middle-class female activists as anomalous or as exemplary success stories, Matthews asks us to consider what difference women's political power made in the lives of working-class women. She traces the origins of local female political activism to female engineers and technicians (who, while not feminists, nevertheless pursued feminist goals of workplace equality) and to an anti-growth movement of the 1950s and 1960s that developed in opposition to the governing coalition of local businessmen. It is no accident, Matthews suggests, that issues of comparable worth and of safety and health emerged during the era of female leadership in the valley, even if the real gains of women workers were limited by a continuing imbalance of power between the technical and investing elite and the nonunionized workforce of the newer technical industries.

Rather than present Silicon Valley as a model for the nation, these two books point to the negative consequences of globalization and of employment in high-tech industries for the majority. Workers who in the 1930s or 1940s could at least dream of homeownership through union wages can now scarcely find housing near their valley jobs. While Pitti points to the long arm of the "devil" of race to explain this outcome for the ethnic Mexicans who are his subject, Matthews suggests that more than one "devil" is at work. She concludes that only a shake-up "of some magnitude" (p. 258) could again open the hope of achieving the California Dream for the newest workers of the Silicon Valley.

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JOYCE A. HANSON. *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 248. \$32.50.

Mary McLeod Bethune was a towering figure in twentieth-century African-American history. With a position in the National Youth Administration during Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presidency, Bethune became the first black woman to attain such high political office, and as a leader of the "Black Cabinet," she helped to set a national agenda for African Americans. But these crossover successes came after an already remarkable career as an educator and leader of black women.

Joyce A. Hanson offers a history of Bethune's ideas about, and exercise of, leadership. Her book's title draws attention to a consistent thread in Bethune's vision: she placed the needs and values of women at

the center of the black community and envisioned an educated and mobilized womanhood as the engine of its transformation. Once Hanson brings Bethune from childhood through a short marriage, she organizes the book around Bethune's principal projects. Bethune founded the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Negro Girls (later Bethune-Cookman College) in 1904 and served as its president until 1942. Over the course of her presidency, Bethune earned a reputation among whites and blacks as a savvy fundraiser and a strong, if difficult, administrator. She also provided a model of education for girls and women that trained them for political activism and community leadership. In 1912, Bethune connected with the woman's club movement and emerged in the late 1920s as president of the National Association of Colored Women. Through clubs and the association, she gained regional and national platforms and the chance to create a unified expression of black women's interests. She did not succeed in remaking the association along the lines she favored, but she made herself visible to white politicians. Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover named her as an expert on black education to commissions on child welfare, and through club work she came to the attention of Eleanor Roosevelt.

From clubs Hanson moves to Bethune's job in the New Deal from 1935 to 1944 and her success at making the National Youth Administration serve the needs of young African Americans. While acquiring a taste for formal political leadership in those years, Bethune also learned the importance of having a political base. Hanson turns, in her final chapter, to the founding of the National Council of Negro Women by Bethune in 1936 and its program under her leadership until 1949. This project, Hanson argues, was intended to build that political base of black women.

Hanson has a good eye for the evidence about how associations and institutions work, and she realizes the importance Bethune assigned to that perspective. This is especially displayed in her chapter on the National Youth Administration, where Bethune made small adjustments to bureaucracy that allowed black field staff to report straight to Washington without having their observations filtered through white superiors. The same habit of mind, and the same skill on Hanson's part, is evident in the chapters on the National Association and National Council, which describe Bethune trying to perfect the flow of ideas and work out from the center of national leadership to the counties and towns where things needed to happen.

The main thrust in all the chapters, however, is to locate the ideas from which Bethune drew inspiration and against which she defined herself. In her journey from Dwight Moody's evangelical training to the New Deal—a journey familiar to students of the social settlement movement—Bethune also navigated between the poles defined by Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. As an educator, she crafted a synthesis in which women were trained to work but in

jobs providing leadership. As a leader, she would not remain silent in the face of discrimination, but neither would she insist on full integration. From the model of individual improvement, evident not only in Washington's ideas but also in the National Association of Colored Women, Bethune became an advocate of institutional change.

There is little inwardness to Hanson's study of Bethune. This matters not just to satisfy a reader's hunger for biography but also to account for Bethune's intellectual receptiveness to ideas about social change and her ability to integrate at least parts of them into her schemes. Hanson views Bethune as a transitional figure. Formed in the nineteenth century by the dominant voice of Washington and by convictions about women's moral superiority, Bethune adapted to the twentieth century by learning to value citizenship, imagine politics as a place for women, and mobilize her race for a long struggle. This is a useful insight, but it is also one that begs for more attention to the individual who could adapt and change with such skill.

ANN D. GORDON
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ROBERT MIRALDI. *The Pen Is Mightier: The Muckraking Life of Charles Edward Russell*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xiii, 328. \$32.50.

Robert Miraldi has filled a gap in the historical literature of the muckraking era (circa 1900–1914) in American journalism history with his brisk-paced, fact-filled narrative of the life of Charles Edward Russell, an important reporter and editor of several of the period's leading reform-minded metropolitan newspapers and magazines. Miraldi seeks to set Russell in his rightful place among the pantheon of great reform journalists that included contemporaries and acquaintances Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair, and David Graham Phillips.

Very early in the volume, Miraldi states that Russell was as recognized in his time as any of the aforementioned muckrakers for his breadth of work, his elegant style, and the strength of his reform convictions. What Russell lacked, which Miraldi feels led to his being passed over by historians of muckraking, was a "signature" piece of muckraking journalism of the type published by his better-remembered peers, such as Steffens's *Shame of the Cities* (1902), Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1902), Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906), and Phillips's "Treason of the Senate" (1906).

Nevertheless, Russell's credentials as a journalist were impeccable, and they placed him at the forefront of his profession in his time. After breaking into the big-time of New York City daily journalism as a reporter with the *Commercial Advertiser*, Russell quickly established a reputation as a facile writer and a reporter who knew where to dig for the juicy scandal and corruption stories that circulation-hungry metropolitan dailies in Manhattan sought in a competition-

driven market that included more than two dozen newspapers. He was plucked from the *Advertiser* by James Gordon Bennett, Jr.'s *New York Herald*, where he distinguished himself by being one of the first reporters from the East Coast to reach flood-ravaged Johnstown, Pennsylvania. He rose to the position of city editor for the *Herald's* Brooklyn bureau, where his sharp news sense and firm guidance caught the eye of one of the nation's premier publishers, Joseph Pulitzer, who lured Russell to join the staff of the *New York World* as city editor, literally becoming third in the newspaper's chain of authority.

Before he moved on to establish a reputation as a writer for the muckraking magazines, Russell was once again lured by a major newspaper to jump into its fold, William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. Although Russell said his job with the *World* was "the best I ever had," he still left the paper when Hearst dangled a substantial salary increase before his eyes.

Russell's journalistic output was marked by what Miraldi describes as "prodigious research," which was turned into engrossing, informative, and vivid newspaper and magazine stories. His typical targets of exposure involved political and corporate corruption and the collusion between party bosses and industrial barons that comprised the staple content of the muckraking magazines. But Russell was not just a journalist, nor did he leave his political and social convictions in his desk at his office. Russell became an activist and was several times nominated for political office by the Socialist Party. He remained a member of the party until his pro-interventionist stance on World War I led to expulsion. Russell also was known for his oratory, especially as a political candidate, his love of music, and his published poetry.

Miraldi is the author of several well-regarded books on the muckraking journalists, and it is his well-deserved reputation that makes the annoying errors and misstatements that crop up in the book hard to understand. For example, in the first page and a half of the prologue, there are two glaring errors: the second sentence gives Russell's life dates as 1860–1941, but at the end of the same first paragraph is found "when he died in 1940." In addition, the footnote for the latter reference states that Russell's obituary in the *Washington Tribune*, an African-American newspaper, was published on April 26, 1901. There is a reference to a "Samuel" Medill of the *Chicago Tribune*, when it should have been Joseph Medill (p. 22). In discussing the *New York Herald*, the author refers to Bennett as "taking over the newspaper in the 1830s," when it is common knowledge that he founded the *Herald* in 1835. Such flaws, of which there are more, detract from the value of a book that brings out of the shadows an important journalistic figure from a critical time in the nation's history.

JOSEPH P. MCKERNS
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FERDINANDO FASCE. *An American Family: The Great War and Corporate Culture in America*. Translated by IAN HARVEY. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 190. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

This book by Ferdinando Fasce is a case study of industrial relations at the Scovill Manufacturing Company, a large brass manufacturer in Waterbury, Connecticut. Although it contains material on Scovill's development over the course of the nineteenth century, most of the book focuses on the tumultuous decade of the 1910s. The version under review is a fluid translation of the original Italian publication (1993), which won the Organization of American Historians' Foreign Language Book Prize.

Scovill was a specialty manufacturer of diverse products like buttons and lamps rather than a mass-production company. To achieve flexibility and quality, it relied heavily on the talents of its foremen and skilled workers. Yet by the 1910s, technological change had reduced the relative size of the skilled group and expanded the ranks of semiskilled operatives, many of them recent immigrants from Italy, Lithuania, and Russia. Like other manufacturing companies, Scovill tried simultaneously to secure the loyalty of its skilled workforce while "Americanizing" the new immigrants who labored in its dusty and dangerous brass mills. It introduced a variety of programs familiar to students of welfare capitalism, ranging from English classes to company picnics.

During World War I, Scovill became a major producer of fuses and other armaments. Its rapid wartime growth and high labor turnover forced the rationalization of its management systems. Decisions were centralized and codified, requiring additional white-collar managers and clerks. The systemization process struck hard at what historian Daniel Nelson has called "the foreman's empire," replacing it with more bureaucratic methods of hiring, selection, and payment. Again, while there is little here that is new, what is striking about Fasce's account is its long-term perspective, which allows readers to see how the insular realm of craft production was transformed by the company's increasing engagement with professional, technological, and cultural movements beyond the factory walls.

The most interesting and original parts of the book concern the intertwining of the company's and the government's labor concerns. Some of this coordination was benign, as when the company supplied data from exit interviews with departing workers to the newly established U.S. Employment Service, a novel idea that came to be known as the Waterbury Plan. A darker side of industry-government cooperation were the myriad efforts by Scovill and the government to bolster patriotism and squelch labor radicalism through intensive propaganda as well as espionage.

These efforts reached a fever pitch during the postwar Red Scare, at which time Scovill experienced two major strikes, its first since the turn of the century. Immigrant workers reacted to claims by Connecticut's

WASP establishment that they were unworthy of the "spirit of 1776" with a militant version of Americanism, in which the company's owners and managers were portrayed as undemocratic kaisers and tsars. Although they were unable to establish a permanent union, the workers received pay increases and other concessions from management. Fasce does a nice job of contrasting the workers' and management's views of each other by comparing internal company memoranda and reports from company spies to material from oral histories of former Scovill employees. The strikes shattered management's complacent belief that workers and managers comprised "an American family."

During the 1920s, the company proceeded on the trajectory established during the war. It continued to rationalize and bureaucratize its management systems. It sought to tie footloose employees more closely to the company by widening the use of seniority rules and by offering financial inducements to stability such as pensions and other "fringe" benefits. And it hired a young, Yale-educated psychologist, Millicent Pond, to help it design scientific selection tests, a move that placed Scovill in the progressive vanguard of American companies of the 1920s.

The book has some shortcomings. There is little systematic comparison of Scovill to other companies in the Naugatuck Valley or elsewhere in the nation, so one is left wondering what, if anything, was distinctive about Scovill's experience. Passing references are made to American Brass (Scovill's chief competitor) and to Ford Motor (unlike Scovill, it was a mass-production company), but opportunities for comparative analysis are not explored. The book ends rather abruptly, without conclusions or reflections, which, unfortunately, is consistent with the absence of an interpretation or thesis.

The chief virtue of this study is the deft and unpretentious way it synthesizes ideas and insights from different realms of scholarship: labor, business, immigration, and urban history are brought to bear on the Scovill situation in the 1910s. In contrast to the classic company history, where the firm is treated as a business entity and viewed solely from management's perspective, Fasce's book embeds the Scovill Company in the local community and wider society of which it was a part.

SANFORD M. JACOBY
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CHRISTOPHER M. STERBA. *Good Americans: Italian and Jewish Immigrants During the First World War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 271. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

This well-written book adds to the growing scholarship dealing with the effects of World War I on American society. Christopher M. Sterba looks at the Great War and two groups of "new immigrants": the Italians of

New Haven, Connecticut, and the Eastern European Jewish communities of New York City. Not only were these the "largest immigrant groups in their respective cities" (p. 4), but they were also associated with two specific military units: the all-Italian machine gun company and the Seventy-seventh Division. Sterba argues that their participation in the war through military and other forms of service helped to erode the cultural and political isolation experienced by these two immigrant groups before 1917 and provided a basis for their influence in the 1930s.

The two very different communities were affected by the war in different ways. The Italian population in New Haven numbered 34,000 in 1920, twenty-one percent of the city's population. The 1.5 million Jews constituted almost thirty percent of New York City's inhabitants, and almost half of the total American Jewish population. Many of the latter had their origins in the German migration of the 1840s, and often differed from later Jewish immigrants in religious outlook and economic position.

The two communities differed, too, in their responses to the war. Due to Italy's involvement in the war since 1915, the Italians in New Haven were whole-hearted supporters of America's war effort. The Jews, however, were divided. Many, embittered by the pogroms of the late nineteenth century, hoped to see Germany defeat Russia. Although backing for the Allied cause increased dramatically after the fall of the tsar in 1917, Jewish support for socialism and hostility to conscription ensured that opposition remained strong even after America had joined the conflict. As Sterba makes clear, the activities of the Jewish community helped to make New York City "America's most important center of dissent" (p. 71). Nonetheless, most Jews answered the call when drafted and, like their Italian counterparts, underwent the Americanizing experience of military service.

The seventy-five New Haven Italians who comprised the machine gun company were a mere fraction of the 3,600-strong Connecticut regiment that was, in turn, only a part of the 27,000 strong "Yankee Division" (p. 88). The New York City Jews, however, numbered some 7,000 or about twenty-five percent of the Seventy-seventh "Melting Pot" division with its Statue of Liberty insignia (p. 121). Using an impressive variety of sources ranging from military histories, memoirs, letters, questionnaires, and personal and official papers, Sterba looks at the experiences of both groups of soldiers from training through to action at the front. He admirably locates the immigrant soldiers within the context of the broader American experience: the increase in federal authority over state militias, training, and the first encounters with Europe and with the deadly realities of life in the trenches and military action. These experiences, Sterba suggests, did not induce a sense of disillusionment among immigrant soldiers but rather strengthened their sense of American identity and created a "pride and assertiveness" (p. 204) that deepened through the 1920s.

At home, too, the war served to highlight cultural pluralism as immigrant origins were emphasised as part of the American national effort. Thus, an Italian opera singer serenaded departing troops in New Haven, posters urged "By Helping the American Red Cross You are Helping Italy," and Italy-America Day was celebrated nationally on May 24, 1918, the anniversary of Italy's entry into the war. Among the Jewish population the sense of a distinct identity coincided more with loyalty to America than with countries of origin—certainly after the 1917 revolution in Russia. While Irving Berlin wrote "God Bless America" during his military training at Camp Upton, millions of dollars were raised in the third Liberty Loan drive on New York's East Side. The appearance of the Balfour Declaration in support of an independent Jewish homeland in the Middle East also helped to win many Jews to the Allied cause. Thus, for Sterba the war represented a moment when "old stock and new immigrant Americans reached a consensus" (p. 212) that, despite the period of postwar reaction, provided the foundation for their power and influence in the 1930s. If this last part of his thesis seems more a hypothesis than a sustained case, Sterba does provide a useful insight into the war's effect on these two immigrant communities.

NEIL A. WYNN
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CHARLES H. HARRIS III and LOUIS R. SADLER. *The Archaeologist Was a Spy: Sylvanus G. Morley and the Office of Naval Intelligence*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 450. \$32.50.

Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler have written a story—part biography and part institutional history—that goes beyond what the reader might expect and treats significant matters in a gripping manner. The authors use Sylvanus Morley's career as a starting point to look at the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) and the intelligence story in the United States in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

In addition to Morley, Harris and Sadler sketch partial careers of a score or more agents in the World War I and postwar eras, particularly instant ONI agents who served in the Gulf of Mexico, Central America, and Mexican areas. In fact, Morley recruited several archaeologists and numerous other people to serve as agents or subagents during 1917–1918. Morley, Charles Alexander Sheldon, a businessman, and the anthropologist Herbert Joseph Spinden worked together in the ONI for several years. Other colleague-archaeologists William Hubbs Mechley and John Alden Mason were discharged quickly for talking about their work. Morley's closest associate was the young artist and cartographer John Held, Jr. Held, the creator of the first "flapper" cartoon images, became one of the most prominent U.S. artists during the 1920s and early 1930s.

The authors repeatedly call Morley the best U.S.

ONI spy (or the best spy) in World War I (pp. xiii, 38, 315). While their thorough presentation of Morley's work over several years demonstrates that he was a diligent and productive agent, there is little of a comparative nature to sustain this superlative. Morley, various friends, acquaintances, and other scholars (mostly archaeologists) were tapped to watch for activity that might lead to resupplying German U-boats along the Mexican and isthmian coasts. When Morley found suitable personnel, he also established sub-agents to monitor German efforts to build radio stations.

Certainly Morley undertook a dramatic and perilous expedition along the coast of British Honduras and into Mexico from February until mid-June 1918. At the head of a small party, Morley cruised the Yucatán peninsula in search of rumored German activity, especially whispered support for German submarines. This expedition found no German U-boat activity in this area during World War I, but during the first half of 1942, German sympathizers in the area of the Bay Islands and the coasts of Honduras and Belize did in fact resupply and refuel German submarines.

Harris and Sadler add several examples to the story of the confidential involvement of the academic and business worlds in intelligence work. United Fruit, the Carnegie Institute, and other educational or private business entities supported several of the counter-espionage missions into Mexico and Central America. The principal mission of most undertakings was to discover any inappropriate local German involvement in the erection of radio stations or support stations for German submarines in the coastal areas from Colombia through Mexico. U.S. officials wanted each rumor checked out.

In the aftermath of the war, Franz Boas, the most prominent pre-World War I U.S. archaeologist-anthropologist, who openly sympathized with Germany in 1916, denounced those archaeologists who served as intelligence agents during the war. Boas angrily rejected them as scientists. For this stance, Boas was removed from various boards and committees and lost most of his professional influence for a decade or more. There was, however, a difference. Boas's stance was open and transparent; the academic intelligence agents were secretive and deceptive.

Despite the obvious virtues of this book, Harris and Sadler adopt some stylistic forms and habits that are inexplicable. The authors treat the origins of U.S. intelligence as rooted in the 1865 founding of the Secret Service. U.S. intelligence work began in 1789, and North Americans had been engaged in intelligence activity since about 1607. Since organized societies have resorted to organized conflict, there has been intelligence work, and this information gathering goes as far into the past as we can write history.

At times, Sadler and Harris allow their story to adjust scholarly and stylistic form. Other stylistic problems need notice. The authors claim that General John J. Pershing became upset when one of his commanders

misused intelligence that could have prevented or mitigated the losses from Pancho Villa's attack on Columbus, New Mexico, in 1916 (pp. 19–21). The footnote cites the John J. Pershing Papers at the Library of Congress, but there is no indication of box, folder, file, or even a date. Morley reported to a "Taro" [secret cover identity] at a drop box. These reports, after several traditional citations, are noted without the ONI location. This is confusing, because other sources are repeated in a traditional form that does note the specific location. The Morley reports to Taro are arguably the most important sources cited in this study.

One surprise, given this informative story and the outstanding credentials of its two senior Latin Americanist authors, is how little attention was paid to the Central American or Mexican records of U.S. intelligence work on their shores. Harris and Sadler note two books in Spanish, but no articles, official or private archival collections, no newspapers. How much might have been added to the story is unclear, but Morley and several other ONI agents spent much of two years in the region and were often engaged in relations with national and local officials. It seems that Harris and Sadler might have made this intriguing story even better. Unquestionably, however, scholars will benefit from this book for decades to come.

THOMAS SCHOONOVER
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MICHAEL WILLRICH. *City of Courts: Socializing Justice in Progressive Era Chicago*. (Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xxxix, 332. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.00.

In his introduction to a forum on the Constitution in American life, Harry Scheiber lamented the cleavages between legal and constitutional history even as he applauded the latter's renaissance (*Journal of American History* 74 [Dec 1977]: 667, 669). Twenty-five years later, those cleavages still bedevil us; at my university American legal history and American constitutional history are separate courses. Yet as Michael Willrich's well-written study demonstrates, a new generation of legal historians has begun an assault on the divide.

Willrich's study is a significant contribution to that project. Focused on the progressive reforms of Chicago's criminal court system, he ties those efforts into a larger story of constitutional theory, even as he situates the reforms in the Progressives' social agenda. In the process, he demonstrates that ideas like "socialized law," which asserted "that law purposefully reshaped society by directly addressing concrete problems of social life" (p. 98), were simultaneously theories designed to correct failings in society, and alternatives to errant constitutional doctrines (pp. 102–04).

Yet even as it engages national and constitutional debates over the state and society, this is a local study,

because to "find the state in the Progressive Era, we need to go to the local level" (p. xxvi). A virtue of that local focus is that Willrich was able to look closely at both theory and practice. To that end, his book consists of three unequal parts. The first outlines the problems that led to the transformation of Chicago's court system and the theories that undergirded efforts to convert the court system into "true laboratories of progressive justice" (p. xxvi). In the second, he considers actual practice, using a series of chapters to trace out how the ideals of socialized justice worked in four branches of Chicago's new Municipal Court. In the process, Willrich shows how ideals broke down in practice, resisted by the people brought before the courts, undermined by shifts in scientific understanding, or sacrificed to the courts' docket. In his last, briefest section, Willrich traces how the law and order agenda that marked the new reform efforts of the 1920s and 1930s responded to the perceived failings of those earlier efforts.

Willrich has woven a number of other themes into this book; two in particular suggest avenues for further research. In the opening chapter, Willrich explores the grounds for Progressive attacks on Chicago's justices of the peace, noting they rested on a combination of professionalization and hostility to "commercialized" justice (p. 14). There can be no doubt the reformers wanted to end the "justice shops," and with them the practice of paying justices of the peace through the fines and fees they collected from those who came to their courts. But why? As Willrich notes, justices of the peace, with their fee and fine-based systems, were part of a tradition that stretched back into English history. What made this longstanding process seem corrupt at the end of the nineteenth century?

It is possible that the locus of the hostility were the justices, whose lack of legal education made them an easy mark for those who favored professional training. Another possibility, which merits further research, is that hostility to the reality that justice had to be purchased (and therefore could be sold) was tied up in debates over consumer culture and consumption. The connection is certainly plausible. While most studies focus on the attention paid to consumerism and consumption at the end of the Progressive era, Chicago had a well-developed consumer culture in the late nineteenth century. Could that have helped to shape reformers' reactions to the justice shops?

Further research in another direction is invited by Willrich's discussion of the rule of law. As he notes, for all its centrality to American jurisprudence, the concept has been hard to pin down. Nowhere was this truer than in the nineteenth century, when some equated the rule of law with rights, possessive individualism, and laissez-faire economics and others associated it with the idea that known laws must be applied uniformly, pursuant to set procedures (p. 101). Willrich examines how socialized law conflicted with both these ideas and suggests that as a result of that tension

the "rule of law withered" in twentieth-century America (p. 318).

That implies, of course, that the rule of law was once robust. And Willrich argues that in the nineteenth century that was true, noting that in Chicago's "higher criminal courts" in the 1870s "due process rights were honored than with greater regularity than in the police courts" (p. 73). One wonders if this was so. Certainly the Haymarket defendants, tried in Chicago in 1886, would not agree. A detailed examination of whether the rule of law was applied by courts in the second half of the nineteenth century might provide an interesting backdrop to the debates Willrich has sketched in this study.

ELIZABETH DALE
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LAWRENCE J. NELSON. *Rumors of Indiscretion: The University of Missouri "Sex Questionnaire" Scandal in the Jazz Age*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 323. \$39.95.

In the spring of 1929, a student committee in a sociology class at the University of Missouri in Columbia mailed questionnaires to undergraduates as part of a class project. The students consulted several members of the faculty about the questionnaire, and Harmon O. DeGraff, who taught the course, and Max F. Meyer, a distinguished professor of psychology, signed off on it. In order to save the students money, Meyer let them use surplus envelopes from the defunct Bureau of Personnel Research. When a local newspaper editor got hold of the questionnaire, he blasted it and the university and demanded an inquiry. Before the university's governing body of curators finished, they had fired DeGraff and suspended Meyer for a year. (He never resumed his teaching post, however, at Missouri.) Orval Hobart Mowrer, the undergraduate principally responsible for the questionnaire, withdrew from the university without receiving his degree. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) launched a full-scale investigation of academic freedom violations at Missouri. Within a year the curators fired university president, Stratton D. Brooks.

What was it all about? As Lawrence J. Nelson informs us, the questionnaire's most controversial aspects concerned the sexual attitudes and behaviors of female students. One dealt with the likely impact of infidelity by a fiancé or husband or a close female friend; another asked about the sources of individual sexual restraint, sex play in childhood, and posed the direct question: "Since sexual maturity, have you ever engaged in specific sexual relations?" The questionnaire contained a complex question eliciting student views of trial marriage and divorce by mutual consent. All of this was prefaced by a statement that there was "something seriously wrong with the traditional system of marriage in this country."

To tell the story of the questionnaire, the reaction it

provoked, and the controversy that followed requires Nelson to develop a number of different narratives. He relates the story of the University of Missouri, focusing on its rise during the presidency (1891–1908) of Richard Henry Jesse, who hired the great “men” of the faculty, and its decline under Brooks (1923–1930). He offers individual biographies of the principal actors and many bit players in the questionnaire scandal. He gives an interesting and useful account of the AAUP at an important moment in its history, as it worked to establish principles to govern conflicts between administrators and professors. Finally, he takes on the subject of the questionnaire: the changes in sexual attitudes and practices among young people in the 1920s.

The book is well researched and richly detailed. It reveals complicated institutional and personal histories, conflicts over values, and important data about sexual attitudes. Unfortunately, Nelson tells the story in an often confusing way. Because he relies on the various investigations of the sex questionnaire to move the story along, critical pieces of information come late in the book. For example, what emerges by dribs and drabs is that the university and the region suffered the influence of the Ku Klux Klan. At key moments, including the 1923 lynching of a black university custodian, the university failed to defend its own. Prior to the questionnaire, Meyer had been under close presidential scrutiny for a sex education lecture given to the women—largely future social workers—in his social psychology class. In such a climate, the freedom to teach and engage in research was under constant threat. Despite the inherent interest in the data, including verbatim testimony from the investigations, letters, and newspaper editorials, Nelson does not provide adequate analysis to convey continuities or changes in the sexual discussion. Instead, statements and actions are typically subjected to the author’s moral and political judgments. While his concern seems to be making a distinction between a disliked but undefined Victorianism and a respected traditionalism, the voices Nelson quotes focus on something quite different: the competing values of sexual ignorance and sexual knowledge and the relation of the latter to behavior. What seems really at issue in both the questionnaire and Meyer’s lecture are conflicting judgments about the appropriateness of sexual education for unmarried women, accompanied by fears on the part of some that sexual knowledge leads to unbridled lust.

These caveats aside, Nelson has made an important contribution by bringing the questionnaire and the controversy it evoked to light. Those interested in higher education and academic freedom will find the thorough treatment of the AAUP investigation particularly valuable.

HELEN LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ
Smith College

CATHERINE TURNER. *Marketing Modernism Between the Two World Wars*. (Studies in Print Culture and History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 256. \$39.95.

In her study of the advertising methods employed by five different American publishers to promote works of literary modernism, Catherine Turner relates an absorbing account of the melding of commercialism and “high culture” that questions current constructions of highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow culture. Her analysis further challenges the popular belief that modernist writers eschewed consumer culture to produce art independent of the marketplace. Turner contends that modernist writers occupied a position in American culture that both depended on and participated in modern consumer culture. She argues her position effectively through a close analysis of publisher advertisements that promoted the works of the modernists in the interwar period. Her analysis unveils a complex relationship between publishers, modernist writers, and their markets that, in Turner’s words, “calls into question simple assumptions that consumers in the United States bought and read books according to their ‘brow’ levels” (p. 3). Skillful marketing of modernists’ writings, Turner argues, transformed them from “highbrow” culture palatable only to a select few into “quality” literature supported by a substantial American market. Concurrently, this marketing defined and explained modernism for the American public.

Turner’s clearly written account relies heavily on archival sources to explore the marketing strategies of five publishers: B. W. Huebsch, Alfred Knopf, Harcourt Brace and Company, Charles Scribner’s Sons, and Random House. After a discussion of the tentative advertising employed by B. W. Huebsch, who believed his modernist authors D. H. Lawrence and Sherwood Anderson could only reach a small, self-professed “highbrow” audience, Turner shows how the next generation of publishers saw modernist works as marketable commodities with potentially large audiences. They employed advertising techniques successfully used in other industries to highlight the commercial appeal of modernist writers and to help shape Americans’ perceptions of modernism. Alfred Knopf presented Thomas Mann as the “world’s greatest author,” whose epic length novels were as accessible to average readers as titles by popular authors Romain Rolland and John Galsworthy. Alfred Harcourt drew on nationalist pride to present avant-garde authors such as Gertrude Stein and John Dos Passos as distinctly American writers engaged in creating “novels of ideas” that could offer their fellow Americans insights into the modern world. Scribner’s used its advertising to reshape readers’ concepts of quality literature to accommodate Hemingway’s style and thus expand the market for his novels. Turner concludes with an engaging discussion of how Random House presented James Joyce’s *Ulysses* as an easily accessible text

containing a rousing good tale (most notably in a flyer titled "How to Enjoy James Joyce's Great Novel *Ulysses*") while exploiting the novel's legal notoriety to make it a bestseller. According to Turner, the sales figures for *Ulysses* exemplify the power publishers' advertising had in parlaying "arts' sacred value into secular, commercial culture" (p. 173).

Although she provides an extended discussion of a circular distributed by Random House to booksellers to promote Joyce, and she delves into the book jacket designs for Ernest Hemingway's novels, Turner concentrates her study on advertisements placed in literary and popular magazines. Her limited focus allows for a direct comparison of the rhetorical strategies employed by various publishers, but it leaves important innovations used in the 1920s and 1930s to attract a new and larger book buying public largely unexplored. This is perhaps most noticeable in the omission of any discussion of an extremely intriguing image that graces the book jacket: pictured is a cigarette lighter designed to be a replica of a copy of Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*, presumably distributed by Charles Scribner's Sons to promote the novel. The interwar period saw an increase in publishers' awareness that books could be promoted with a myriad of techniques: they distributed posters to booksellers, sponsored contests to draw attention to their wares, exploited popular radio programs, experimented with movie tie-ins, and made book launching parties commonplace. Greater attention to these marketing innovations would have provided a richer analysis of the relationship between literary modernism and publishers' commercial zeal that Turner so intriguingly brings to light.

Its limited scope, while frustrating at times, does not take away from the importance and originality of this book. Turner's astute and accessible analysis of book advertising and its role in defining and selling modernism is important to historians of the book, literary critics, and anyone interested in the positioning of the field of cultural production between the world wars.

JAY SATTERFIELD
University of Chicago

JAY SATTERFIELD. *The World's Best Book: Taste, Culture, and the Modern Library*. (Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 240. \$29.95.

The Modern Library was America's most important series of reprinted books in the first half of the twentieth century. Created in 1917, the series offered affordably priced, well-produced editions of classic literature together with the best of contemporary writing. It combined aggressive marketing with a carefully chosen list that grew from a dozen initial titles, including *Treasure Island* and *Thus Spake Zarathustra* to over two hundred, ranging from *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* and from *The Iliad* to *Ulysses*. At its peak success in the 1920s and 1930s, profits from the

series helped to finance the founding of Random House, and its vast reach marked a milestone in the popularizing of serious literature.

Jay Satterfield is interested in the Modern Library because of its unique status among efforts to popularize literature and knowledge in the interwar decades. Many programs associated with the developing "middlebrow culture" of the twentieth century drew the scorn of critics, most prominently the Book-of-the-Month Club. Intellectual arbiters maintained that "culture," in Matthew Arnold's sense of the term as "the best that has been thought and said," could not be squared with "commerce." If books were treated as commodities and book buying became just another sensation-filled consumer exercise, they said, literature would be vulgarized. The Modern Library, however, managed at once to popularize great books, forward literary modernism, and win praise as a "cultural triumph," all the while making money.

The key to its success, Satterfield finds, lay in a series of shrewd marketing decisions and insightful business plans pursued by successive publishers. Albert Boni and Horace Liveright founded the Modern Library and, despite their avant-garde artistic tastes and socialist political convictions, they aimed their product for the mainstream and made their business a model of consumer capitalism. The Modern Library escaped the taint of lucre by positioning and promoting itself as a cutting-edge, elevated aesthetic institution. Beginning with Boni and Liveright and continuing with new owners Bennett Cerf and Donald Klopfer after 1925, Modern Library titles were selected carefully to present an overall effect of new thinking and modernity. Great attention was paid, as well, to the appearance of each volume, with designs and illustrations solicited from world-renowned artists. The books were advertised as a luxury good and were presented in bookstores and the nation's best department stores with dignified aplomb. The publishers were primarily concerned with selling books, but their method was to deliver an impression of intellectual enrichment and "class."

Satterfield traces the development of the Modern Library clearly and cogently. His careful prose and solid analysis make for pleasant reading. A chapter on the evolving design of the Modern Library, in particular, is a wonderful set piece. With such an accomplished accounting of the founding and development of the series, I hope Satterfield does much more with the topic in further work. Specifically, with the supply side of the great books business understood, how does he interpret the demand side of the transaction? Who were the readers of the Modern Library and why did they choose this series? How did their decisions affect the product?

I raise these questions not to suggest Satterfield should have written another kind of book but rather to urge that he explore all the implications of the "taste" and "culture" of his subtitle. The publishers of the Modern Library were involved in a complex cultural

exchange, choosing titles, book designs, and marketing strategies with one eye toward the literati and the other on the far more amorphous body of potential book buyers. Satterfield ably examines how the critics' elevated tastes and Arnoldian expectations of uplifting "culture" were addressed in the series. But for the sake of the bottom line, satisfying the taste of readers had to be a more immediate concern. What sold these books? Topics? Appearance? Reputation? Who was the typical Modern Library book buyer? What did the publishers recognize (or guess) about the interests of those potential buyers that created sales? Here, considering "culture" in its anthropological or semiotic sense as a shared system of symbols could open whole new aspects of the Modern Library's significance, and a clear-minded scholar like Satterfield could teach us yet more.

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AMY KAPLAN. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. (Convergences: Inventories of the Present.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. 260. \$35.00.

The idea of the United States as an imperial nation has gained much popular purchase over the last two years. This understanding flies in the face of the Cold War conviction that, in contrast to the "Evil Empire," the United States has always stood for freedom; that empire might be a sordid part of our Western European allies' histories but is not a concept that can be applied to the United States. Although diplomatic historians such as William Appleman Williams and historians of the U.S. West and ethnic studies have worked to counter the myth of U.S. imperial innocence, imperial denial has persisted, both within and beyond the academy.

Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease's co-edited anthology, *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (1993), made a landmark contribution to the post-Cold War struggle against U.S. imperial denial. In her introduction to that book, Kaplan admonished Americanists to consider culture in their histories of imperialism, recognize the significance of empire in their studies of culture, and wake up to postcolonial scholarship. In this book, Kaplan speaks more fully to the movement that she helped precipitate. Indeed, this collection of essays can be seen as Kaplan's reply to her own call. To elucidate the imperial dimensions of U.S. culture, Kaplan takes her readers through a range of authors and genres. Some of her subjects—including Theodore Roosevelt and W. E. B. Du Bois—come as no surprise in a book on empire; others—including Catherine Beecher and Sarah Josepha Hale—are more startling. But even her treatment of the usual suspects is illuminating: her chapter on Du Bois, for example, focuses on one of his lesser-known works, *Darkwater* (1920), and it goes beyond Du Bois's condemnation of U.S.

imperialism to argue that he used the framework of empire to "recenter his own international authority" (p. 21).

As a literary scholar, Kaplan excels in providing close readings, but she is well attuned to larger historical and historiographical contexts. She starts in the mid-nineteenth century and continues into the mid-twentieth century in order to position 1898 as a middle point rather than an exception. Her chronological and textual reach enables her to elucidate some of the different inflections empire has had. In some moments, it was understood as more territorial, in others, as more abstract; some texts acknowledged it outright, others disavowed it as something foreign to the United States.

Each of the book's six chapters stands on its own, but all are loosely linked by several themes. Foremost among them is the anarchy of empire mentioned in the title, a term borrowed from Du Bois, who used it to refer to the violence and destruction of colonial domination. Kaplan takes the phrase further, to mean "the breakdown or defiance of the monolithic system of order that empire aspires to impose on the world, an order reliant on clear divisions between metropolis and colony, colonizer and colonized, national and international spaces, the domestic and the foreign" (p. 12). Kaplan argues for the fragility of these divisions by showing, for example, that the "discourse of domesticity was intimately intertwined with the discourse of Manifest Destiny in antebellum U.S. culture" (p. 24) and by discussing how African-American soldiers serving in Cuba in 1898 "troubled the clear racial divisions between colonizer and colonized and the assumed affiliations between race and nationhood" (p. 20). Like other postcolonialists, Kaplan would have us understand empire more as a matter of contention than hegemony and as something that transformed the supposed metropole as well as the presumed colonies.

Kaplan's efforts to blur the boundaries between "home" and "away" contribute to a second major theme: the international constitution of national identity. Through a careful reading of Mark Twain's account of his 1866 trip to Hawaii, she argues that this quintessential American writer came to his Americanness via the Pacific. Her chapter on the early U.S. motion picture industry maintains that spectacles of empire contributed to its ascendancy; her chapter on romance fiction in the 1890s finds that it divorced U.S. power from territorial expansion and relocated it in the bodies of white American men, thereby making these men icons of empire as well as the nation.

As these examples suggest, a third and absolutely essential theme that runs through the essays is race. Kaplan emphasizes the roles of continental expansion and overseas empire in shaping domestic racial politics. She pays close attention to ways in which representations of U.S. imperialism became entangled with issues of slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow segregation.

Some of the essays in this book have appeared in

shorter form elsewhere, but the fuller versions included in this collection incorporate more recent scholarship. They reveal some new directions in Kaplan's thinking and some tinkering with her narrative strategies. All but the most obdurate deniers of U.S. empire will find this book a powerful introduction to the imperial dimensions of U.S. culture. And those who are already committed to this line of analysis will appreciate the trenchant and nuanced readings Kaplan provides.

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BENJAMIN L. ALPERS. *Dictators, Democracy, & American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s-1950s*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. x, 405. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

The theory of totalitarianism is usually associated with Cold War scholarship and Hannah Arendt's attempts to link together the analysis of Soviet and Nazi dictatorships. Benjamin L. Alpers reminds us that the theory and the term have, in fact, a longer history. Curiously enough, in the 1920s the term dictator was not entirely derogatory. Americans were fascinated by the machismo of Benito Mussolini; car manufacturer Studebaker called its 1927 model the "Dictator;" Hollywood producer Harry Cohn sympathetically portrayed the Italian *uomo forte* in *Mussolini Speaks* (1933). Throughout the 1930s, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was often seen as a benevolent dictator, although Roosevelt himself always resented the suggestion. While the president's adversaries feared the possibility of totalitarian New Dealism, some of FDR's supporters had no such qualms. Thus, liberal Hollywood mogul Walter Wanger and the other "cultural producers" (Alpers's term) of *Gabriel over the White House* (1933) imagined a FDR lookalike, president Judson C. "Judd" Hammond, assuming almost dictatorial powers and bringing peace to the country and the world.

As Adolf Hitler came to power and the tragedy of the 1930s unfolded, admiration for dictatorship waned, and some American intellectuals began to use the term totalitarianism to describe the regimes in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Alpers makes a good case that Duke University economist Calvin B. Hoover was one of the first to apply the term to qualify both regimes. More precise than dictatorship and far less positive than collectivism, in the second half of the 1930s "totalitarianism" was often employed by members of the anti-Stalinist Left who appreciated the term's ability to connect Nazi and Communist dictatorships. For the same reason, the term was not fashionable among the intellectuals who belonged to the ranks of the Popular Front and were, overall, more sympathetic to the Soviet system. The term's popularity did not increase during World War II. The theory of totalitarianism fit well the Nazi-Soviet pact of August

1939, but the German invasion of Russia in June 1941 and American entry into the war on the side of the Soviets made it unwelcome in American intellectual and diplomatic circles. The theory of totalitarianism came into its own in the years following the war when the Soviet regime replaced the Nazi regime as the *ur-dictatorship*. In his final chapter, Alpers lucidly describes not only the work of the "usual suspects" in the theorization and representation of totalitarianism such as Arendt and George Orwell but also their "pessimistic precursors" (p. 255) like James Burnham and Joseph Schumpeter, who saw totalitarianism not just as the defining characteristic of Soviet and Nazi societies but also as an aspect of possible American futures.

Alpers has made visible an important aspect of American intellectual history in the twentieth century. Perhaps he has also made his story both less and more central to American intellectual history than it really was. On the one hand, concern with dictatorship was not invented in the twentieth century but had animated debates about possible futures of the United States since the American Revolution. On the other hand, the detailed narrative of this book obscures the fact that before 1947 the supporters of the theory of totalitarianism were few and not particularly influential. Its intellectual acumen notwithstanding, *Partisan Review* was a minority within the American leftist intelligentsia in the late 1930s, and some of its constituency left the fold during World War II. Perhaps these intellectuals did not care. As Alpers suggests in some of his most penetrating pages, the theory of totalitarianism is often pervaded by a genuine distrust for the masses and "a generalized suspicion of popular political activity" (p. 302).

This book has a commendable wingspan. Alpers dedicates as many pages to Arendt's *The Origin of Totalitarianism* (1951) as to Frank Capra's *Meet John Doe* (1941). This makes sense, since they are both cultural products and the latter was as influential as the former—and perhaps more. Alpers is more at ease with the printed word than with the moving image, and his grasp of Hollywood history is not particularly impressive (Capra's screenwriter, Sidney Buchman, was hardly a "mainstream liberal" [p. 114]. He was attacked by House UnAmerican Activities Committee and blacklisted). Indeed, Alpers's analysis of Hollywood films does not examine the cultural and political negotiations accompanying their production, and it rarely goes beyond the plot synopses. This, however, should not distract us from his book's innovative methodology, which convincingly delineates an exciting intellectual history that has Orson Welles and Charlie Chaplin converse with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Joseph Schumpeter.

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NEIL SMITH. *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*. (California Studies in Critical Human Geography, number 9.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xxvii, 557. \$39.95.

Neil Smith has written a complex work defying easy classification. On the surface, it presents a biography of Isaiah Bowman, the most prominent American geographer—and one of the most important political actors—of the twentieth century. Yet Bowman's name does not appear in the book's title, and for good reason. Smith details Bowman's career not as an end in itself but rather to explore the "hidden geography" of the globalizing reach of the United States. A subsidiary story examines the decline of American academic geography, a failure that can be partially blamed on Bowman himself. The book's tone is somewhat tragic. Bowman's grand designs for American power were frustrated or stillborn, his beloved discipline of geography began to collapse around him, and his very name was virtually erased from the country's collective psyche. Herein lies a mystery: how could such a pivotal figure of the American Century have been essentially forgotten within a decade of his death in 1950?

Despite its larger purposes, this book is structured as a conventional biography. The story begins with Bowman's transition from a humble childhood to college at Harvard and then graduate study and an instructorship, punctuated by research expeditions to the Andes, at Yale. Leaving academia, Bowman took over the reins of the American Geographical Society (AGS) in 1915, transforming it from a quiet club into an influential research institute. His efforts quickly bore fruit when the AGS served as the think tank primarily responsible for crafting the American position on the post-World War I settlement. Bowman had been Woodrow Wilson's geographer, in other words, long before he became Franklin Delano Roosevelt's.

In the 1920s, Bowman returned to more traditional academic pursuits, focusing his efforts on a quixotic attempt to map out future zones of agricultural pioneering. The late 1930s and early 1940s, however, saw his return to the core circles of American power. Bowman was a founding member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a key figure in the establishment of the National Science Foundation. He also coordinated U.S. planning for the resettlement of European refugees; owing in part to Bowman's caution, antisemitism, and anti-urban mindset, however, this proved a dismal failure. Assuming the presidency of Johns Hopkins University, Bowman effectively harnessed the school's resources to the war effort. Most important, he served as one of the key architects of the United Nations.

Smith's main thesis is that the new American empire of the twentieth century was constructed on the basis of a novel geography that concealed its own nature while obscuring the imperialistic goals of U.S. foreign policy. Whereas previous empires had been based on

dominion over discrete territories, the American imperialism was founded on a nationalistic internationalism that pried open spaces all across the planet for exploitation and sly control. For Bowman, the chief designer of this new economic geopolitics, the unstated goal was to ensure the availability of an "American economic *lebensraum*." Ironically, the same movement generated a public anti-geography of placeless globalization, where technology supposedly conquered distance. Yet as American academic geography correspondingly withered, technical forms of geographical knowledge became, by necessity, deeply institutionalized in the U.S. military.

Bowman's brilliant career ultimately proved a failure, undercut by his authoritarian personality, bigotry, and dogmatism. One could argue much the same in regard to this book. It is beautifully written, skillfully argued, and painstakingly researched volume, and it must rank as one of the key contributions to the study of American geographical thought and political history. Yet it is undermined by its author's ideological commitments. While Smith rightfully dismantles the notion of American geopolitical innocence, he substitutes for it an unwarranted metanarrative of Soviet (and, more generally, Marxian revolutionary) benignity. In Smith's Cold War vision, the United States was always the vile aggressor. When he does finally admit that Joseph Stalin killed many thousands (p. 425)—an estimate inaccurate by several orders of magnitude—one hardly knows whether to laugh or cry. Similarly, Smith's animus against Bowman, although usually constrained, sometimes leads him astray, as in his poorly informed discussion of Bowman's role in the controversy over Robert Peary's claim to have reached the North Pole. Finally, the book's cartography is embarrassing: on one map, Upper Silesia seems to cover a third of Germany; on another, the Tigris is depicted as having captured the upper Euphrates; and on a third, interwar Poland is shown as having swallowed Lithuania. Such careless mapping in such an important book is yet more evidence of the decline in geographical scholarship that has marked the American ascendancy.

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DAVIS W. HOUCK and AMOS KIEWE. *FDR's Body Politics: The Rhetoric of Disability*. (Presidential Rhetoric Series, number 8.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 141. \$32.95.

Davis W. Houck and Amos Kiewe, both rhetoricians, trace Franklin D. Roosevelt's management of perceptions of his disability from his 1921 illness to his 1932 presidential election. Their analysis rests on the important distinction between impairment, a physical condition, and disability, a cultural construction of impairment's meaning. Responding to cultural assumptions, FDR concealed his full condition from the media, the public, and even family members. For years,

he, his political advisers, and his physicians predicted significant, even complete, recovery of the use of his legs. Shortly after FDR's illness, one doctor declared that he would "not be crippled" (p. 24). More than a medical assessment, this assured that he would retain a socially valid identity and thus a politically viable career. As important, FDR used claims about his physical progress to time his political reentry. During these years, he educated himself on issues and built a national network of political contacts, while staving off pressures to run for office until a propitious moment. Meanwhile, he established an image of not just physical and mental fitness but also vigor and indomitability. By his 1928 run for New York's governorship, he was being talked of for the presidency.

Nonetheless, during his gubernatorial and presidential campaigns FDR had to confront social prejudices about "cripples" and "whispering" campaigns of his physical and mental incapacitation. He developed a visual rhetoric that presented him walking, campaigning tirelessly, and traveling extensively by automobile, train, and airplane. His complementary verbal rhetoric used irony to refute Republican "sympathy" for "this unfortunate invalid," while calling audiences' attention to his physical huskiness and strenuous campaigning (p. 46). This rhetoric also refigured him as more rather than less qualified for leadership. During the 1932 campaign, he portrayed his opponents as sickly and himself as not just healthy but better equipped to guide to recovery a nation prostrated by the depression. Exhorting listeners to reject fear and have faith, he declared that the country needed and demanded "bold, persistent experimentation" backed by "enthusiasm, imagination and the ability to face facts, even unpleasant ones, bravely" (p. 84–85). He did not need to mention his own disability for voters to connect his political prescriptions with his personal, widely reported campaign of physical rehabilitation. Finally, FDR's rhetoric implicitly countered notions that disability had demasculinized him by presenting him as in control, while explicitly telling women voters that his disability experience had engendered greater empathy for ordinary people's struggles.

Many observers perceived FDR's disability experience through a moralistic understanding of "suffering" as making or breaking personal character. Will Durant described him as "a man softened and cleansed and illuminated with pain" (p. 41). Houck and Kiewe overlook that FDR's performance combined this traditional transfiguring triumph over adversity through force of will with modern medical rehabilitation to produce a persona of "overcoming." This mode of public self-presentation and stigma management would shape the social careers of millions of people with disabilities.

The authors argue that FDR's disability experience transformed his political values. For example, his 1929 inaugural address as governor outlined a progressive agenda in terms of life in an interdependent world. "For it is literally true," he proclaimed, "that the

'self-supporting' man or woman has become extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved" (p. 52). If this interpretation is correct, the historically significant, disability-based shift in values demands more extensive exploration.

Unfortunately some distorting cultural assumptions impair this analysis. Describing FDR's post-polio ambulation, the authors put the word "walking" in quotation marks, as though movement with leg braces, crutches, and canes is not real walking (pp. 27, 62, 97, 115). They describe his campaign's coordinated responses to media stories about his health as seeking "to correct 'false' impressions," again putting the key word in quotation marks as though to question it (p. 58). In fact, many reports were false and prejudicial. The authors assert that FDR portrayed his body as "apparently healthy" (p. 50). In fact, although FDR minimized the paralysis of his legs, his general condition in this period was robust. Finally, the authors, like many of FDR's contemporaries, implicitly confound impairment with illness or sickliness, an equation that FDR's "rhetoric of disability" refuted. One newspaper captured both his physical condition and his rhetorical message: "Hundreds of thousands have seen the figure of this lame man with the torso of an athlete . . . whose abounding vitality have made the whispers of his crippled and invalid condition barely audible" (p. 109). This book's shortcomings demonstrate the entrenched power of cultural constructions of disability, while its many insights show the value of a disability studies approach for historical analysis.

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LOUIS FISHER. *Nazi Saboteurs on Trial: A Military Tribunal and American Law*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xi, 193. \$29.95.

Louis Fisher has provided a well-written, timely history of what was popularly known as "The Case of the Nazi Saboteurs." In June 1942, eight German would-be saboteurs landed by submarine on the Long Island and Florida shores. One of their leaders promptly betrayed the mission, and all were quickly rounded up. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, outraged at their audacity, was determined that they be executed expeditiously. Six were electrocuted (the remaining two were sentenced to life terms in prison), but not until the United States Supreme Court had passed on the legitimacy of their trial by a military commission. Its decision, *Ex parte Quirin* (1942), largely forgotten until recently, has suddenly been catapulted into public debate by passage of the Patriot Act.

Fisher organizes his treatment into four sections. First, he recounts the story of the saboteurs and their misadventures in Germany and America. (A lawyer who was involved in their appeal described them as "a lumpenproletariat of slovenly and quarrelsome misfits who, if they had eluded capture, might well have blown

up themselves rather than their designated targets.”) Next, he describes their trial before a military commission (a panel of army generals) for violation of the statutory Articles of War and the unwritten law of war. Then, in the heart of the book, he traces their arguments before the United States Supreme Court challenging the legitimacy of trying them by military commission. Finally, Fisher sketches the subsequent eclipse and unexpected revival of *Quirin* in our times, particularly its recrudescence as the basis for the Bush administration’s authorization of military tribunals to try those who assisted the terrorists of September 11, 2001. Attorney-General John Ashcroft’s judgment that “foreign terrorists . . . do not deserve the protection of the American Constitution” traces its lineage back to *Quirin*.

The Germans’ petition raised momentous questions. Could they seek a writ of habeas corpus to test the legality of their trial? The Court held that they could (an issue that resonates today) but disappointed them on all other points they raised. It upheld the constitutionality of FDR’s proclamation denying them access to civil courts. This diminished the authority of the Civil War precedent, *Ex parte Milligan* (1866), which had held that a civilian paramilitary cannot be tried by a military commission outside the theater of war when the civil courts are open and functioning. The Court’s denial also implicitly upheld an immense extension of presidential war powers, anticipated by the appalling dicta of Justice George Sutherland in *United States v. Macintosh* (1931) and *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.* (1936). It circumvented Chief Justice John Marshall’s stringent requirements for treason convictions (at least one of the defendants was or had been an American citizen). It ignored FDR’s dilution of procedural guarantees of fairness provided by the Articles of War (which in any event may have been applicable only to American military personnel tried by courts martial).

Fisher offers this book as the prelude to his forthcoming study of military tribunals throughout American history. He has written a dozen books on the separation of powers, his specialty, and this background informs his approach to the saboteurs’ appeal. Fisher’s book will find its most apt use as assigned supplementary reading in college-level courses in public law and constitutional history. It is not a part of the University Press of Kansas’s invaluable “Landmark Law Cases and American Society” series, but in content and approach it resembles the twenty-plus volumes that have already appeared in that series. Unlike those volumes, however, Fisher’s book has footnotes (and a tip of the reviewer’s hat to the press for putting them at the bottom of the page, rather than as endnotes inconveniently stuck at the back of the volume). University Press of Kansas provides an invaluable service to college and law school teachers in publishing books in the “Landmark” series and related volumes like this one.

Fisher’s study also belongs in all research, university,

and general libraries because of its value in providing the American people with historical background enabling them to evaluate the reappearance of military commissions. It will inform policy debates today not just on military commissions, but on the scope of presidential power and the role of courts in protecting civil liberties.

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PETER J. WESTWICK. *The National Labs: Science in an American System, 1947–1974*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 403. \$49.95.

Even before the United States entered World War II, scientists at select universities across the country had begun efforts to understand the implications of nuclear fusion. Soon these efforts were concentrated at four campuses—Columbia, Chicago, Princeton, and Berkeley—under the auspices of the federal Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD). Created in 1941, the OSRD, and subsequently the Manhattan Project, laid the foundation for what were to become the national labs. Initially made up of Argonne, Brookhaven, and Oak Ridge, and focusing on nuclear and high energy physics, this lab system had a profound impact on the organization and substance of science in the United States during roughly the quarter of a century after World War II.

After the war and under the auspices of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), the national labs constituted the early heart of “big science”—expensive, capital and labor-intensive, multidisciplinary research. An organizational innovation, these were hybrid entities: officially federal facilities, their operation was contracted variously to industrial firms, individual universities, and university consortia. The labs were hybrid also in the composition of their users. Each had massive staffs, including scientists, who used the extensive research equipment, but in addition, the labs were intended to provide resources unavailable elsewhere for visiting academic researchers.

The national labs shaped an array of scientific fields, including high-energy physics, solid-state physics, material science, nuclear medicine, and radiobiology. Lab scientists developed crucial research tools, including radioisotopes, research reactors, and particle accelerators, and affected our understanding of the structure of matter, the process of photosynthesis, chemical elements, and human metabolism.

While there are a number of monographs on individual national labs, Peter J. Westwick’s new book is the first full-length study of the national labs collectively. By looking at the national labs as a system, Westwick enriches our understanding of the characteristics of individual labs but also captures their interdependence. Especially attentive to the ways in which the national labs were shaped by the larger environment in which they developed, Westwick stresses three ongoing tensions in the history of the national lab system:

competition and cooperation, centralization and dispersion, and basic and applied research.

To a degree, cooperation was enforced by the classified nature of much national lab research which, according to Westwick, bound system scientists together and "provided the communication necessary to sustain systemicity" (p. 74). The labs sponsored internal conferences and publications and established interlocking advisory committees. Substantively, scientists across labs cooperated as well. Thus, for example, Brookhaven chemists initiated an effort to produce heavy water at the request of Argonne and Oak Ridge. At the same time, finite, if lavish, budgets meant that the labs fought over funds to build accelerators and reactors. In turn, these struggles led to differentiation, with labs promoting distinctive designs and different purposes for equipment they hoped to build.

On the matter of balancing basic and applied science, the national labs arose out of the war and thus the struggle for national nuclear dominance. This ongoing struggle pushed the labs in the direction of applied work. At the same time, the ideological struggle between the U.S. and USSR justified support for basic research. The achievements of research undertaken, for example, using national lab accelerators provided a boost to American scientific standing. At a more practical level, government science administrators advocated practices that would keep scientists "on tap" to meet urgent national technical needs. An important way to do this was to hire scientists to undertake the kind of autonomous curiosity-driven research they preferred.

If this book has faults, they are relatively minor. There are times in Westwick's study where a word substitutes for an explanation of an important policy outcome or strategic decision. Thus, for example, we are told that the AEC "repelled" the Bureau of the Budget's efforts to assign all basic research to the National Science Foundation (NSF). Significantly, however, we are not told why the AEC had this capacity. And although I am asking for more thorough explanations in cases like AEC/NSF dispute, as I read the book, I sometimes lost the sense of the national labs as a system in the minutiae with which Westwick describes certain experiments and episodes. These shortcomings notwithstanding, Westwick has produced a meticulously researched volume, and he makes an important contribution to the literature on the history of postwar science.

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GEORGE COTKIN. *Existential America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 359. \$39.95.

George Cotkin argues that existentialism, if not as American as a slice of warm apple pie, holds at least as much of a place in the national intellectual tradition as cold vanilla ice cream served on the same plate. French

existentialists commenting around 1950 held a different view. Jean-Paul Sartre and his "fellow travelers" Simone de Beauvoir and Albert Camus saw Americans as filled with confidence, materialism, and optimism; they found a dearth of any sense of pessimism, of sin, or of anguish that might provide the necessary foundation for an existential stance (p. 2). In their haste to judge the United States, these French onlookers simply failed to recognize the dark side, Cotkin avers, for the image of an American culture without anguish is absurd. Believing that death and despair loom as large in the American consciousness as optimism, Cotkin shapes his work around the "possibility—nay, the reality—of an existential awareness at the center of the American experience" (p. 6).

The American existential line of thought, in Cotkin's argument, develops in the ideas of Jonathan Edwards and Herman Melville, Abraham Lincoln and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Emily Dickinson and William James, Edward Hopper and Walter Lippmann. Within this tradition, experience with chaos and awareness of death lead to a confrontation with despair and deepens the sense of moral responsibility. Yet in the American style of the existential, as Cotkin would have it, anguish serves as a spur to commitment and to action. This claim of a positive twist—the potential for a happy ending in American existential thought—proves a key to understanding the larger shape of the argument.

Cotkin gives due attention to the influence of Søren Kierkegaard's ideas as his works were translated and interpreted for Americans in the 1930s and 1940s, yet in both religious and secular forms Cotkin finds responses to Kierkegaard's ideas imbued with "passivity and conservatism" (p. 87). Although Cotkin does not quite say so, he thus places those who embrace Kierkegaardian forms of existential thought outside the tradition he has defined as characteristically American. French existential ideas coming into vogue after World War II offer different possibilities. Cotkin takes pains to explore the limits of these ideas as well as their attractions, the choices made by Sartre and Beauvoir in particular that helped limit their appeal for Americans, and the reasons why some American intellectuals might resist celebration of these new and rather presumptuous Europeans. The argument assumes greater dominance of the New York intellectuals after the war than probably existed and relies too much on individuals as representative, yet it explores well the cultural and political dynamics at work as Americans and French eyed each other warily. Whatever the reservations in some quarters, scholars were framing a new canon of existential ideas by the 1950s, one that generally embedded a German philosophical tradition beneath French ideas and ignored American thinkers. In altering that view for the next generation, Hazel E. Barnes emerges for Cotkin as a prime contributor who "pushed the Germans aside," made room for Beauvoir and Camus as well as Sartre, and emphasized the "optimistic aspects" of existentialism (pp. 151–52).

Substantive discussions of Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, Norman Mailer, and Robert Frank explore varying (and often partial) applications of existential ideas. Cotkin's argument dispenses reasoned analysis and judgment while seeming to live in anticipation of getting to the 1960s and beyond. In a final section, claims for an American version of existentialism gather purpose. Cotkin gives central place to the influence of Camus on the student movement of the 1960s, emphasizing the desire to be neither victim nor executioner, the awareness of how means are entwined with ends, and the commitment in the face of absurdity to positive action. Indeed, Cotkin asserts that "the achievements of the sixties generation," including those of the women's movement, "emerged in large part out of their grappling with existential issues and writers" (p. 7). Moreover, for Cotkin, existential ideas make a "special claim" for attention in the present, offering the chance in a brutal world "to erect a sculpture of human possibility, albeit out of the ashes of despair" (pp. 283–84). In the end, Cotkin's argument seeks to associate existential ideas, properly handled, with progressive politics. His identification of a characteristically American version of existentialism ripens into the assertion of a tradition able to nurture a politics of the left.

Although not all readers will share Cotkin's conclusions, no other book engages existentialism in America so broadly or seeks to make it so central to American intellectual life.

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LEE BERNSTEIN. *The Greatest Menace: Organized Crime in Cold War America*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 237. \$34.95.

Lee Bernstein may be excused for exaggerating what he calls "the Mafia obsession of 1950s America" (p. 172): politicians, journalists, and television viewers, among others, did give extraordinary attention to organized crime and the fight against it. Episodes like the televised Kefauver Committee hearings generated considerably more interest than many of the public events historians have understood to be definitive of the era. Fueling this "obsession," Bernstein argues, was an effort to respond to troubling social, cultural, and political tensions. "Mafia stories," he writes, "served specific political and cultural agendas, reaffirming certain beliefs and values while discrediting others" (p. 12).

Among those beliefs, of course, as Bernstein effectively shows, was the notion that social order depended on identifying and controlling the threat represented by many in the working class. Eliot Ness's popular book *The Untouchables* "emphasized the differences between cops and robbers by contrasting what he saw as the physical and moral superiority of white, native-born investigators with the physically and morally

deficient Italian American criminals" (p. 159). Investigations of mob influence in unions reflected unease about the social mobility of some white ethnics and contributed to antilabor and anti-immigrant legislation. Organized crime even offered a way to understand white racial violence, as Bernstein argues in an analysis of media coverage of an anti-black housing riot in Cicero, Illinois, the working-class town notorious as Al Capone's old base. By emphasizing the town's sordid past, observers circumscribed virulent racism as another pathology of the kinds of "primitives" (p. 32) who lived in places like Cicero.

Bernstein adds to our understanding of how Italian Americans and others resisted these stereotypes. Labor unions and advocacy groups like the sons of Italy "offered images of their members that closely mirrored mainstream, often conservative visions of white middle-class life" (p. 11). The growing economic success of many ethnic Americans made boycotts, actual and threatened, a potent tactic. Protest of *The Untouchables* television series led ABC to replace fictional Italian-American mobsters with villains like "Joe Vodka," introduce sympathetic Italian-American characters, and eventually allow the series to wither in competition against *Sing Along with Mitch*.

Often Bernstein notes the parallels between Americans' understandings of the two threats of organized crime and communism. As sketched out in the anti-crime crusaders' alarming depictions, the Mafia originated abroad, operated behind apparently innocuous fronts, and threatened to undermine American freedom and prosperity. Echoing Joseph McCarthy, Federal Bureau of Narcotics chief Harry Anslinger told of a "secret document" that described "a vicious, sinister combine, interlaced and intertwined, sprawled across the nation" (p. 67). Like anticommunist activists, crime crusaders insisted that deliverance could come only when the good citizens were roused from their apathy and united in righteous vigilance. "By tying organized crime to citizen action," Bernstein writes, "postwar crime fighters explicitly sought to create a collective national community that looked . . . with suspicion on dissent and difference" (pp. 26–27).

Readers may be disappointed that Bernstein leaves to others a full consideration of the meanings of these parallels. In their ideas about crime and communism—and about sexuality, juvenile delinquency, shifting gender roles, and many other troubling social issues—many Americans drew on similar patterns of understanding whose origins and common elements warrant further exploration.

As they imagined organized criminals, Bernstein argues, Americans considered the consequences of organization in the larger society as well. Bernstein's analysis struggles to reconcile often contradictory images. Fictionalized gangsters like Jake Guzik and Frank Nitti of *The Untouchables*, he writes, "were the 'organization men' so celebrated and vilified at the time" (p. 36). A few pages later, however, he contends that for popular writers criminals "served as the an-

tithesis of the bureaucratized white middle-class male of the postwar years" (p. 41). Bernstein's own conclusions about the true nature of organized crime—"postwar gangsters were in fact the ultimate organization men" (p. 36)—are based on scant evidence and are, at any rate, irrelevant to his exploration of crime's cultural meanings.

Nevertheless, this is an interesting and generally persuasive study. As Bernstein shows, Cold War Americans' fascination—perhaps even obsession—with the underworld originated in efforts to understand the society it seemed to threaten.

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 Abington*

R. WARREN METCALF. *Termination's Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 305. \$55.00.

Our understanding of the fundamental purposes and results of the termination policy is likely to evolve, perhaps in controversial ways, as scholars delve deeper into the intricacies of this important era of modern American Indian history. Complex tribal reactions to the termination policy need to be explored with greater breadth of interpretation. Clearly, not all American Indian communities perceived the policy, which ended federal recognition for selected tribes, in the same way, nor have the long-term consequences of its application been uniform. R. Warren Metcalf's work will be of special interest to scholars, in part because the Ute experience with termination on the Uintah and Ouray reservation has been especially complicated.

The Ute Partition Act of 1954 led to a division of tribal resources based on designations of who was a "full-blood" and who a "mixed-blood," and it led to the direct termination of the latter. The Ute story, therefore, is shown to be particularly tragic in that members of a tribe were pitted against each other, and those who were terminated did not regain federal recognition, as did other tribes that have received more scholarly attention. Cut off entirely, the mixed-bloods, according to Metcalf "unlike other victims of termination policy, remain marginalized by the process" (p. 210).

Metcalf's writing is clear and often compelling, and the author's attention to detail and thorough research is commendable. The narrative begins with Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah, the politician most often credited with formulating and pushing the termination policy. Rather than attributing Watkins's motives to conservative politics alone, Metcalf contends that his Mormon belief in the inevitable and desirable assimilation of American Indians was the true foundation of his terminationist fervor. Watkins wished to make examples of tribes residing in his state, and he was able to target the Uintah and Ouray Utes in particular because they had been awarded a substantial sum of

money in a U.S. Court of Claims case. Congress had oversight powers over such tribal funds, and the senator was able to blackmail the Utes, Metcalf contends, threatening to withhold the awarded funds to compel them to formulate a plan for termination. Such political and economic pressure exacerbated tensions that already existed among the various bands making up the tribe over who had claims to tribal land and resources.

With the support of the majority of full-blood Utes, many of whom belonged to the Uncompahgre and White River bands, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and members of the tribal leadership dealt with the termination threat by partitioning the tribe. In the 1954 act, only the mixed-bloods, who were primarily members of the Uintah band of the tribe, were terminated, satisfying termination advocates like Watkins and thus allowing the full-bloods to maintain recognition. The mixed-bloods were severed from the tribe and had their share of its resources placed under the control of three corporations, to which each member received stock shares. Their condition deteriorated further when tribal attorney John S. Boyden, who despite an obvious conflict of interest represented both the tribe and the terminated Utes, encouraged the tribe to buy controlling shares of the mixed-blood sheep and cattle corporations.

Although Metcalf's arguments are clear and well documented, one wonders if he overemphasizes the role that Watkins, and his Mormon associates, played in forcing the Utes toward termination and underplays inner-tribal factionalism. His consideration of the mixed-bloods' fate after the partition is perhaps more noteworthy. Through oral history, the author reveals how many mixed-blood Uintahs still object to the historic process that denied them their rights as members of a recognized tribe, that many still retain their sense of "Indian" identity. Metcalf argues that the terminated mixed-bloods often self-identify more as Uintahs than Utes. They therefore resent the fact that they were forced before the termination era to accept political inclusion in a "Ute" tribe, only to be told later that they were not sufficiently Ute to retain their sovereignty. Metcalf shows that termination policy did not only have political and economic consequences but, at least in this case, tore communities apart along racial lines and played a role in redefining "Indian" identities.

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TINSLEY E. YARBROUGH. *Race and Redistricting: The Shaw-Cromartie Cases*. (Landmark Law Cases & American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xi, 225. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

When Congress passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965, many African Americans were still disfranchised. The problem in Mississippi, while extreme, is illustrative. On the eve of passage, seven percent of its black

voting-age population was registered; by 1967, sixty percent was. This trend, combined with the state's large black ratio, seemed to augur widespread black office holding, a horrifying prospect to many whites. Therefore, the strategy of Mississippi's political elite was to ensure that electoral districts contained white majorities.

Racial gerrymandering for this purpose, of course, had occurred throughout the South since Reconstruction. But majority-white districts were not universal. "Corrective" action was advocated. Again Mississippi history is instructive: within months of the Voting Rights Act's passage, the all-white legislature enacted laws to prevent black candidates from winning election. For example, all county boards of supervisors and boards of education would henceforth be elected at large rather than from single-member districts, as they had been since the nineteenth century. One legislator opined that the law would ensure "a white board [of education] and preserve our way of doing business."

Soon, blacks and other ethnic minorities, invoking the U.S. Constitution and the Voting Rights Act, began to challenge such districting schemes for diluting their votes by preventing them from electing "candidates of their choice." In *White v. Regester* (1973), the U.S. Supreme Court for the first time upheld minority vote dilution claims, thus giving impetus to a legal movement that over the next two decades was extraordinarily successful in challenging dilution. The number of black and Hispanic officeholders in the South and Southwest increased sharply.

The standards for proving vote dilution were never entirely clear, and they varied over time, but in general plaintiffs were likely to prevail by showing that there was a significantly smaller proportion of minority persons in a legislative body than in the jurisdiction it governed, and that the disparity was caused by racial gerrymandering and racially polarized voting. Redistricting in North Carolina during the 1990s, however, led to a significant change in standards of proof. The crucial case was the Supreme Court's *Shaw v. Reno* (1993), a five to four decision that caused consternation within the voting rights bar. The events surrounding that decision are the subject of Tinsley E. Yarbrough's book.

North Carolina, with a large black population throughout the twentieth century, had not had a black U.S. representative since 1901. The 1990 census count enabled the state to increase its congressional delegation from eleven to twelve members. Approximately one-fifth of the state's population was black. Democrats controlled the legislature, and black lawmakers agreed with their white Democratic colleagues that only one relatively compact majority-black district—the North Carolina First—could be drawn, and it was included in the redistricting plan. But after the plan was submitted to the Republican-controlled Justice Department for pre-clearance, the department ordered the legislature to draw a second majority-black district. Two such districts, if drawn the way the Justice

Department suggested, might well increase the Republican margin statewide. The Democrats, hoping to prevent that, gave the second district—the new Twelfth—a dramatically noncompact shape.

A conservative majority of the Supreme Court held that the ugly configuration of the district was itself unconstitutional, given its racial intent. Unfortunately, the Court did not provide clear guidelines for identifying ugliness, and a new and worrisome element of indeterminacy has haunted subsequent redistricting litigation elsewhere.

Yarbrough's account of North Carolina's ordeal is excellent. He expertly leads the reader through the political thicket that preceded the litigation leading up to and following *Shaw*, and he elucidates the issues at the heart of the dispute, distilling the arguments made by the parties at each step. Moreover, Yarbrough fleshes out the formidable legal abstractions with portraits of major actors in the several-year battle: the state's politicians and their staffs, attorneys, and experts.

Central among the dramatis personae is an indefatigable Duke University law professor and former chief judge of the Court of Military Appeals, Robinson Everett, who, as both plaintiff and lawyer in the various suits, deserves most of the credit for derailing the state's redistricting plan and changing the law. Everett, a white North Carolinian and moderately liberal Democrat, believed that race-conscious remedies for minority vote dilution were unconstitutional; and while the Supreme Court majority did not go that far, the *Shaw* decision clearly signaled its discomfiture with some race-conscious remedies.

Shaw v. Reno was one in a continuing series of legal morality plays in which opponents disagree sharply on whether to take race into account—and if so, to what degree—in order to heal the injuries resulting from America's long history of racial subjugation. Yarbrough's book is a carefully researched and thought-provoking account of *Shaw* and its progeny. It deserves a wide reading among students of minority voting rights.

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RICHARD A. PRIDE. *The Political Use of Racial Narratives: School Desegregation in Mobile, Alabama, 1954–1997*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. 314. \$39.95.

Richard A. Pride chronicles school desegregation in Mobile, Alabama, and the lenses he uses to examine Mobile are the evolving racial narratives throughout four decades. These narratives were displayed in the pages of the local and regional press as well as in the spoken words of the white elites.

The readers of Pride's book are treated to a well-taught crash course on Mobile politics. The detail with which Pride describes the Mobile case, however, is also the most notable weakness of his book. He concen-

trates solely on Mobile, without looking at other school desegregation cases that might share similarities. Nor does he look at dissimilar cases that might provide a contrast. As Christine Rossell discovered, Boston was also a city in which the local press was accused of playing a role in exacerbating the tensions surrounding court-ordered desegregation of its public schools ("The Effect of Community Leadership and Media on Public Behavior," *Theory Into Practice* [February 1978]: 131–39). Pride refers to Boston's well-publicized case (p. 126) but apparently did not attempt to determine if Boston's opponents of desegregation had been influenced by the use of racial narratives.

Nevertheless, the scant attention paid to other cities does little to detract from this splendid analysis of how racial narratives can influence the public's support for or opposition to school desegregation. This is a major contribution of Pride's work, as few have defined the prevailing racial narratives of the era, and how those narratives were gradually discarded in favor of different ones. In the 1950s, the metanarrative was the biological inferiority of blacks. Concurrently there was a prevailing notion that black males were dangerous, and that segregation was a means to protect whites from this danger. According to Pride, these views faded away as the civil rights movement gained national popularity. During the mid-1960s through the 1970s, the prevailing narrative saw African Americans as victims of discrimination by whites. This sympathetic view of blacks led to a social climate that made possible the desegregation of schools and other public facilities. However, this metanarrative also passed away and was replaced by the view that there are fundamental flaws in African-American culture, flaws that prevent blacks from advancing educationally and economically. While critical toward African Americans, this metanarrative is not as blatantly racist as the narratives of biological inferiority and dangerousness. Pride states that the earlier inflammatory narratives "diminished in white minds" (p. 14).

It is questionable, however, whether or not the pre-civil rights narratives have "diminished." In the introductory section of his book (p. 8), Pride speaks of Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles A. Murray's *The Bell Curve*, which resurrects the theory of biological inferiority of persons of African descent. The popularity of Herrnstein and Murray's book, and the extensive coverage it received in the media, is perhaps an indication that the biological inferiority narrative has not diminished. Neither, apparently, has the narrative of the dangerous black male. In the penultimate chapter, Pride speaks of the 1988 U.S. presidential campaign, in which George H. W. Bush used the image of black convict Willie Horton to frighten white voters (p. 254). Bush's overwhelming victory that year showed that this narrative is no more "diminished" than the revived narrative of biological inferiority.

Pride is correct in stating that today's prevailing narrative is the belief that there are deficits in African-American culture. This "deficit model" has supplanted

the sympathetic metanarrative that was prevalent during the period that Pride and many others refer to as the "Second Reconstruction." The Second Reconstruction undoubtedly began with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954, but there is no general agreement as to when it ended. Pride dates its end as 1994, when a southern-led Republican Party took over the U.S. Congress (p. 3). This is quite insightful, and I believe that many historians and political analysts in the near future will come to agree. If Pride had not been so focused on Mobile, he might have explored the question of how the revival of the biological inferiority and dangerousness narratives, along with the current deficit model metanarrative, contributed to the demise of the Second Reconstruction.

Concerning Mobile, however, Pride's work is a virtually flawless product of painstaking research. Moreover, his innovative examination of the impact of narratives makes his book valuable for students and researchers in the social sciences.

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GERALD E. PODAIR. *The Strike that Changed New York: Blacks, Whites, and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Crisis*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 273. \$35.00.

In what Jerald E. Podair pinpoints as the event that marked "the end of illusions for both New York City and America" (p. 212), the teacher strikes in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968 marked the beginning of decades of racial conflict in New York City. The schools of Ocean Hill-Brownsville became part of an "experiment," funded by the Ford Foundation, which gave community control to just a few of the poorest school districts in the city and created new autonomous local boards of education with broad, ill-defined powers and very few rules in a community where up until that moment "power to the people" had been but a slogan. Meanwhile, the New York state legislature was negotiating a bill for decentralization of schools, which fostered a broad discussion of community control among school reformers, teacher unionists, and civil rights organizations. Antagonized by the slow pace of negotiations, reformers at the Ford Foundation decided to leapfrog the democratic process and introduce a limited experiment in Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

Podair's account of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville teachers' strikes is a curious mix of insight and oversight. The author examines an instance in urban race relations where history turned on a dime from the melting pot of ethnic enclaves into a cauldron of racial division; he goes so far as to argue that "by marking the Jewish passage from racial ambivalence to unmistakable white identity, Ocean Hill-Brownsville helped to reify the 'white and black' New York that had gestated over the past three decades" (p. 144). As the title of his book suggests, New York was never the

same again. A series of white hate crimes in the 1980s went beyond the rhetoric that was born in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville event. Podair offers a history rich in the details of what he calls a "culture war" (p. 182) of competing black and white perceptions of community. Ultimately, Podair concludes, the incident proved to liberals and social democrats "that race is more important than economics" (p. 212).

Podair introduces class in its narrowly categorical sense: the teachers were in the "middle class" and the union, according to an interview with one former unionist, had become "reactionary" (p. 184). He argues that the "white teacher culture" (p. 54) in New York embraced the "culture of poverty theory," which "shifted the blame for academic failure away from the school and teacher and toward the pupil's family and community" (p. 55). Pivotal to his argument is the connection between white teacher culture and social democratic arguments about the "culture of poverty." He uses Simon Beagle and the More Effective Schools (MES) program to prove this point. Beagle, whose inspiration came more from John Dewey than Nathan Glazer, argued that MES was a way to bargain for more money for urban education, a point Podair equates with white teachers' greed. For Podair, the language of MES reflected the domination of white, middle-class values that looked down on the black urban poor; it was the perfect program for the cultural pluralism of the Social Democratic Party and the United Federation of Teachers' president Albert Shanker, an avowed party member. Podair seems to discount his own evidence that rank and file members of the union gagged on Shanker's promotion of the party line or that they crossed the picket lines in disgust during the 1968 strikes.

Podair carefully chooses a photograph of John V. Lindsay, the fair-haired, silk-stockings mayor of New York, whose only concern was to reach out to the poor African-American community supporting Shanker, who crudely promoted rank self-interest, union avarice, and behavior unworthy of the middle class. Here the racial implications of Lindsay's paternalism remain unexamined. When it comes to introducing all of the major players in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville strike Podair has very little to say about the controversial, radical Brooklyn Congress of Racial Equality leader Sonny Carson, whose role in the strike was not just visible but incendiary. Carson, like Shanker, dominated his constituency with a heavy hand: Carson claimed his neighborhood; Shanker ruled his union. New community histories like Wendell Pritchett's excellent portrait of Brownsville, or Thomas Sugrue's explanation of suburbanization and whiteness, or Robin D. G. Kelley's *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (1994) proffer tantalizing contexts in which to understand Shanker and Carson, a relationship that begs for further analysis.

Despite his attention to the contradictions within the thinking of black teachers seeking authenticity while embracing middle-class values, Podair never

fully escapes the tone of the first drafts of this history: union teachers were reactionary racists and the Ford Foundation had to save the poor African-American schools from the self-seeking union.

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JOSH OZERSKY. *Archie Bunker's America: TV in an Era of Change, 1968–1978*. Foreword by MARK CRISPIN MILLER. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 194. \$45.00.

"The revolution will not be televised," proclaimed Gil Scott-Heron in 1970. But how did the television industry grapple with the social changes, protest movements, and various shocks to the American body politic of the 1960s and 1970s? Josh Ozersky attempts to answer that question in his brightly written, smart, but under-researched exploration of the industry and its programming during this period.

Ozersky charts a history already examined by other historians and cultural critics: how the three networks shifted from a philosophy of "least objectional programming" meant to attract the largest, undifferentiated "bulk" audiences in the 1960s to a preoccupation in the early 1970s with "demographics"—especially youth demographics—and programming with "socially relevant" themes that would appeal to baby boomers. He also explores how the rending of the postwar consensus society was reflected in such polarizing and angry shows as *All in the Family*. By the mid 1970s, television programs like *WKRP in Cincinnati* and *Taxi* suggested a new consensus whereby diverse, ensemble casts tolerate, but ideologically contain, one or two counterculture/outsider types.

Ozersky suggests that the ten-year span between 1968–1978 was a crisis period for network executives and producers who did not know how to respond to the social turmoil of the period and the youth culture that galvanized so much of the era's upheavals. According to Ozersky, television in the 1970s seemed unhinged, scrambling madly to generate ratings without predictable formulas and without stable audiences. Programming executives like Fred Silverman hopped from one network to the next, first championing adolescent fare and sexually titillating froth with hit programs like *Happy Days* and *Three's Company* before decamping to NBC and proclaiming the need for sophisticated "quality" programming. Only by the end of the decade did the medium regain a measure of stability as it embraced irony, self-reflexivity, and a preoccupation with television as television. American television eventually absorbed the baby boom and some of its social values, minus the generation's politics. Despite the success of socially relevant fare, such as the Norman Lear comedies, Ozersky argues that politics just was not ready for prime time. In fact, as he argues in discussing *Saturday Night Live* and *The David Letterman Show*, baby boomer politics was not ready for late night either.

As a synthesis of previous scholarship and nonacademic writing about this period, Ozersky's book is of some value. His discussion of television programming in the latter part of the 1970s, which has received relatively little attention, is particularly useful. However, this book is largely grounded on the work of other writers: scholarly work such as Todd Gitlin's *Inside Prime Time* (1983) and Ella Taylor's *Prime Time Families: Television Culture in Post-War America* (1989) and popular works such as Harry Castleman and Walter J. Podzarik's *Watching TV: Four Decades of American Television* (1982), Tony Hendra's *Going Too Far* (1987), and Sally Bedell's *Up the Tube: Prime Time in the Silverman Years* (1981). Much of Ozersky's discussion of the shift to demographics in the late 1960s and early 1970s merely echoes Gitlin's work without providing new insights or research. His discussion of programming, which often seems drawn from *Watching TV*, tends to be simplistic and generalized. In only a few occasions does he refer to specific episodes of TV shows and provide some in-depth analysis. Given that this book purports to ground much of its analysis on a study of programming, the author's breezy, sweeping, and at times flip discussion of programs seriously weakens the project. Ozersky points to the remarkable collection of television programming housed at the Library of Congress Division of Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound. In his discussion of programs such as *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* or *The Sonny and Cher Show* it is unclear whether the author has actually studied examples of these shows before writing about them.

Serious, historically rigorous studies of American television, both as an industry and as a cultural force, are still scant. This is a shame, considering, as Ozersky points out, the profound importance of the medium to American social and cultural life for the past fifty years. Ozersky's book, while useful as popular history for general readers, adds very little to the scholarly literature that does exist in the field. In fact, the book appears to have been written around 1997, since the author takes no note (except in occasional footnotes and bibliography) of more recent scholarship about television in the period he examines. In Ozersky's defense, he proclaims that "literate citizens, and not professional academics are the intended audience" (p. xx). However, this book is the product of a university press rather than a trade press, so a higher degree of historical scholarship seems appropriate. The historiography of television studies also needs it.

ANIKO BODROGHKOZY
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YVONNE YAZBECK HADDAD, JANE I. SMITH, and JOHN L. ESPOSITO, editors. *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira. 2003. Pp. vii, 296. Cloth \$69.00, paper \$24.95.

Upon reading this collection of essays edited by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I. Smith, and John L. Esposito, I was seized by a sort of apprehension. I knew that, to review it, I would have to employ the relatively recent and not always well-intentioned terminology of "postmodernism" and "culture wars." However, I am encouraged by the general tenor of the book's contents, which inspire debate rather than judgment or rancor.

Indeed, the essays within, ten of which were publicly presented at a May 2000 interfaith conference at Georgetown University, attest to the changing spiritual terrain in America and the need to address what appears to be a burgeoning twenty-first century crisis of intra- rather than interfaith confrontation. This collection is not a linear discussion of the successes, failures, or durability of the American "melting pot" or its twin successors, ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism. The formulations presented in Will Herberg's *Protestant—Catholic—Jew* (1955), Robert D. Cross's *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America* (1958), and Nathan Glazer's *American Judaism* (1957) no longer obtain; neither do classic immigrant poses frozen in time such as that appearing on the book's cover. Frankly, I found this photo jarring for two reasons: first, the ethnic focus of the book is neither European nor Atlantic; second, an identical and sharper reproduction of this picture appeared on Virginia Yans-McLaughlin's 1990 publication *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*. Be that as it may, all classic notions, both scholarly and visual, have yielded to American religion's postmodern, internecine phase of intrafaith rivalry and fragmentation.

Apparently, those best able to handle the challenges thus presented are America's Jews, numbering between 5.2 and 5.5 million and accustomed, as are the world's Jews outside Israel, to minority status. The group's adaptation is by no means easy or perfect, however. A complete and still relevant monograph on this subject is Jack Wertheimer's *A People Divided: Judaism in Contemporary America* (1993). Jacob Neusner offers a pre-culture wars essay on American Judaism that is partially a memoir of what it was like to come of age during the 1950s, when Jews in the United States comprised the world's major Jewish community. The birth of Israel, unflagging antisemitism, and the creation of Holocaust memory were central to a committed Jewish experience. "Whither goest thou?" is the twenty-first century query of Jonathan D. Sarna as America's Jewish population declines relative to that of Israel, antisemitism is no longer pervasive in the United States, and the Holocaust is a fully realized memorial event in most Jewish communities. Jews may still participate in a myriad of global, secular causes, but they are at home in America, entirely adjusted, appearing to welcome new commitments that are distinctively Jewish. Perhaps philanthropy is the answer today as it once was in the field of health care, according to Alan Kraut, who brilliantly details the rise

and eclipse of the "Jewish hospital" between 1850–1950. This movement acted as a symbolic and physical "intersection of [the] sacred and secular" (p.131).

Symbolic and physical may also be the proper description for those schismatic ripples appearing among contemporary Afro-Americans who are Christian but seek a more complex, inclusive religious identity within a variable faith employing emblematic African forms. Anthony Pinn reviews this development, which has enjoyed currency among scholars since the publication of Melville Herskovits's *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) and been more fully realized in the writing of John Blassingame, Lawrence Levine, Eugene Genovese, and Sterling Stuckey.

Mainline Protestantism is not really addressed here, since its collective membership is in decline. Only Southern Baptists have posted a gain as well as a vital core of Evangelicals and Pentecostals who, according to Randall Balmer, have encountered some success as proselytizers among Hispanic Catholic immigrants because their subculture competes with the Catholic Church in offering organizational warmth, living quarters, and employment networks to the needy. David O'Brien recognizes this challenge to established Euro-American Catholicism, as does Chester Gillis, but only the latter offers a solution: reinvigorating Catholicism's conservative social views, which are challenged by American pluralism. Ana Maria Díaz-Stevens favors a more inclusive strategy for Latinos and Hispanics, primarily Mexicans and Puerto Ricans who, she observes, will compose fifteen percent of the U.S. population by 2020. As a powerful anticolonial, anti-imperial advocate of Spanish biculturalism generally and Spanish bilingualism specifically, she encourages total inclusion of a legitimate Spanish heritage within the American Catholic Church.

Other than Catholic/Latino/Hispanic, Islam appears to be the fastest growing ethno-religious culture in the United States. Aminah Beverly McCloud estimates a current Muslim population in the United States of "six to ten million" (p. 159), with South Asians and Arabs comprising the largest immigrant flow. Although there have been tensions between indigenous and immigrant Muslims, M. A. Muqtedar Khan and Ingrid Mattson anticipate the construction of a unique American Muslim identity that neither assimilates into nor entirely rejects American culture; rather, its adherents would participate in the American political process and American society as catalysts for Muslim-centered social and political awareness.

Perhaps the New Immigrant Survey as outlined by its four innovators will reveal more about America's emerging ethno-religious landscape, but for now the essays as a whole demonstrate a certain truth: that organized religion, in all its diversity, does not seek God nearly as much as it seeks like-thinking men and women and, in so doing, establishes its varied communities.

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JASON C. BIVINS. *The Fracture of Good Order: Christian Antiliberalism and the Challenge to American Politics*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. x, 218. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Historians and political commentators have often observed the contentious political role that religion plays in American life, but rarely with the sociohistorical sensitivity and theoretical skill of Jason C. Bivins. Under the rubric of "Christian antiliberalism," Bivins provides a window on a diverse range of religious individuals and groups who call into question the very foundations of the modern liberal state. In so doing, Bivins provides insights not only into how Americans conceptualize religion, politics, and culture but into how they think about democracy and democratic institutions.

Christian antiliberalism, for Bivins, challenges the scholarly propensity to assign labels of "right," "left," "conservative," and "liberal." This is made evident by his focus on the history, practice, and worldview of Catholic peace activists Daniel and Philip Berrigan, the New Christian Right movement for homeschooling, and the radical evangelical Sojourners Community of Washington, D.C.

To understand Christian antiliberalism as a form of political religion, Bivins develops a series of analytical categories, contending that each group holds certain qualities in common. The first of these qualities is that of "political illegibility." It is Bivins's contention that the power and uniqueness of Christian antiliberals' religious beliefs, and their ways of viewing the social and political order, cannot be understood by the use of traditional political ideologies or political indicators. Illustrative of the nature of "political illegibility" is the experience of the Sojourners community, which has contested the limits of a political discourse and logic that does not provide space, let alone modes of understanding, for those who refuse to be bound by political labels. To the Sojourners, the language of liberal politics masks the amoral nature of the liberal state, just as political categories of "left" and "right" cease to be useful when such distinctions are not only "blurred" but resisted. Equally troubling for members of the Sojourners community is the degree to which political liberalism seems unable to comprehend, or to take seriously, the experience and concerns of those who do not conform to its vision of the world.

The second category for Bivins is that of "sacred registers," which refers to the religious existential self-understanding of Christian antiliberals in terms of the qualitative difference of how "the religious and political worlds of meaning are experienced" (p. 11). The nature of "sacred registers" Bivins explores in his treatment of New Christian Right's (NCR) politicization of debates over education. To the NCR what is most disturbing is the perceived privileging of a certain mode of citizenship, with an accompanying "privatization of identity as a condition for public participation" (p. 111). Long-held liberal assumptions about Ameri-

cans sharing a set of common moral and civic values, let alone identity, are taken to task by critics of public education and in the creation of Christian-based schools and curricula. The public sphere becomes an arena for contesting the liberal world, with its perceived lack of sensitivity to the experience of those who do not share its values.

Daniel and Philip Berrigan embody the third category of "ritual protest." Ritual protest is a means of dramatically questioning the very legitimacy of the liberal state by witnessing to the power of religious and moral ideals expressed by Christian symbols and rituals. To the Berrigans, the civility, decorum, and order demanded by the liberal state only depoliticize and domesticate the cries of those crushed by status quo. For those to whom the existing liberal order is based on injustice, militarism, and exploitation, there can be no compromise with the dictates of the Gospel, only resistance and opposition. The fourth, and final feature of Christian antiliberalism is *koinonia*. Bivins's use of the Greek term for "community" is illustrative not of a particular quality of any of the three groups under investigation as much as a quality embodied in each of them that creates Christian communities that "serve as refuges from a political order perceived as hostile" (p. 161).

If there is any weakness in Bivins's otherwise admirable analysis, it lies in a changed political landscape, with an administration that seeks to implement much of the agenda of the NCR. Ironically, while the Bush administration seeks to dismantle what is left of the liberal state, it is not adverse to using the state on behalf of the NCR. This underscores the problematic nature of grouping together the NCR, the Berrigans, and Sojourners—despite their shared hostility toward the liberal state. There still remain some irreconcilable political and theological differences, as evidence by the tendency of the NCR to see Bush's presidency as an act of divine providence.

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COLIN GORDON. *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 316. \$29.95.

Colin Gordon is the latest of many scholars since the early twentieth century who have explained the absence of universal health insurance in the United States as the result of the behavior of greedy interest groups. He builds on the work of numerous historians, political scientists, sociologists, and journalists who share this conviction.

Gordon's book tells and retells the story of health coverage in the United States since 1910. In his introduction, Gordon criticizes and sometimes misinterprets work by scholars and journalists who do not take sides in debates about appropriate health care policy. His first chapter is an overview of "The Political

Economy of American Health Care" from 1910–2000. The next three chapters add detail to the points Gordon has already made. These chapters address "Private Health Insurance and Public Policy," "Health Care and the Dilemmas of Social Insurance," and "The Political Culture of the Health Debate." Then Gordon applies his generalizations to data about "Race, Region and Health Politics," and, for the second time, "Health Care's Corporate Compromise." The book's final chapter repeats what Gordon has said, adding detail about "American Politics and the Dilemma of Health Reform." The conclusion recapitulates the previous chapters and ends with the plausible prediction that "into the new century, health care will, in all likelihood, remain a compelling public concern but an elusive political target" (p. 301).

The absence of universal health coverage, Gordon says throughout the book, has been the result of the "privileged status enjoyed by economic interests in American politics" (p. 1), whose resources exceeded those "commanded by reformers" (p. 297). In Gordon's opinion (not shared by most contemporary scholars of politics and public opinion), the American public has always wanted universal health insurance coverage and has been willing to pay for it (not the same thing). However, effective conspiracies based on selfishness, greed, sexism, and racism thwarted the people's desire.

Gordon criticizes the political behavior of almost anyone who did not accord the highest priority to universal health insurance during the past century. The groups that let Gordon down include organized labor, private employers, elected and appointed officials of major political parties, physicians, and hospital associations. For example, he criticizes employment-based health coverage and Medicare because these expansions of the insured population relieved some of the potential pressure for universal coverage. He is even disappointed because the National Medical Association insisted in the mid-1960s that policy should prevent white physicians and hospital managers from using federal mandates to desegregate in order to destroy the livelihoods of its (mainly) African-American members. Gordon's frustration with everyone active in the politics of health policy during the past century except advocates of universal coverage leads him to regret that the "debate over health insurance was never (save in the rosiest musings of reformers) a debate about universal coverage" (p. 134). As a professional historian, however, he admits that this statement is accurate.

Gordon has read widely but not always carefully in published and archival sources. On some topics this book will be a useful secondary source: for example, the politics of coverage expansion in the 1950s. On other subjects, however, Gordon ignores pertinent evidence in sources that he cites. For example, he seems not to know that reinsurance is a common arrangement in many sectors, including health coverage (p. 23); he ignores the presidential election of 1964

and the dominance of the Democratic Party in the 89th Congress in his history of the making of Medicare (p. 28); he believes that "health care virtually disappeared from the political agenda in the 1980s" (p. 37), despite the expansion of Medicaid and the transformation of hospital payment by Medicare from a cost to a price basis; he trivializes the multibillion dollar new State Children's Health Insurance Plan of 1997; he claims that the number of uninsured grew throughout the 1990s (pp. 45, 171), although that number declined steadily in the years preceding the most recent recession; and he may be the only expert who believes that the "backlash against managed care . . . did little to stem its progress" (p. 170).

Gordon has scant interest in inquiring into issues that preoccupied the persons who created the primary sources he used, least of all persons accountable to voters, shareholders, and union members. The result of this historian-centered approach to historical writing is disconnection between scholarship and the events it seeks to explain.

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SUSAN D. JONES. *Valuing Animals: Veterinarians and Their Patients in Modern America*. (Animals, History, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 213. \$45.00.

A friend of mine recently had a pet guinea pig neutered. Her reasoning seemed sensible enough: guinea pigs "like to live in groups," she had three of them, and only two were females. To solve her little boar's "loneliness" and "frustration" with being separated from "the girls," she had to get "Snowflake" fixed. After some calling around, she located a veterinarian who specialized in such operations and an appointment was made right away. Sensible or not, when my friend paid \$150 to a female veterinarian for the anesthetic, surgery, and intravenous and oral pain medications to control the reproduction of a guinea pig, she marked a decidedly modern moment in the history of both human-animal relations and veterinary practice. As Joanna Swabe succinctly noted in *Animals, Disease and Human Society: Human-Animal Relations and the Rise of Veterinary Medicine* (1999), "in the not too distant past, this would . . . have been unthinkable" (p. 182).

Swabe's sweeping and yet insightful account of the long history of animals and their diseases is the immediate backdrop for this more focused volume by Susan D. Jones, the third to appear in the Johns Hopkins "Animals, History, Culture" series edited by Harriet Ritvo. To be sure, much of the basic argument of Jones's history of veterinary medicine in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century was presaged in Swabe's final chapters. An occupation that was almost entirely built around urban working horses in the second half of the nineteenth century increasingly turned by the beginning of the twentieth century to the

care of food-producing animals and the monitoring of the food produced from them. Thus, while horses were becoming essentially irrelevant to the economy and to veterinarians by 1930, more and more time and money were being devoted to treating cattle, swine, poultry, and sheep. This fundamental shift was then followed, beginning in the 1920s but especially after World War II, by veterinarians turning to the care of mostly urban companion animals. Along the way, the proverbial and male "horse doctor," often with little professional background but much practice in castrating and treating lameness, was replaced by an academically trained, highly professionalized, and, by the late twentieth century, increasingly female medical specialist charged with maintaining the health of both animals and the humans who eat them or who live or work with them.

If others have already sketched the outlines of the modern history of veterinary medicine, Jones importantly coats her veterinarians with the smells of stables, slaughterhouses, and sofas. Her cultural history takes place in individual practices and in the public articles and private ruminations of often quite ordinary people. In her discussion of bovine tuberculosis and unclean slaughterhouses, for example, Jones provides case studies of individuals at the local, state, and federal levels. In Michigan, she finds Caroline Bartlett Crane of the Kalamazoo Women's Club, who began her political activity by threatening local butchers with a boycott and eventually succeeded in pushing state legislation for the regulation and inspection of packing houses. At the state level, Jones relates the efforts of Leonard Pearson of the Pennsylvania Veterinary Medical Association. A student of Robert Koch, Pearson was behind what became the model "Pennsylvania Plan" for the eradication of bovine tuberculosis. Finally, in relating the events leading up to the passage of the federal meat inspection law of 1906, Jones discusses figures as diverse as Daniel E. Salmon, director of the Bureau of Animal Industry from 1884 to 1905, and D. Arthur Hughes, an inspector and veterinarian who kept a scrapbook with an "uninhibited commentary" of the meat controversies of 1906 (p. 84). By focusing on the careers and aspirations of actual people rather than, say, "cultural forces," Jones meaningfully ties the changing focus of veterinary medicine—from work-producing animals, to food-producing animals, to pets—to the actions of individuals.

The book does have limits. Perhaps most significantly, because Jones justifiably directs her attention more to the practices of individuals than to broader interpretive structures, the discussion of "value" referred to in the title can leave the reader searching for a deeper analysis. For example, although there is some effort to tie early twentieth-century interest in pets to the popularization of heroic stories about dogs, this book is not the place to look for explanations for the explosion of the pet industry over the last century. With that said, Jones's study reveals particularly well the dynamic connections between the history of veter-

inary medicine and the history of American cultural preoccupations with animals.

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GERALD MARKOWITZ and DAVID ROSNER. *Deceit and Denial: The Deadly Politics of Industrial Pollution*. (California/Milbank Books on Health and the Public.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, with the Milbank Memorial Fund, New York. 2002. Pp. xx, 408. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$19.95.

A book with this title is not likely to leave readers optimistic about the past or the present, yet there are hopeful signs in the text about the ability to hold corporations accountable for the health of workers and the community. At the very least, Gerald Markowitz and David Rosner present us with lessons learned that can serve as a primer for future activism around workplace and environmental health. In their sweep of the twentieth century, they uncover a world painted with lead and wrapped in plastic, and they document how manufacturers of both of these materials systematically concealed evidence of risks to human health.

The authors' access to private industry sources, which have long escaped the scrutiny of historians, provides a rich if very disturbing picture of internal politics and decision making at the corporate level, including decisions to keep information from workers, the public, and government officials. Lawsuits prompted the uncovering of such letters and agreements, which Rosner has called "extraordinary."

The evolution of workplace hazards into environmental ones forms a key part of the historical landscape in this book. Markowitz and Rosner see the workplace as the initial site for danger from these materials, but follow the evidence as consumers increasingly, at least in the case of lead, put themselves and their children at risk of lead poisoning, something that had previously been seen as an industrial health problem. Reassurances from the lead industry, most prominently the Lead Industries Association, argue the authors, were misleading at best and outright false in many cases. Similar to tobacco and asbestos, manufacturers knew of the hazards of lead from their own evidence as well as years of experience in the workplace, yet they continued to promote its use in paint and, after World War II, in gasoline. In the 1970s, concerted pressure from city, state, and federal agencies, unions, feminists, and public health advocates outmaneuvered the lead industry and its own vast array of political and financial influences. Still, lead remains in the environment.

In many ways, the story of lead is somewhat familiar territory for historians of workplace health and safety, public health, urbanization, and medicine. Plastics, particularly vinyl, are a more recent entry into the modern industrial world. "If lead was paradigmatic of the problems of industrial pollution in the first half of

the twentieth century," Markowitz and Rosner write, "plastics were emblematic of these problems in the second" (p. 138). In linking these two industries, they nevertheless acknowledge that the plastics industry faced greater challenges, as more infrastructure to counter workplace and community hazards had developed in the wake of lead's problems. At the same time, the chemical industries were producing a number of man-made materials and hazards, some of which remain unknown, and could be more far-reaching than those associated with lead.

Industrial and trade association documents reveal the industry's knowledge, as early as the 1960s, of links between a bone-wasting disease and vinyl in the workplace, which was not revealed to workers. Once manufacturers acquired scientific evidence of links between liver cancer and vinyl chloride (at much lower levels of exposure than existed in their factories at the time), they signed agreements with one another—American and European companies—to keep this information secret. Their overriding concern, interestingly enough, was not worker liability, limited by workers' compensation regulations, but consumer liability, which was unlimited and unknown. They also feared outside (governmental) regulation. The effects of their deception began after four workers died from liver cancer in early 1974.

The long-lasting significance of this history is fourfold. First, in their persuasiveness about the valuable, if somewhat problematic role of federal legislation that institutionalized civil rights and created agencies like the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), National Institutes for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and the Consumer Product Safety Commission, the authors provide evidence that counters more recent agendas of these agencies, which have acted as little more than representatives for industry in reducing and in some cases eliminating regulations in the workplace and the environment. Also working against government advocacy, according to Markowitz and Rosner, is an American ambivalence over the role of regulation in a capitalist economy. Yet the infrastructure is there, and the authors argue strongly for a more activist government, particularly in the historical context of democratic "openness and free access to information" (p. 305).

Second, positioning lead and plastics together in this book allows the authors not only to compare strategies but also to illustrate the different context in which the plastics industry had to operate. The evidence clearly shows how the activism of and alliances between labor and environmental activists, including Rachel Carson and Ralph Nader, as well as well-publicized industrial disasters such as Union Carbide's Bhopal, India, explosion, influenced the decisions that industry made, although in some cases, the perception of the activists' strength played a larger role. In many ways, public (and corporate) consciousness of these hazards as environmental undoubtedly helped workers.

Third, the authors provide important evidence of generational change by both industry and community groups, a kind of action-reaction interplay to assert control. As the story moves into the 1990s, a new generation of community activists has emerged to counteract industrial tactics such as hiring executives who were skilled lobbyists rather than engineers or scientists. In addition, a generation of industrial disasters has persuaded the public that industry cannot be trusted. Historians have not always sufficiently documented this kind of change.

Finally, the history of how science has been used by various groups is critical to understanding occupational and environmental health. As this book clearly demonstrates, trade associations have not been reluctant to sponsor scientific studies, ignore unfavorable results, and pressure scientists to reach a particular conclusion. What is increasingly clear, however, is that science in the public interest might merit different standards than have been used in the past. The difficulties of epidemiological studies in isolating one particular factor as causing disease have made it easy for industry to deny a statistical relationship between a particular chemical and a specific disease. More useful, perhaps, especially given the actions of the industries displayed in this text, might be to implement what public health professionals call the "precautionary principle," where the lack of scientific certainty about a material's hazards would not place it on the market but require more understanding of its potential risks prior to any public exposure.

Perhaps optimism is not the most accurate word to describe this book; its narrative is depressing, distressing, and makes one believe in conspiracies. Still, if some of us practice history in order to learn lessons from the past, there are many lessons here, not the least of which is how individuals and groups can coalesce to battle forces that seem overwhelming.

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PETER N. STEARNS. *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Childrearing in America*. New York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 251. \$29.95.

Peter N. Stearns explores a paradox: twentieth-century health improvements almost eliminated the risk of children dying; and yet middle-class parents still worried intensely—even more so, Stearns believes, than parents of earlier centuries—about their own children's welfare. On twentieth-century anxieties about child rearing, one might read this book alongside Ann Hulbert's *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice about Children* (2003). Hulbert sees anxiety as intrinsic to such advice, since experts based their pronouncements on weak or nonexistent research and offered changing, contradictory, and ultimately unnerving admonitions to parents. Whereas Hulbert relies on close biographical and textual analysis of

leading experts and their advice, Stearns describes the remarkable range of subjects about which experts have prodded parents to worry, and he sketches social changes that may have exacerbated parents' concerns. Stearns echoes Christopher Lasch's charges that experts have undermined parenting—but without Lasch's rancor. Although Stearns disavows a therapeutic intention to soothe parents by demonstrating the historical contingency of their anxieties, that is the effect of his book, which ends with sensible advice that parents should worry less and discard the unhistorical notion that parenting and children's development have worsened since some imagined "golden age."

In this telling, the 1920s were a pivotal decade. New medical and social-scientific studies of children, popular child-rearing manuals, and eventually *Parents Magazine* poured off the presses, and the flood never abated thereafter. Despite high nineteenth-century death rates, Stearns posits a relative Victorian serenity about children, grounded in a belief that the young were morally and psychologically sturdy. In place of this confidence, he asserts, the new expertise established an image of children as intrinsically fragile and vulnerable. The effects on middle-class parents as the main consumers of this literature are necessarily speculative. Several decades ago, Jay Mechling published his now-classic article warning that child-rearing manuals cannot be read as descriptions of parental practice ("Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers," *Journal of Social History* 9 [1975]: 44–63). Conceding that the proliferation of anxiety-provoking advice from 1920 onward might represent only experts seeking a market, Stearns is candid that his contention that "parents in the twentieth century were more anxious, not just differently anxious" cannot be proven "definitively." He believes it, however, "quite probably" valid (pp. 11–12). Similarly the argument infers increased anxiety among parents from social changes such as increases in divorce and full-time paid employment of mothers: "Surely developments of this sort must take a toll" (p. 108).

Stearns takes readers on tour through a wondrous variety of twentieth-century worries about children, many of which fostered reformist campaigns. Some issues blossomed early but then faded, such as the crusade to cut children's traffic deaths on city streets, experts' warnings against sibling rivalry, fears of bad posture, and a campaign to limit teachers' imposition of excessive homework. Others came a bit later, such as anxiety about leaving children with babysitters while parents took a night out; and still others belonged mainly to the century's second half, including fears of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome, sexual molestation, and anorexia. Among the hardy perennials were items as various as lamentations about school pupils' ignorance of whatever subject was in fashion, fears of kidnapping, warnings that popular media fostered violence and criminality, and the much-debated question of how to discipline children. On this last issue, readers may be relieved that the book bypasses the

culture wars; evangelical child-rearing advisers such as James Dobson, who advocate spanking and firm parental control, are nowhere in evidence.

Stearns offers particularly substantial treatment of three topics that have apparently engaged him as a parent and an academic administrator: the question of whether and how to exact chores from children; parents' worries about juvenile boredom and how to keep youngsters both sufficiently and appropriately entertained; and wrangles over pupils' self-esteem and student grade inflation. On the first two, Stearns furnishes interesting data on parental behavior, and on all three he offers reassurance that alarmists are exaggerating. One editorial decision is debatable, however. Each chapter ends with a helpful page or two of suggestions for further reading, and the book has ten pages of endnotes. But this division of labor leaves gaps, as a number of quotations, statistics, and even some small topics appear untraceable to either set of sources. Then again, perhaps we should just enjoy this interesting tour and not worry.

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DOUGLAS LITTLE. *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 407. \$34.95.

Douglas Little's book is a topic-driven survey of the United States' involvement in the Middle East since 1945. Little, quoting George W. Bush, poses the question: "Why do they hate us?" His answers, which come in the book's conclusion, are simple: because Americans, and especially American policy makers, are naïve, predictable, if well-intentioned fools who cannot abide any challenge to their interests.

Little uses a topical organization to review more than a half-century of history. He focuses on petroleum, Israel, the impact of the Cold War, Gamal Abdel Nasser and Arab nationalism, reform and revolution, the (first) Persian Gulf War, and the Arab-Israeli peace process. Each of the chapters is well written and researched, relying on primary and secondary English-language sources. Topical approaches lend themselves to redundancy, and at times the reader loses sight of the interrelationship of events occurring simultaneously. Nevertheless, Little's approach makes the threads easier to follow. His eighth chapter, on the frustrating history of the Arab-Israeli peace process, is superb, although he does at times equate behaviors that, in this reviewer's opinion, ought to stand apart. Little writes of the region's "real-life demons—suicide bombers trained by Hamas and trigger-happy settlers backed by Likud" (p. 314). Both may be obstacles to peace, but there is a moral difference between squatting and killing.

Nevertheless, one can disagree with some of Little's conclusions but still find much to admire. No author, given this subject, could write four hundred pages

without provoking disagreement. Within the thematic chapters, Little's reasoning is sound and his assessments mostly judicious and convincing, although at odds with the general tenor of the book. After reading Little's presentation, I would not conclude that the Americans are the biggest fools in the story.

Niggling errors weaken the book. Congress's response to early Barbary depredations, the Naval Act of 1794, called for the construction of six, not three frigates (p. 231). Nor did the "high cost" of intervention in the region cause the reduction of American naval forces in the Mediterranean after 1816. The adoption of the "Europe first" strategy by Great Britain and the United States came before, not after Pearl Harbor (p. 232). Little implies that the oil of the Middle East was necessary to win the World War II (pp. 48–49). It was not; in fact, oil production in the region slowed until late in the war, by which time Allied victory had already been secured. Little writes that the Americans of the 1960s benefited from a "quarter-century of prosperity fueled by cheap and plentiful petroleum" (p. 70). In constant dollars, petroleum is slightly cheaper today than it was in 1967. The Israelis did not launch simultaneous attacks on the Egyptians and the Jordanians on the morning of June 5, 1967. The strike against Jordan came that afternoon after the Jordanians, warned to stay out, spent the day shelling Jerusalem and other Israeli towns and settlements (p. 240). Harry Summer's *On Strategy* was published commercially in 1982, but the Army War College edition of the late 1970s had the greater impact. Nevertheless, neither edition was the driving force behind the post-Vietnam renaissance of the American military (p. 245). Iran aimed its 1986–1988 attacks against tankers in the Persian Gulf not at the West, but at Iraq's Arab allies (p. 250). Operation Praying Mantis, the U.S. Navy's April 18, 1988 retaliatory attack on Iranian naval forces, did not include any "pounding" of Iran's silkworm batteries (p. 251).

The greatest weakness of the book is Little's effort to fit his work into the framework of the late Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979). That failure is rooted in Little's inability to sustain the effort throughout the text, leaving the "American Orientalism" of the title akin to an organ transplant rejected by a body. Post-modern literary critique does not lend itself to the analytical approach ably pursued by Little. Discussion of "orientalism" mostly disappears after the introduction. When Little does return to the theme, the reader is often at a loss to know whether the speaker suffers from an "orientalist" mindset or is an accurate judge of affairs. Was it, for example, a symptom of "orientalism" or keen analysis to have concluded in the 1960s that Israel produced better soldiers than its Arab neighbors?

Overall, Little's book is a welcome addition to the literature. There are very few works that offer a topical and comprehensive overview of American involvement in the Middle East. Unfortunately, despite its many strengths, the book is undermined by misstatements

and by the author's determination to fit what is a sound empirical study into Said's postmodernist orientalist framework.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

ANN TWINAM. *Private Lives, Public Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 447. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This book by Ann Twinam provides a crucial investigation of the day-to-day understanding of honor or public reputation among Spanish-American elites. In expanding on the literature on honor in colonial Latin America, Twinam offers an imperial, multilevel analysis of a century's worth of petitions to be legitimized. Being white and born legitimate to married parents was one important status marker for Spanish-American elites, who closely guarded their privileged position in colonial society. Twinam argues that the increase in petitions for legitimization in the late eighteenth century did not correspond to an increase in illegitimacy rates as it happened in Europe and the United States but rather to a widespread increase in discrimination practices among Spanish-American elites. Colonial elites were challenged by the aspirations for social mobility from the lower classes, so they more tightly policed their membership and privileged position. The desire for upward mobility within a group that had acquired economic importance in the second half of the eighteenth century posed a threat to the established colonial hierarchy based on elites' version of honor. Because some of these aspiring groups were not white or legitimate, the elites became defensive over their qualifications for membership. To learn how and why petitions for legitimations increased by the late colonial years is to immerse oneself in the workings of honor in colonial elites' daily lives.

Twinam's study is based on 243 petitions to be legitimized—to change birth status from illegitimate to legitimate and become an honorable person—from the Cámara, a body under the Council of the Indies in Spain. The fact that these petitions went overseas and required important documentation clearly delimits the study to those who were able to defray the costs of re-establishing honor in their lives. In addition, Twinam researched local, provincial, and national archives to further investigate the lives of the petitioners and the effects of their newly acquired legitimization. Twinam cleverly analyzes those petitions that formed part of the *gracias al sacar* decree in which the king and the Cámara dispensed legitimations to illegitimates, whites' privileges to mulattos, nobility titles, and citizenship, among other things, from the perspective of the individual lives and as an institutional window to evaluate the administrative actions of the monarchy.

Part one of this book traces historical Hispanic

attitudes and practices about sexuality, discrimination, and civil legitimation. Part two is a life-course analysis of the parents, children, and adults, and of the final repercussions for family property. Surprisingly, the documents did not condemn women who lost their virginity or who engaged in longer nonmarital relationships. On the contrary, Twinam shows how the duality of public/private life allowed elite women to not pay a public price for their sexual activities. Unwed women could carry private pregnancies with the help of their peers, while maintaining a public reputation of being virginal and honorable. For men, the situation was not as critical; they could never have physical proof of their virginity and could not get pregnant. Men could deny that they had fathered a child. Ironically, the author finds that demands of "conscience" compelled some men to proper action to prevent damaging the reputations of their sexual partners and children. Elite men did not often advertise their sexual prowess, in order to protect the honor of their female partners and children; they also were twice as likely as women to apply for a legitimization because they needed to be legitimate and white to occupy leadership positions in the bureaucracy. Local government officials, especially in areas of strong competition for such posts like in Cuba, were actively scrutinizing the honorable genealogy of possible candidates, which led many of these men to "clean" their backgrounds through a *gracias al sacar*.

Twinam brings a wealth of information and analysis regarding the lives of babies and children in colonial Spanish America. She demonstrates how the natal status of a baby—whether the parents could marry—was different from how the child was registered on baptismal certificates; the infant's social status depended on the recognition of parents and relatives, publicly and privately. These layers of circumstances allowed for manipulation of the ways in which children could be recognized as honorable in their societies. A significant racial and social flexibility existed, but it depended on the right network, location, and timing. Honor was a social condition; as such, it was malleable: "It could be challenged, threatened, lost, gained, and even regained."

Part three of Twinam's book analyzes the state's responses and changes in the eighteenth century. Part four shows how petitioners fared as newly legitimated individuals. Twinam brings important findings for those interested in the dual worlds of the public and the private, illegitimacy, the logic surrounding the social aspects of honor, generational gendered practices and discrimination patterns. This superbly crafted book may be of interest to a more specialized audience, but readers not familiar with colonial Spanish America will find a clear explanation of the complex workings of honor among the elites in its multisocial, economic, and political functions.

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VICTORIA GONZÁLEZ and KAREN KAMPWIRTH, editors. *Radical Women in Latin America: Left and Right*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 343. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

Exploring the nature of women's political activities in contemporary Latin America remains a favorite topic among political scientists and historians of politics. In a continent in which women's active intervention in politics developed in the second half of the twentieth century, most works remain focused on that period for good reason. Women's activism against abusive political regimes increased significantly. They joined underground resistance and open guerrilla warfare and were no longer exempt from incarceration, torture, or death. Political action was not confined to a traditional "left" stance in politics or in labor unions, but had counterpoints in the organization of women's coalitions to support military or autocratic regimes defined as "on the right." It is this involvement, across the borders of political ideologies, that Victoria González and Karen Kampwirth, the editors of this volume, wish to analyze. They argue that, regardless of their political stand, women activists consciously address the problems they see in their respective nations, and their efforts need to be taken into consideration.

Six of the ten essays focus on Central America. Since the 1930s, Central American nations have experienced intense political turmoil, in which ideologically conservative forces stood their ground against sociopolitical experiments such as the Sandinista Revolution or the efforts of the Guatemalan left to restore equality and justice to their country. Brazil's and Chile's conservative "right" women receive the scholarly attention they deserve (and do not often get). Academics prefer to study those who promote change and social justice rather than those who discourage them, but this collection makes a statement by considering the tensions generated by women standing on either side of the political spectrum.

The contributors seek to clarify the ideas and strategies of activist women in forming coalitions—regardless of ideologies—to achieve political significance, the ability of women to create their own autonomous movements and organizations, their understandings of feminism, and their use of "maternalism" as an ideological venue to empower themselves. An intriguing theme developed by several essays is that of women's autonomy to define their own ends through their organizations, even if they affiliate themselves with a party or a movement led by men.

The fact that conservative women supported the corrupt Somoza family that held Nicaragua under its control between the 1930s and the late 1970s should be noted by those who conceive of Nicaragua as a haven of revolutionaries. González dishes out a sobering message in explaining how the men in the Somoza family made women one of their most important political clients and built support among the poorest, offering all women political channels to express them-

selves. Unfortunately, they did not learn about democracy through their activism. More freedom and justice were sought by those women who joined the opposition to dictatorial regimes in the region, a theme developed by Kampwirth, who sorts out activism among Sandinista (left) and Contra (right) female supporters. Patricia Hipster analyzes the activities of both ideological commitments in El Salvador while exploring the possibilities for cooperation among all women. Could true changes for women come through a revolutionary agenda? Activist María Teresa Blandón represents the latest wave of feminists in Nicaragua seeking to overcome the difficulties of defining a program put together by women as citizens and not as ideologues. Her analysis of the goals of women of like sentiments, and the problems they encountered, is straightforward and enlightening. Ilija Luciak assesses the difficulties faced by women in Guatemala after 1996, when peace accords ended thirty-six years of civil struggle. The postwar reality is stark: gender equality faces multiple and difficult problems, especially distrust among women militants of different political stands. One way out of this situation is to emphasize motherhood and family and seek out justice within that ambit, as Kelley Ready's article on postwar El Salvador posits. There, an as yet incomplete agenda on child protection attracted women of different ideologies, although the state remains unprepared to meet their demands.

The essays on South America range from the 1900s to the 1990s, offering long and short-term historical visions of right-wing militancy in Argentina and Chile, the complexities of women's movements in Chile in the 1970s and 1980s, and an analysis of the leftist Brazilian Labor Party's position on women's issues. Readers who want a capsule history of right-wing organizations in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile up to 1940 should consult Sandra McGee Deutsch's essay (a topic fully developed in her book, *Las Derechas* [1999]). Right-wing women's defense of Augusto Pinochet is the concern of Margaret Power, whose informed essay should be thematically linked to those on Central America in order to establish meaningful patterns of political behavior. (Her book on the topic should also be consulted.) Lisa Baldez's essay on the efforts to create venues for activism in Chile based on gender issues shows how antagonistic organizations can use the same rhetorical tools to mobilize women. Anti-Pinochet as well as pro-Pinochet women resorted to discourses emphasizing women's "special" capacity to address some political situations. Ironically, such was the theme of many conservative and feminist women at the beginning of the twentieth century. Historically, within the Left, male leaders have been consistently conservative in regard to women's issues.

These essays help to create a history of Latin American women's recent past based on balanced research. They also help to establish comparisons among Latin American nations within a well-defined analytical framework. Through the study of women's

efforts to organize themselves to support political causes, we see much that is traditional, such as relying on ideological maternalism. But we can also appreciate the greater commitment to personal intervention in their nations' fate that women have developed in the last half century.

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NANCY P. APPELBAUM, ANNE S. MACPHERSON, and KARIN ALEJANDRA ROSEMBLATT, editors. *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*. Foreword by THOMAS C. HOLT. Afterword by PETER WADE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 329. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Measured against other area studies fields, Latin American historiography has successfully responded to the challenges posed by the so-called linguistic turn. Social historians in particular have enriched their work by moving beyond class to incorporate new subjectivities and to attend to realms of ideological power in innovative and coherent ways. Compared, say, with the current generation of South Asian subaltern studies scholars, Latin Americanists have not for the most part abandoned material analysis for discursive interpretation. Nor have they engaged in wholesale critiques of modernity in order to embrace the politics of radical alterity. For many Latin Americanists, the guiding intellectual light is not Martin Heidegger, whose celebration of the purity of the folk finds new resonance among a number of postcolonialists, but rather remains Antonio Gramsci, with his emphasis on engaged politics. Well versed in political economy and anti-imperialist struggle yet attuned to the nuances of new social and cultural approaches, Latin Americanists—among them the editors of this book—over the last two decades have leavened structural arguments with explorations into the contingency of politics, the imperatives of ideology, and the subjectivity of experience.

In their fine introduction, editors Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt set an agenda that examines "race" as historical construct and ethnographic experience, understanding the interplay between both as a crucial element in the creation and ongoing transformation of modern Latin American nations. Framing the editors' attempt to combine historical analysis and anthropological interpretation, the volume contains a forward by historian Thomas C. Holt and an afterword by anthropologist Peter Wade.

The editors elaborate four themes to help situate the volume's case studies. The first understands race spatially, locating its construction and utility at the crossroads of regional, national, and international politics. Aims McGuinness's essay, for example, explores how South America became "Latin." The phrase was not coined, as commonly believed, by the French in order to justify intervention in Mexico in the 1860s, but by pan-American intellectuals in the 1850s in response to

increasing U.S. intervention. "The race of *América Latina* finds itself confronted by the Saxon Race," wrote Colombian José María Torres Caicedo following William Walker's attempt to annex Nicaragua and reinstitute slavery, a "mortal enemy who now threatens to destroy its liberty" (p. 99). Excellent essays by Barbara Weinstein and Gerardo Rénique explore how racial ideologies inflected regionalism and state centralization. Rénique describes how northern Sonoran elites following the Mexican Revolution distinguished themselves in racial terms from central and southern Mexican mestizos while revolutionary intellectuals derided the Sonorans as "semi-American" (p. 212). Yet a vicious anti-Chinese campaign that started in the north and quickly spread throughout the nation partially transcended this antipathy. Weinstein identifies a similar dynamic in Brazil, where the rhetoric of modernization proffered by São Paulo's elites thinly draped a deep sense of racial superiority.

Second, the editors state that throughout the course of modern Latin America, racist beliefs—from theories of scientific racism to everyday attitudes—have proven highly resilient, escaping the bounds of biology to surface in a variety of discourses concerning civilization, honor, education, behavior, religion, and body type. Alexandra Minna Stern's wonderful essay on how Mexico's postrevolutionary scientific community reinterpreted Mendelian genetics in a supposedly nonbiological manner underscores this point. The fact that racial ideas always invoke a set of irresolvable paradoxes provided a useful catchall to displace social and political contradictions. Latin American nationalisms, be they Mesoamerican *mestizajes* or Cuban and Brazilian myths of racial democracies, allow, as Wade puts it, "both equality and inequality to be imagined and experienced" (p. 264). Third, this flexibility made race the language not just of rule but of opposition, as exemplified in Lillian Guerra's essay on the struggles to define the contours of postindependence Cuban liberalism. Likewise, James Sanders argues that nineteenth-century Colombian Indians struggled to redefine a liberalism that aimed to divest them of their corporate rights; they instead asserted a belief "that citizenship and Indianness were not incompatible"—a conclusion that closely corresponds to what I have elsewhere argued occurred in Guatemala (p. 77).

Finally, the editors highlight gender as a central component of the power of race. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, a series of public health and eugenics regulatory policies revitalized colonial norms surrounding honor and shame and fused together racial and gender ideologies. The sexualized metaphors of heterosexual coupling, racial mixing, and filial loyalty powerfully represented the birth and diversity of the nation while at the same time subsuming that diversity into a discourse of hierarchy and exclusion. Sueann Caulfield's contribution demonstrates how subterranean values governing race and gender relations surfaced, albeit often in enigmatic form, in sexual crime cases in Brazil in the 1920s and 1930s.

While many of the essays pay close attention to social and political relations, the connection of race to class, as well as to a larger political economy, warrants more conceptual consideration. Since most people spend most of their day in the workplace, be it a shop floor, field, house, or street stall, it would be useful to explore how certain jobs and careers get raced in particular ways and at particular times. The editors conclude their introduction by noting that "globalized neoliberalism" is once again reconfiguring "national and racial identities," an observation that suggests that race is closely linked to transformations in the form and relations of production (p. 21). Likewise, more theoretical attention could be paid to violence. Notwithstanding the suasions of scientific treatises, legal codes, and romances, repression—from everyday direct coercion to extraordinary terror (such as El Salvador's 1932 Matanza and Guatemala's 1982 genocide)—has been an indispensable element in the forging and maintenance of both race and nation. These two points aside, this collection is a superb synthesis, one that usefully summarizes the debates and points to new lines of inquiry opened up by the transformation that has taken place in Latin American historiography over the last couple of decades.

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MIMI SELLER. *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies*. (International Library of Sociology.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. ix, 252. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$25.95.

Mimi Sheller writes that the Caribbean, once "at the heart of the western hemisphere" and central to the rise of Europe to world predominance, has been "spatially and temporally eviscerated" from the imagination of the North Atlantic community of nations. The main narrative of modernity has been edited, she says, and "the Caribbean left on the cutting-room floor." All that remains in the popular imagination are lurid tourist brochures of Paradise Islands or "occasional disaster tales involving hurricanes, boat-people, drug barons, dictators or revolutions." Sheller wants to show that all this—reality and invention—is a product of the Caribbean's unfortunate interconnection with North Atlantic countries and that the latter are all complicit in the current state of affairs. To explain this development over the past 500 years, she plunges into historical currents previously explored by such scholars as Franklin W. Knight and Sidney Mintz, immerses herself in the records of innumerable travelers and writers from Christopher Columbus to Graham Greene, and engages various schools of cultural studies to theorize or to explain her material. Sheller surfaces not with a single, shiny interpretative fish but with a sieve full of provocative and original observations.

In the author's view, the verb that governs relations between the powerful countries of the North Atlantic

and the Caribbean is not "to develop," or "to buy," or "to enjoy," or "to exploit," but "to consume." European and North American publics, she claims, have devoured and continue to consume not only such obvious commodities as sugar cane, bananas, tropical fruits, coffee, rum, and cannabis but also the natural environment in the form of landscapes and "tropical paradises," human bodies in the form of slaves, indentured laborers, and sex workers, cultural products such as texts, images, and music, and knowledge collections such as studies of botany, ethnology, and linguistics. An important interpretative strand that runs through the book shows the persistent continuities as well as the resistance to, and the unintended consequences of, this pattern of "consumption" over the past five centuries.

The conditions necessary for the consumption of the Caribbean were accomplished, in Sheller's view, not just by galleons, marines, and corporate capital and tourists but through its invention by explorers, travelers, writers, area studies "experts," purveyors of academic "knowledge" (there are lots of disowning quotation marks in the book), movies, and music. Much of this, from Columbus's first journal down to cruise ship propaganda, created the Caribbean as an obscure object of desire. This discussion, "what something called the Caribbean has come to mean for people from Western Europe and North America," is effectively developed throughout the book. Indeed, the author says that her work may be best understood "as an analysis of the 'invention' of the idea of the Caribbean in Euro-American culture" (pp. 1–8, 107; italics in the original).

The Caribbean connection with British science—an early example of the "consumption of the Caribbean"—is demonstrated in the work of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), whose famous tropical collections, drawn largely from Jamaica, were central to European botany, while his library "became the foundation of the British Museum." At the same time, his vast real estate holdings left their trace on the modern map of London as Hans Street, Hans Place, Hans Road, Sloane Street, and Sloane Square. The capital for these investments came from his wife's Jamaican plantations. Sloane's biographers, however, do not mention that the income was produced through slave labor "with all the attendant coercion, rape and morality of slaves." Here, Sheller concludes, we can see how "Western medical and scientific technologies [drew] 'natural' and human substances from the Caribbean in order to reconstitute them as Western technologies of knowledge and power as well as sources of capital accumulation and cultural capital" (pp. 18–21, 202).

The section on "the binding mobilities of consumption" observes that the entrance of investors and tourists into the Caribbean has been made possible or desirable by the enforced immobility of others, such as slaves, cane cutters, and cocktail waitresses. These arrangements derive, of course, from asymmetrical power relations in the North Atlantic world. Or, as the

author, rising to the conceptual heights, puts it, "My key concern here is with how flows of people, substances and information are linked together in relations of coupling and decoupling, stickiness and fluidity, by which attachments and proximities are formed and distancing and differentiation achieved" (p. 29).

Turning to more conventional chapters, "Tasting the Tropics from Sweet Tooth to Banana Wars" and "Orienting the Caribbean" are fresh and engaging. Sheller demonstrates her command of a vast range of literature, displays an impressive ability to make original readings of paintings and prints, and takes daring psychosocial leaps such as, for example, the observation that sugar consumption "led to deep ethical anxieties over the foreign substances that entered European bodies and the possible 'blood' with which such commodities were tainted." That is, "that the Caribbean could get inside of Europe and that in consuming the Caribbean, the consumer could also be consumed by it" (pp. 92, 202). Finally, in the last chapter, we are given a seriously pondered account of the emergence of new Caribbean identities together with the production and consumption of Creole literature and its place in theories of globalization. The author threads her way with admirable dexterity through these contentious issues.

This is a rich, original, and uneven work that combines elegant descriptive chapters with complex and occasionally tortured theorizing. Historians and sociologists will appreciate the new detail and insight; Cultural studies folk will, no doubt, welcome a thickening of the theoretical broth.

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CHRISTOPHER R. BOYER. *Becoming Campesinos: Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacán, 1920–1935*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 320. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.95.

This intriguing study goes beyond more traditional regional histories of the Mexican Revolution to examine the effect of revolutionary ideology on Mexico's rural poor. Christopher R. Boyer explores the creation of the distinct political category of *campesino* (a term not commonly used prior to the Mexican Revolution, but one that is now frequently used to refer to Mexico's rural poor) and probes the extent to which rural folk themselves embraced this identity. His focus is the state of Michoacán, which produced Francisco Múgica and Lázaro Cárdenas, key figures in the formation of Mexico's postrevolutionary state. Boyer argues that, as political leaders and local activists sought to organize Michoacán's rural poor and to enlist them in their program of radical change, they imposed their own ideas about the realities and needs of *campesinos*. Michoacán's peasants were not a homogenous group, however, so that their responses to the revolutionary program varied, and they did not

easily adopt a new group identity. Indeed, *campesino* identity was constantly negotiated in the decades after the Mexican Revolution.

The initial chapters of Boyer's study examine the evolution of *campesino* as a political category and the process by which revolutionary leaders sought to give Michoacán's rural poor a historical vision, based on oppression, that would help to unite them. Boyer contends that Michoacán's "village revolutionaries" (local activists, including agrarian leaders and school-teachers) played a key role in the negotiation of *campesino* identity. For them, *campesinos* represented a distinct social class with common interests and grievances, related primarily to issues of land. They were seen as a key element in the ideological formation of the postrevolutionary state, and their struggle for land reform was to be a hallmark of Mexico's social revolution.

Múgica, who served briefly as Michoacán's governor from 1920 to 1922, was among the first to meet peasant resistance to the revolutionary program. Boyer traces the efforts of Múgica and the "village revolutionaries" to enlist *campesino* support for land reform and for the secularization of Mexican society. The latter goal, an echo of the anticlericalism of the revolutionary era, was to be achieved primarily through the establishment of secular schools that would help instill in Mexican students a sense of revolutionary nationalism. In the end, asserts Boyer, Múgica and the "village revolutionaries" had limited success in promoting a plan of radical change. At the same time, however, the Múgica era did see the emergence of a collective identity among some of the state's rural poor. This was aided by Múgica's decision to arm the state's peasants in the face of elite resistance to land reform.

Boyer devotes a separate chapter to the effects of the anticlerical agenda of state leaders and "village revolutionaries." He outlines the efforts of Mexico's Catholic Church to promote "Catholic nationalism" as an alternative to the more radical nationalism envisioned by the likes of Múgica. Catholic nationalism endorsed limited economic and social reform within a traditional framework that respected the church and private property. This conservative view clashed with revolutionary ideology in the Cristero Rebellion of 1926–1929. As Boyer demonstrates, the Cristero Rebellion underscored the differences between "village revolutionaries" and Michoacán's peasants, for while some fought against the church in order to preserve the hope for land reform, many other peasants mobilized in the church's defense. In this way, argues Boyer, Michoacán's rural poor continued to negotiate their own identities.

Concluding chapters examine the institutionalization of *campesino* politics under Cárdenas (who served as the state's governor from 1928 to 1932) and in the context of the emergence of a national government controlled by an official party (eventually known as the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI). Cárdenas took up the challenge of mobilizing Michoacán's

peasants and workers. He established an official labor union and he elevated "village revolutionaries" to high political posts. In this way, Cárdenas laid the groundwork for a postrevolutionary state that would include *campesinos* in the political process. *Campesinos* were thus empowered, although, in Boyer's terms, it was "regimented empowerment" since their ability to be heard depended on national leaders and changing political agendas.

This is a well-written and compelling study that makes extensive use of Mexican national and local archives. Although the thread of identity politics seems to fade a bit in later chapters, Boyer argues persuasively that Michoacán's rural poor accepted a *campesino* identity on their own terms. And while that identity was a product of negotiation, it was also of lasting significance. Thus, even in the 1990s, *campesinos* in Michoacán and other areas of Mexico asserted their collective identity to protest the government's decision to end land reform.

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1932: SCARS OF MEMORY (CICATRÍZ DE LA MEMORIA). Written, directed, and produced by Jeffrey Gould and Carlos Henríquez Consalvi. USA. 2002; color and black and white; 53 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

This documentary film explores in detail the events surrounding a horrific and formative event in El Salvadoran history known as *La Matanza* (the massacre), which occurred in 1932. The Salvadoran government systematically killed thousands of its citizens (mostly indigenous peasants) over the course of a few weeks in order to squelch a leftist uprising. The setting was the depths of the Great Depression, when a steep decline in coffee prices had cast the already considerable social, economic, and political inequities endemic to that poor and densely populated Central American nation into high relief. Believing the situation ripe for rebellion, Socorro Rojo, an urban-based communist workers' union, began to organize among peasants living in the predominantly indigenous western part of the country and eventually launched a series of strikes in favor of land, work, and food.

On January 22, 1932, Socorro Rojo and other disaffected indigenous peasants began an uprising that killed a dozen or so civilians and some thirty soldiers and succeeded in taking over at least five western towns. The Salvadoran government responded quickly and decisively. The army was given orders to kill anyone suspected of participating in the uprising, specifically Indians (who at the time were easily distinguishable by their Nahuatl language and, in the case of women, by their mode of dress), and those who were considered active subversives. By the end of January, more than 10,000 Salvadorans had been summarily executed.

Because Indians were specifically targeted for assas-

sination during *La Matanza*, 1932 marks the point in Salvadoran history when indigenous people, who survived by abandoning their languages and customs for *ladino* (non-Indian) ways, largely ceased to exist as an easily identifiable ethnic group. In the short run, the massacre did precisely what it was intended to do: it intimidated the communist opposition. The terror wrought by *La Matanza* was so pervasive that it effectively silenced political dissent in the country for nearly half a century, until the issues that underlay the event exploded into the civil war that ravaged El Salvador from the late 1970s until 1992. The filmmakers suggest that it is only now that the hidden truth of the massacre—a story never taught in Salvadoran schools—can at last be revealed.

This film was made in 1998, some six years after the signing of the Peace Accords, and sixty-six years after the massacre. It utilizes documentary research, photographs, film clips, and oral history interviews with survivors. It is a remarkable work, in large part because the descriptions and images of those dark days are entirely new to us; the interviews unfold with an urgency and freshness of tales well remembered but never recounted. There is an immediacy that both horrifies and compels the viewer; even the very old survivors recall their memories with clarity and precision, and with none of the rehearsed or rote qualities that one often associates with survivors of other traumatic events who have told their stories many times over. The film is also remarkable in its use of images. Filmmakers Jeffrey Gould and Carlos Henríquez Consalvi have located rare photographs and film footage housed in archives in El Salvador, the United States, and England. It is surprising that so much visual material was available to illustrate the losers' side. Not only do we see the images of official El Salvador, including footage of Maximiliano Hernández-Martínez, the eccentric and ardently anticommunist general who ordered the massacre, but we also see the face and hear the voice (roughly filmed and poorly synchronized) of Miguel Marmol, a radical leader who survived the massacre and who wrote some of the only extant contemporary accounts of the events.

While the filmmakers' politics quietly underscore the film—Gould is a distinguished historian and an activist scholar, and Henríquez Consalvi is the director of El Salvador's Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen and a founder of the FMLN's rebel radio—they do not throw off the balance of the work overall. Despite its importance, there is not an extensive historiography of this event: Thomas Anderson's *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932* (1971) and Patricia Alvarenga's *Cultura y ética de la violencia: El Salvador, 1880–1932* (1996) remain the standard works. These books saw the uprising and the massacre in class terms, defining the uprising as one in which urban, politically sophisticated leaders led rural peasants into confrontation with the power elite, only to be brutally repressed by that elite. Gould and Henríquez Consalvi, by contrast, describe *La Matanza* largely in terms of

ethnicity and identity politics. They interpret the government's response—disproportionate to the threat by almost anyone's estimation—as one based as much on racism as on a fear of communism. The massacre was not merely an overwhelming response to a perceived “communist threat”; it also offered a solution to what the government perceived as El Salvador's longstanding “Indian problem.”

This lens of interpretation raises a number of interesting issues that the film only touches on. Not the least of these is the question of how indigenous people in El Salvador (quite understandably resentful and distrustful of the rich and the government after the rebellion) felt toward the urban *ladinos* of the Socorro Rojo who, however well-intentioned, had led them into disaster? Elsewhere, the film provocatively mentions that “local peasants equated the cult of the Virgin of Adelanto [an image of local and ethnic significance] with the movement to seek social justice.” This tantalizing but unelaborated statement begs for explanation as to ways in which indigenous peasants in western El Salvador may have used religious imagery or messianism to vest themselves collectively in the political struggle. These are only two of the questions with which this rich, provocative, and exquisitely researched film leaves us, as we see the “scars of memory” at last revealed in the clear light of day.

VIRGINIA GARRARD-BURNETT

University of Texas,

Austin [All reviewers of books or films by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

JULIE A. CHARLIP. *Cultivating Coffee: The Farmers of Carazo, Nicaragua, 1880–1930*. (Research in International Studies, Latin America Series, number 39.) Athens: Ohio University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 288. \$28.00.

History matters, or so Julie A. Charlip argues in her new study of agriculture and politics in nineteenth-century Carazo, Nicaragua. Because the leaders of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) misunderstood their country's rural past, the post-1979 government pursued agrarian reform policies that not only were inappropriate but alienated groups in the countryside, preparing the ground for the Contreras. If such a finding is no longer entirely novel, it nevertheless provides an important reminder to ideologically driven revolutionaries and an always-welcome reason to pay attention to history and historians.

One after another Charlip demolishes the central propositions of Jaime Wheelock's classic *Imperialismo y Dictadura* (1985), at least as these might apply to Carazo. The late nineteenth-century state did not confiscate *ejidos* for export coffee production but instead community lands expanded in these years. Coffee *fincas* (estates) became larger not chiefly by engrossing state land (*baldíos*) but rather growers more typically purchased privately held properties,

usually a bit at a time. Small-scale commercial farmers and subsistence producers did not suffer widespread proletarianization but instead many prospered, enjoying ready access to *ejido* and *cofradía* land. If land conflicts were common, these involved not so much large properties preying on weaker neighbors but instead pitted one small holder against another or were disputes between small holders and communities or among communities. State policy and the efforts of the large coffee growers sought not to undermine but to stabilize small farmer agriculture, in order to guarantee food supply and the availability of a seasonal labor force for the coffee harvest, as well as to supplement the coffee output from larger properties.

Whether, however, in such a socioeconomic formation “[t]here is . . . never really a labor shortage—if wages are high enough, people will work” (p. 148) is debatable. On the one hand, of course, the point is moot: coffee exporters would not offer higher wages, both because of their desire for profits and due to a lack of concern for developing domestic markets. On the other hand, agricultural workers, subsistence farmers, and petty commodity producers may not yet have come to understand the limitless possibilities of consumer capitalism and might instead have exhibited the “leisure preference” or “backward bending labor supply curve” that so scandalized foreign travelers and would-be employers in nineteenth-century Latin America. Recognizing this the Nicaraguan state and Carazo's larger estates tried instead to mobilize labor with wage advances but quickly discovered that they did not dispose the coercive capacity required to enforce debt peonage. (Elizabeth Dore has found that in that nearby Diriomo, by contrast, debt peonage did function during these years, based, however, on custom and personalist relations rather than law or coercion.)

Charlip argues, and supports her claim with extensive quantitative data, that capital was readily available at reasonable rates to Carazo's small and large agricultural producers alike, loaned chiefly by individuals through personal contacts rather than by banks or merchant houses, and most borrowers were able to repay what they owed. Debt, therefore, was neither an important mechanism for labor control or for acquiring land, but seventy percent of Carazo's coffee growers lacked the machinery necessary to prepare the crop for market (p. 112), opening the way for exploitation by processor monopsonies.

The book's last chapter focuses on politics and state formation at the local level. The political system of pre-Somoza rural Nicaragua was “flawed” (p. 193), the author finds, but relatively democratic and involved considerable competition for local office, at least until the municipalities lost power under José Santos Zelaya. The law and the courts, if sometimes swayed by power and money, nevertheless provided a space for popular grievances with a chance of fair results, and state agents even occasionally took sides against employers and the large *fincas*. Much of Carazo's rural

population embraced the state-sponsored modernization project that coffee represented, Charlip concludes, because they saw in the new crop not a threat but an opportunity; it was a project that included them as citizens and participants rather than simply as raw material.

This is a model monograph of effective argument and impressive research. It takes its place in an emerging interpretation of pre-Somoza rural Nicaragua that sees much of the countryside as, if not a utopia, at least a world of modest possibilities and prosperities for small farmers, an interpretation at odds with an imagined past driven both by class politics and twentieth-century realities.

DAVID MCCREERY
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W. JOHN GREEN. *Gaitanismo, Left Liberalism, and Popular Mobilization in Colombia*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xiv, 365. \$59.95.

Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, the most significant political leader of the "popular classes" in twentieth-century Colombia, became highly visible in the late 1920s when he denounced the Colombian army's massacre of strikers against United Fruit in December 1928. During most of his political career, Gaitán identified himself as a Liberal, although from 1933 to mid-1935 he led the independent left movement UNIR (Unión Nacional Izquierdista Revolucionaria). After his return to the Liberal fold, successive Liberal presidents sought to retain his loyalty with appointments as mayor of Bogotá, minister of education, and minister of labor. In 1946, his candidacy for the presidency of Colombia, as a dissident Liberal in opposition to the Liberal Party's official candidate, led to the election, by a plurality, of the Conservative candidate Mariano Ospina Pérez. Gaitán's demonstration of political strength in 1946, however, forced his designation as leader of the Liberal Party by reluctant party chiefs. Gaitán's assassination on April 9, 1948, shattered the hopes of his many followers, who in desperation and rage destroyed much of downtown Bogotá, while upheavals occurred in other parts of the country. Gaitán's death accelerated the partisan violence that ravaged rural Colombia from 1946 to 1954 and beyond. Many believe that by removing its most effective leader, it aborted populist politics in Colombia.

Many Colombian works have focused on Gaitán, his career, his assassination, and the subsequent violence. W. John Green's book is the third substantial study on Gaitán published in the United States. The first, Richard E. Sharpless's *Gaitán of Colombia: A Political Biography* (1978), focuses primarily on Gaitán as a leader. Sharpless situates Gaitán in Colombia's lower middle class and depicts him as a populist in political style but a socialist in ideology. Herbert Braun's *The Assassination of Gaitán: Public Life and Urban Violence in Colombia* (1985) sees Gaitán as less radical and more given to middle-class morality. He notes that, as

mayor of Bogotá, Gaitán stressed "propriety" (pp. 70–73). Braun seeks to place Gaitán in the context of Colombia's twentieth-century political culture. The dominant political elite adhered to *convivencia*: in effect, a politics of civility within an upper-class club, clearly removed from the mass of the population. Gaitán broke the *convivencia* mold both in his lower-middle-class origins and in the dramatic manner in which he appealed to the popular classes, which upper-class politicians found threatening.

Whereas Braun tends to focus on Gaitán in relation to his supporters in Bogotá, Green gives greater emphasis to Gaitán's provincial followers, particularly in Cali, Ibagué, the Magdalena Valley, and the Caribbean coast. In the last region, the port of Barranquilla was especially important, giving Gaitán 71.7 percent of its vote in 1946, despite the efforts of local Liberal bosses to undermine his cause.

Green, like Sharpless and Braun, sees Gaitán as a leader of a multi-class coalition, including elements of the middle class. But Green stresses more Gaitán's links to labor, stressing his role as "the most celebrated labor lawyer of his age" (p. 136). Significant among his union supporters were militant river, railway, and oil workers in the Magdalena basin.

Green's work is particularly useful in mining the correspondence and publications of Gaitán's provincial followers. In this material Green finds a strong current of radicalism. Green also notes that women played an active role in the Gaitanista movement, even though they did not yet have the vote. In this regard, as in other respects, however, he relies mostly on expressions of beliefs and makes use of little statistical evidence. This may reflect the inadequacy of existing statistics, particularly as electoral statistics may have been manipulated by political bosses.

Green's book, with its attention to the beliefs of Gaitán supporters in the provinces and in the popular classes, is a welcome addition to the literature on this Colombian populist martyr and his movement.

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SINCLAIR THOMSON. *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency*. (Living in Latin America.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 399. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

This important book argues for a major reinterpretation of the Andean political order during the second half of the eighteenth century. Sinclair Thomson focuses on politics in the indigenous villages of the bishopric of La Paz but seeks to demonstrate that changes prompted at the village level shaped power constellations throughout the hierarchy of colonial Spanish authorities. He also argues that his regional study speaks to similar processes throughout the central Andean highlands.

Covering the era from the 1740s to the 1780s—already known in the literature as the era of "Andean

insurrections"—Thomson divides his study into two analytical parts. The first discusses the massive crisis and decay of the colonial authority structures built during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the second treats the realignment of Andean power constellations from the village level up, climaxing in the quite radical Tupaj Katari movement (related to the "Great Rebellion" popularly identified with Tupac Amaru II in the region of Cuzco) during the early 1780s. His main contention is that during these forty years most hereditary caciques lost their legitimacy and ultimately their power. In their stead power shifted to the base of the communal social structure, the rise of plebeian communal democracy that is well known from the postindependence era and has often been romanticized as a constant of Andean peasant societies.

Caciques were losing their legitimacy and power for complex, often locally determined reasons. Competing claims over the office by various lines of the hereditary lords, involvement in the exploitative *reparto de mercancías* (forced distribution of goods) by corregidores and generally a sense that many caciques were no longer serving the interests of their communities seemed to be the major reasons why the communal base withdrew its recognition. In stark contrast to most of the literature, Thomson claims that "Inca nationalism"—the emphasis of ties to the Incaic past by many Andean lords during the eighteenth century—did not form part of the rising tide of communal insurgency. Rather it functioned to exalt these lords within the Spanish colonial realm.

The other side of the crumbling of indirect colonial rule through caciques was the autonomous assertion of the communal base. Thomson is at his best when he shows how, in dozens of communities, large numbers of peasants mobilized against unresponsive and haughty caciques, the corregidores, priests, large landholders, and higher-echelon colonial authorities. The core vision common to most of the local grass-roots movements concerned autonomy and a new imaginary of political power, focused on the common good of the community and new authorities closely controlled by the communal base. Thomson portrays these new authorities (*alcaldes*, *hilacatas*, *principales*) as quite plebeian, far from a new communal power elite. The specific ideological content of the mobilizations could vary considerably, depending on local power constellations. While Thomson describes most cases of peasant mobilization in La Paz since the 1740s as anticolonial, their agendas varied with regard to ethnic and class alliances, the need to eliminate Europeans, more monarchical or republican definitions of new authorities, and acceptance or rejection of Catholicism.

One of the greatest merits of this book is Thomson's convincing demonstration that the massive pan-Andean insurgency of 1780–1782 built on the practices, agendas, and shifting local power constellations that had developed for decades in several cycles of communal mobilization, especially during the 1760s and

early 1770s. What were new since the late 1770s were the notion of a return to Inca rule, the enhanced radicality of at least some of the regional movements, and their broad interconnectedness.

The book is based on exhaustive research and strives not to generalize or draw facile conclusions. Yet, in its underlying interpretive pattern, the book seems somewhat overwritten to this reader, tending to pronounce the most radical shift in community politics that can be read into the documentation: a shift in power from the top to the base of the community, from vertical rule to horizontal governance. I missed any consideration of the rise of new vertical power structures in the communities (which are well known from the nineteenth century), based on clientelistic linkages to increasingly fragmented hispanic elites. Thomson strains to explain every aspect of Tupaj Katari's behavior during the insurgency of 1781–1782 as appropriate in terms of Aymara cultural norms. While acting wildly in battle may have been one permissible facet of such norms, this hardly explains Katari's orders to have subordinates or allies mutilated or executed in camp for at times minor offenses. Resorting so broadly to an argument of cultural appropriateness ends up doing the opposite of what is intended: it demeans the culture in question and leaves no space for individual variation of behavior and for responsibility.

But this cannot detract from Thomson's overall accomplishments. Based on exemplary research, he has come up with a powerful new interpretive lens for understanding peasant mobilizations in the eighteenth-century Andes and gives us a most vivid picture of peasant politics during that era.

NILS JACOBSEN
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JUANITA DE BARROS. *Order and Place in a Colonial City: Patterns of Struggle and Resistance in Georgetown, British Guiana, 1889–1924*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 251. \$75.00.

Juanita De Barros has written a suggestive historical study that enables us to understand British Guiana's reality by means of detailed and well-documented research on ethnic, cultural, and economic clashes among different social groups living in the city of Georgetown between 1889 and 1924. De Barros places special emphasis on the fight to maintain cultural hegemony over public spaces—mainly the markets, parks, and streets—between the Creoles, who conceived of them as spaces in which to socialize, and the British ruling class, which wanted to impose Victorian ideas of tidiness and cleanliness in said places.

Disease, sanitation, ethnicity, and social class are four key ideas that run throughout the book, and they constitute the core of the dispute between Georgetown's working people and its British ruling class. Sanitary and drainage problems, inherent to a territory

located below sea level, favored high mortality and morbidity rates, which had a strong impact on labor. Political reluctance to enforce the laws forced many Georgetowners to live in unsanitary conditions and also contributed to the stigmatization of the nonwhite masses as dirty and disease ridden. The dispute between elite and nonelite cultures is evident in language usage, gender roles, perceptions of unemployment, perceptions of amusement, etc. Elite fears led to the creation of institutions such as the almshouse, the Onderneeming Industrial School, and the Girl's Reformatory.

De Barros definitively shows that the conflict originated between the hucksters (leaseholders of stalls in the public markets) and the hawkers (street vendors) over the issues of payment of fees and competition. Ethnic and cultural differences made the problem more serious. This became evident in the sanitary conflict generated by the production and door-to-door sale of milk, an activity dominated by merchants of Indo-Guianese origin. They were repeatedly accused of threatening the life of infants and of hindering the progress of the colony by selling adulterated, old milk produced under dubious sanitary conditions. In fact, some were even denounced as lepers—archetypes of filth and disease. Racism, hygiene, and morality combined to disqualify an important income source for the Indo-Guianese. (Nonetheless, the absence of political willingness hindered, once again, effective enforcement of the law.)

De Barros ends her book with an analysis of the three principal race riots—1889, 1905, and 1924—that resulted from the daily interactions of people with different cultural traditions in key social places. These riots reflected the ideas of the white ruling class about the role to be played by nonwhite people within society, as well as the disputes between ethnic groups. Their carnivalesque aspect, which included taking over public spaces, and that usually reached high levels of violence, constituted a challenge to the ruling elite and its cultural hegemony and contributed to the creation of a peculiar Guianese ritual of protest. The book ends by emphasizing how the collective actions of the Guianese masses in public spaces brought them into the public sphere.

This entertaining and profound work is a must read for all interested in modern history and the complex roots of British Guiana's national identity.

ANA PAULINA MALAVASSI-AGUILAR
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FRANCISCO VIDAL LUNA and HERBERT S. KLEIN. *Slavery and the Economy of São Paulo 1750–1850*. (Social Science History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 273. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This book represents a collaboration between two prominent economic historians of Brazil, Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, both of whom have studied and published extensively on slavery and econ-

omy in colonial and nineteenth-century Brazil. It is based on some fifteen years of painstaking archival research on the previously unknown and unpublished population and production censuses from 1760s until the 1860s and traces the historical evolution of the *paulista* agricultural economy and society.

The book is composed of eight chapters. The first three chapters examine “the internal and external forces that moved São Paulo from a relatively marginal and isolated frontier subsistence economy to a slave-based, commercial crop economy tied to the world market” (p. 2). The commercial crop economy was first based on sugar production in the West Paulista region during the eighteenth century, and then began to flourish with the cultivation of coffee in the southern Paraíba Valley and its associated northern coastal regions in the first half of the nineteenth century. Chapter four focuses on multiproduction output on the *paulista* sugar and coffee estates, which contrasts with the case of monoculture production on sugar estates in northeastern Brazil and the Caribbean. Chapters five to eight examine the major characteristics of several individual groups who constituted the agricultural society in the province of São Paulo: slave owners, of whom free people of color constituted six percent (p. 113); the enslaved population of African descent, poor whites, and free coloreds; and the non-agricultural population, such as artisans, merchants, and liberal professionals. The authors conclude by comparing the seemingly unique slave-based plantation economy and society in pre-1850 São Paulo not only to the United States but also to Cuba and the French and English Caribbean.

This reviewer has a few minor issues to point out. Luna and Klein ponder the crucial presence of the free colored and their (at least socioeconomic) integration into the white society in Brazil, regardless of racism expressed strongly by the white elite (p. 159). It seems that the authors have not consulted Emília Viotti da Costa's *The Brazilian Empire: Myth and Histories* (originally published in 1985), in which she analyzes why there were substantial numbers of free people of African descent in Brazil throughout the slavery regime. Second, Luna and Klein discuss the prevalence of color prejudice in the practice of manumission and maintain: “Blacks, in fact, tended to purchase their freedom more than did their *pardo* peers” (p. 167). It is true that the slave's color mattered in manumission, but the authors should have distinguished Brazilian-born from African-born slaves among those who were classified as “blacks.” African-born slaves hardly benefited from their owners' patronage, unlike their Brazilian-born counterparts, and therefore often turned to paid manumission. Third, in relation to the second point, this book does not examine the complexities created by the importation of massive slave labor from Africa among the enslaved population. Luna and Klein often emphasize its “negative impact of the growth of the resident slave population” (p. 207), but one might be interested in their discussions of the African-born

slaves' contributions to the larger slave society and the interactions between Brazilian-born and African-born within the slave community beyond the "demographic characteristics" presented in chapter six.

This book makes an important contribution to the economic history of Brazil and Latin America. As the authors rightfully emphasize (p. 1), this study has uncovered the "forgotten" part of the *paulista* economic history. Most of the preceding historical studies on São Paulo only cover the period after around the mid-nineteenth century, with the termination of transatlantic slavery, destruction of slavery, and European immigration to Brazil. In this sense, this book completes our historical knowledge of the "powerhouse" state of São Paulo. Furthermore, following the recent publication of books by B. J. Barickman (1998), Laird W. Bergard (1999), and Kathleen J. Higgins (1999), this monograph is an extremely welcome addition to the quantitative studies of New World slave systems and comparative slavery. Given its meticulous presentation of the abundant and invaluable quantitative data on economy and society in São Paulo and Minas Gerais, it will be widely read and utilized by scholars and students for future research on Brazilian slavery and beyond. Indeed, most of the statistical data appear in English for the first time.

MIEKO NISHIDA
Hartwick College

MIEKO NISHIDA. *Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender, and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 255. \$39.95.

Africans and their descendants, argues Mieko Nishida, "created and re-created distinctive identities in diverse situations during the slavery regime" (p. 1). Her focus is on nineteenth-century Salvador, Brazil's second city, entrepôt for the sugar-growing province of Bahia, and long a mecca for students of the African diaspora. Ethnicity, gender, and race inform Nishida's analysis, and she stresses that no single, homogenous process of "historical creation of collective identity" (pp. 5–6) took place among the city's Afro-Brazilians.

In her first chapters, Nishida amply demonstrates points familiar to experts. Africans rejected master-imposed Christianity, names, and ethnic labels; African men dominated portage and artisan trades, while women controlled petty marketing. Africans manifested ethnic identities in marriage patterns, voluntary associations such as brotherhoods, and slave rebellions, but African women "often chose to separate themselves from their male counterparts" (p. 70). A second section of the book examines freed Africans; the possibility of winning manumission inhibited the formation of unified identities, as those who would be free manipulated their ethnicity by, for example, purchasing newly arrived Africans of the same ethnic group and subsequently trading them in for their freedom. After the mid-century end of the slave trade,

the proportion of Africans in the population dwindled and they came to see themselves as "Africans" rather than members of distinct ethnic groups; those who returned to Africa formed a "Brazilian" community in Lagos.

The third section of the book surveys several manifestations of identity among the Brazilian born. Marriage patterns among the free followed racial hierarchies, and the demands for "liberty" that emerged from the 1798 Tailors' Conspiracy or the creation of new sodalities, limited to creoles, reflected attempts on the part of this group to distinguish themselves from Africans. The last chapter focuses on the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos (Society for the Protection of the Needy or SPD), organized out of a black brotherhood in 1851. It apparently reflected the growth of a black artisan class whose members asserted a gendered racial identity as *pretos*. Women were excluded from the SPD, and its charter implied that its members were bread-winning heads of households.

Nishida's attention to gender is most welcome, as is her recognition of complex class and status differences among Afro-Brazilians, but identity is a hard row to hoe. It is difficult to infer highly personal and subjective identity from the hasty jottings of the notarial scribes, parish priests, and census takers who generated so much of the statistical documentation with which she worked (wills, baptismal and marriage registers, censuses, and manumission and sale records). At times, Nishida loses the thread of her argument altogether. She cannot say with certainty that the SPD's charter reflected broader trends in nineteenth-century Salvador, and this chapter trails off into an exposition of the current SPD leadership's views about Brazilian racial politics. More attention to the racial rhetoric that periodically surfaced in postindependence politics would have allowed Nishida to comment further on the views of the Brazilian born. She pays surprisingly little attention to the Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé, long considered a crucible of black identity; she cites Rachel Harding's *A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness* (2000), the latest statement of this view, but does not respond to the book's argument. Nor is there much sense of the Atlantic-world perspective on culture and identity that has transformed African-American historiography since the beginning of the 1990s.

Much of what Nishida presents will be familiar to historians of Bahia. Her research in quantifiable sources largely repeats the work of Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso and her students (published in the 1980s), which Nishida does not always sufficiently credit. Her discussion of slave rebellions (pp. 62–70, 93–101) scarcely mentions João José Reis's *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (1993), although it largely reproduces his argument. She also fails to engage other important works on African and Afro-Bahian identity that appeared in the 1990s, such as Reis's 1997 article on the Nagô (Yoruba) porters' strike of 1857 in the *Journal of Latin*

American Studies or Maria Inês Côrtes de Oliveira's study of African identity in Bahia (*Revista USP*, 1995–1996), to name but two studies that speak directly to Nishida's questions. Several passages in this book rely on dated and surpassed secondary sources. Sloppy editing pervades the book (proper names, even of well-known individuals, are often misspelled). Assertions about the relative sizes of Brazilian cities and proportions of slaves in their population are contradicted by statistics presented elsewhere in the book (pp. 2, 12, 170) or even on the same page (p. 22). In short, this is a disappointing book whose author missed an opportunity to make a significant contribution to the burgeoning historiography of African-American culture.

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SANDRA LAUDERDALE GRAHAM. *Caetana Says No: Women's Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society*. (New Approaches to the Americas.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 183. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.00.

In a neatly compact monograph focusing on planter culture and the dynamics of master-slave relationships, Sandra Lauderdale Graham revisits intriguing historical issues of enduring interest to scholars and students of Brazilian slavery. Through her focused reading of civil and ecclesiastical documents, the author unveils the separate stories of two nineteenth-century women—Inácia of the planter class and Caetana, a house slave—both resident in the coffee-growing region of the Paraíba River Valley. Lauderdale Graham uses their stories to suggest ways in which the authoritarian practices of slave ownership and patriarchal rule could, on occasion, be contested, if not ultimately thwarted by otherwise powerless women.

Caetana's experience is both fascinating and particularly salient to scholarly interpretations of slave autonomy (and the lack thereof) in Brazilian slave regimes. Caetana lived on the Rio Claro plantation in São Paulo province, where her owner, Captain Tolosa, not only supported ecclesiastical marriage for all of his adult slaves but actually selected a man for Caetana and ordered her to marry him. Unexpectedly, Caetana objected and refused to consummate the marriage. Remarkably, Captain Tolosa relented and pursued a church annulment on Caetana's behalf. Lauderdale Graham deftly explores the patriarchal mores displayed by Caetana's male relatives and godparents, all of whom supported Tolosa's initial imposition of marriage. The author notes, however, that the master later trumped the patriarchal authority of Caetana's kin by acceding to her desperate wish to remain single.

Inácia Delfina Werneck's actions threatened the assets as well as the slaveholding identity of her hugely successful plantation family when she declared in her will that five of her personal slaves should both be freed and awarded ownership of eight other slaves in

her possession. Brazilian inheritance laws, derived from the Portuguese, empowered women by distributing property equally among male and female heirs and by allowing property owners lacking direct heirs (such as the eighty-six-year-old Inácia) to bequeath their own estates. Nevertheless, Lauderdale Graham ably demonstrates how the patriarchally defined limits on Inácia's education—she was illiterate and therefore dependent on more skilled male relatives—thwarted her testamentary intentions.

As Inácia's story affirms, the synergy of slaveholder ideology and patriarchal thought was such that the latter could serve to reinforce the former. Caetana's tale reminds us that patriarchal relationships existed at even the lowest rungs of Brazilian society. As scholars have noted for elsewhere in Latin America, women contested patriarchy when men could not or would not deliver the protections incumbent upon their position. Caetana said no, perhaps because she had the expectation, however unusual, even for a privileged slave, that the protective power of her ultimate patriarch—her owner—should not fail her.

Lauderdale Graham should be commended for bringing to the attention of English-speaking readers such rich and thought-provoking details of nineteenth-century Brazilian slave society and culture.

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JERRY DÁVILA. *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 292. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

This book by Jerry Dávila shines light into one of Brazilian historiography's darkest corners: the role of public education in structuring racial inequality in Brazil. Since the 1970s and 1980s, demographers and sociologists have compiled reams of statistical data demonstrating racial inequality in the educational system and the workplace in Brazil. Highlighting the structural and institutional bases of racism, these studies effectively laid to rest any lingering notions of Brazil as a racial democracy. Yet the effort to reconstruct how such inequalities were reproduced and transmitted over the course of a century since emancipation has dogged historians. Although Brazil has the largest population of African descent in the Americas and the second largest in the world after Nigeria, official documents are often racially opaque, bequeathing a maddening silence to researchers of race (and victims of racism) in Brazil. Tellingly, we still know far more about racial ideologies in Brazil than how these ideas were historically operationalized in public policy (with the notable exception of immigration laws) or how they have been negotiated, deflected, challenged, or internalized by Brazilians over time.

In using official sources to unmask the institutionalization of racist ideologies in the Brazilian educational

system during the early twentieth century, Dávila goes beyond the standard detective work of reading against the grain; he effectively aims to break the cultural and linguistic code imprinted in the historical documentation that, in his view, has been critical in both camouflaging and effecting racially discriminatory policies in Brazilian public schools. Behind the technocratic and hygienic standards endorsed by the small cadre of medical, scientific, and social scientific experts who crafted educational policies, Dávila sees the modernization of Brazilian elites' longstanding agenda to remedy the "degeneracy" of the large nonwhite population through a process of racial mixture and cultural "whitening."

According to Dávila, public schools in Rio de Janeiro strove to normalize social behavior, shoring up ideals of whiteness through a metanarrative of science, nationalism, and modernity. Indeed, one of the most illuminating arguments of the book underscores the influence of eugenics on the architects of public school reform between the 1920s and 1940s, emblemized in the founding of the Ministry of Education and Health in 1930. Student health brigades and physical education aimed to improve juvenile hygiene and, by extension, to strengthen the Brazilian nation. The Institute for Educational Research, created by Rio School System Director Anísio Teixeira in the early 1930s (and modeled after the Columbia University Teachers College, where Teixeira had studied under John Dewey), also housed departments of anthropometry and of orthophrenology and mental hygiene that betrayed the influence of Lombrosian criminology on educational programming. Biometric and psychological data was collected on students to track their progress toward physical fitness and social success—a status implicitly equated with whiteness, according to Dávila. Although the book does not afford as much insight into the attitudes of students and their parents, Dávila notes that poor families apparently valued the medical care and free lunches that schools provided, irrespective of their eugenic underpinnings.

Dávila shows that public education in Brazil expanded impressively in the 1930s and 1940s and netted important results; in Rio de Janeiro, the majority of the Afro-Brazilian population was literate by 1940. Yet because the public education system in Brazil remained under the jurisdiction of state and municipal governments, marked disparities divided the industrializing south from the largely agrarian north, and state capitals from rural areas, with the disadvantaged geographical areas containing high concentrations of peoples of African and indigenous descent. Even in the capital city of Rio, demand for public education consistently outstripped supply.

But Dávila holds the technocratic mentality of educational reformers accountable as well for reproducing—and arguably deepening—racial inequalities. Standardized testing served to marginalize and segregate poor students and students of color. The displacement of Afro-Brazilian instructors by white middle-

class women was another consequence of specialized teacher training and selection. Although environmental rather than biological factors were typically identified as the determinative cause of "backwardness" or "superstition," Afro-Brazilian identities still tended to be cast in essentialist terms.

Like other works that have foregrounded whiteness as an analytical category, Dávila's book is bound to engender controversy for what some might claim is a totalizing narrative that flattens historical causality and contradiction. One of the primary reasons why poor and Afro-Brazilian students dropped out of school, which is unexplored, was largely "extracurricular": the role of child labor in helping to sustain indigent families. And although health education may have been aimed at "whitening" the Brazilian population, it also undoubtedly contributed to lengthening its overall life span: between the 1940s and the 1990s, average life expectancy in Brazil rose from approximately forty-two to sixty-six years. Yet this is a noteworthy book precisely because it strives to tackle the thorny set of methodological, analytical, and political issues that have clouded an assessment of the historic relationship between race and social policy in Brazil.

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ELIZABETH QUAY HUTCHISON. *Labors Appropriate to Their Sex: Gender, Labor, and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900–1930*. (Latin American Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 342. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

Elizabeth Quay Hutchison's book is an excellent and important study. Chile, with its forceful twentieth-century labor movements and its once strong Communist Party and still strong Socialist Party, has long attracted labor historians. Early on, it had its own labor historians, Chilean radicals such as Hernán Ramírez Necochea and Julio César Jobet who commended the working-class organizations that the early twentieth-century Chilean Left built, and who along with subsequent labor historians from Chile and elsewhere argued that miners were central to understanding the fortunes of labor in Chilean national history. Studies by a younger generation of historians, whose works were published in the 1980s, looked beyond labor institutions to flesh out workers' lives, their milieus, and their ideas and actions from the "bottom up." But no one, including Peter DeShazo, author of an otherwise excellent study of workers in the decades and cities about which Hutchison writes, has looked seriously at women workers, and no one has thought about the effects of gender ideologies on the politics of class. Hutchison does both very well.

This book is divided into two parts. In the first, "Working Class Life and Politics," Hutchison delineates how widespread women's work was in Santiago and Valparaíso. Perhaps, given the effect feminist

scholarship has had on labor history in the last two decades, it comes as no surprise these days that in the first decades of the twentieth century women were an important part—indeed a third—of the urban work force. Hutchison must be credited with documenting this significant fact thoroughly. In the course of her research, she discovered that census figures taken between 1907 and 1930, which reported declines in women's industrial work, masked shifts to domestic workshops and "informal" employment. Women workers were woven into the fabric of the working-class condition, whether anyone approved or not.

Although different labor groups varied in their responses to women workers, Hutchison shows how appeals to virility united most male labor leaders in the desire to save women from the shop floor and return them to the home. She argues that the presence of women in factories threatened working-class patriarchy. By contrast, numbers of women workers, with the support of the central labor leader Socialist Luis Emilio Recabarren, developed their own working-class feminism in order to improve wages and working conditions. With Socialist views "appropriate to their" times, few working-class feminists challenged normative gender roles, but they did carve out a space in which to distinguish themselves as leaders and writers and in which they started to think out "the women question," at the same time that they encouraged other women workers to take greater initiatives on their own behalf. Ultimately, however, Hutchison argues that patriarchy in the working class rested on both men and women who wished to conserve ideals about family and male and female selves in the face of an industrial development that did them little good.

The second part of the book, "Women Workers and the Social Question," looks closely at how gender ideologies shaped elite responses to female industrial work. Elite reformers opened schools that trained women to be well-behaved homemakers and thus reinforced normative gender roles. Upper-class women within the Catholic Church aimed to protect women workers from the shame of lowly work by making the conditions of labor respectable. In her final chapter, Hutchison makes a lively and convincing case that concerns about the subversion of gender roles formed the backdrop for early labor legislation. She shows how early elite ideas about female factory work—concerns over gender that elites shared with male and female workers—are the landscape in which early labor legislation needs to be understood. This view departs from, and is far more nuanced than, the standard argument that Chile's labor legislation happened as a result of the turmoil of the 1920s and 1930s, which preceded the reforms of the Popular Front government. Hutchison places gender at the center of labor relations.

This is a packed book, one full of information on pivotal early twentieth-century Chilean women thinkers, feminism, working conditions, legislation, education, the Catholic Church, national politics, the work-

ing-class press, elites, and ideological tendencies within organized labor. It is a fine window onto early twentieth-century Chilean history. Fortunately, given studies such as this, it becomes increasingly difficult to write labor history without taking women into account, and without cautiously analyzing the effects of gender ideologies on workers and elites.

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Boston College

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

TIM G. PARKIN. *Old Age in the Roman World: A Cultural and Social History*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 495. \$55.00.

Tim G. Parkin's substantial and sophisticated study of the social and legal aspects of aging and the aged in the classical Roman world provides striking insights into the differences between growing old in Roman antiquity and in the modern West. As in *Demography and Roman Society* (1992), Parkin combines a staggering breadth of scholarship with refreshing clarity of exposition. He investigates the lives and depictions of the elderly through meticulous analysis of a host of evidence (e.g. literature, law codes, Augustus's social legislation, censuses, medical writings, epitaphs) from around the empire and especially from Roman Egypt. His cross-cultural comparisons to other societies, especially Greece, are illuminating.

The book has four parts: first come three chapters on methods and evidence (definitions, demography, attitudes), then three more on old age in public life (rules and realities of age), two more on old age in private life (marriage, sexuality, family), and finally a chapter on the marginality of old age and brief final remarks. Three appendixes (with tables), 130 pages of detailed notes, a forty-four-page bibliography, and a topical index follow.

Parkin's discussion of the problem of defining old age shows that Rome generally lacked our chronologically specific age brackets (a minimum exact number of years). Rules of age in public applied only to a limited range of privileges and duties (e.g. legal transactions, the *cursus honorum*). Using sixty years as the start of old age has some value, but its application was not exact or universal. Age terms (e.g. *senex*, *senior*) were subjective and impressionistic, and people were regarded as elderly according to their mental and physical health. Contrary to common opinion, a "not insignificant proportion" (perhaps six to eight percent) of the Roman population of the first century A.D. was elderly (older than sixty); depending on their lifestyles, Romans could expect to live ten to fifteen years beyond the age of fifty or sixty. We moderns, then, do not live significantly longer than the ancients, but we are more liberated and comfortable in our later years.

For the pragmatic Romans, the status and value of the elderly depended on their capability and usefulness

(e.g. as advisors at court or childminders at home). There were no automatic roles or extra positive benefits for the aged, no general age of retirement, pension, or welfare. Privileges were mostly exemptions from duties (e.g. military service, public liturgies). Elders were expected to continue functioning productively as long as they could, and they had to accept the decline of their authority and power. Roman authors preached more respect for elders than was practiced at large. Parkin argues that the Roman Senate was dominated by men under the age of fifty and that senators aged sixty or older were excused from attending. Even the authority of the *paterfamilias* dwindled with age and diminished capacity. Aged males generally were marginalized because their value was held to be decreasing. The active adult male was the ideal, and old age made a man useless (*inutilis*). Aged females were doubly marginalized by gender, and aged spinsters were completely isolated from normal society.

Parkin shows why Juvenal (*Satire X*) told Romans to wish not for a long life, with the attendant ills of old age, but rather for a sound mind in a sound body. Without modern geriatric medicine, in the Roman world old age was a time "not so much to be enjoyed (a golden age) as to be endured" (p. 275). The aged suffered predictable ailments of the eyes, teeth, joints, and bowels. Skeletal remains reveal their discomfort and decreased mobility. The onset of decrepitude was seen as a natural stage, not a disease. Doctors paid scant attention and offered little comfort beyond recommending gentle massage and warm baths. Wine was seen as therapeutic, and Augustus's wife Livia credited her long life to a certain wine from north Italy. Sexual activity in old age, however, was typically seen as improper and improbable, if not impossible. Ignored rather than abused, the elderly were dependent on their children, whose obligation to care for them was not legal but rather moral, a matter of dutifulness (*pietas*). Despite a famous proverb (*sexagenarios de ponte*) suggesting that sexagenarians should be thrown from a bridge, Romans regarded senicide or euthanasia as foreign.

Although not a light, cheerful read, Parkin's reconstruction of the quality—or, better, the reality—of life for Rome's aged should be read by any ancient or social historian, especially those of us mired in middle age.

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WALTER E. KAEGLI, *Heraclius Emperor of Byzantium*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 359. \$70.00.

Roman imperial biography evokes mixed responses from scholars: for some, such as Ronald Syme and Fergus Millar, the project is misguided, whereas others, such as Anthony Barrett and Anthony Birley, have produced several studies. Along the way, there have

been a few excellent volumes, such as Barbara Levick's *Claudius* (1990) and Miriam Griffin's *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (1984), and overall there would seem to be a greater chance of success when a "book of the reign" approach is combined with the "book of the man." By any reckoning, Heraclius deserves a dedicated study: with Tiberius he shares the distinction of coinciding with an event of enduring religious importance, and he had to confront the consequences of the *Hijra* whereas Tiberius knew nothing of the Resurrection. The dramatic events of his reign provide one plausible terminus for the world of late antiquity and usher in the new participants who will dominate the medieval Mediterranean. There is a reasonable, albeit challenging, collection of evidence about which there have been some good recent studies: for example, R. W. Thompson and James Howard-Johnston's annotated translation of *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos* (1999). Finally, the fullest study, Andreas N. Stratos's *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (1968–1980), is often inaccurate and confusing. Walter E. Kaegi's track record, with major publications on Byzantine military matters and the early Islamic invasions as well as shorter studies of sources, makes him one of the best-qualified scholars to face this challenge. Thus, if the result is not entirely convincing, the magnitude of the undertaking can be appreciated.

Ignorance and uncertainty are a recurrent refrain: phrases such as "it is unclear whether," "it is not easy to ascertain," "we do not know," and "there is no evidence" pepper the pages. The author's caution is salutary, but it also raises the question of whether a different approach might have produced clearer results. Kaegi focuses on the man and his motivations but eschews context and events in which Heraclius was not directly involved. For example, the development of the Balkans in the seventh century is not investigated, but this means that imperial strategic priorities or specific decisions such as the accords with the Serbs and Croats receive only passing attention; the most regular mention of the region concerns an alleged tradition of military mutiny, but this does not seem to have concerned Heraclius unduly since he transferred Balkan troops to Asia for his Persian campaigns. Religion is another topic left unclear: readers will need prior knowledge of the disputes generated by Chalcedon and the history of imperial involvement to appreciate Heraclius's promotion of the Monothelete compromise. Heraclius's link with Stephen of Alexandria might have occasioned discussion of education and culture, perhaps extending to Heraclius's role as literary patron. A different imperial history would have been possible.

Heraclius's reign poses substantial explanatory problems, of which the contrast between the limited actions of the first decade, the effective and energetic leadership of the second, and the general inaction of the third is central. For Kaegi the opening years are a time of consolidation and preparation, which is reasonable, although unexplained structural problems are

also mentioned (p. 97). The triumph over Persia revealed Heraclius's abilities and rewarded careful strategic and logistical planning. The last decade remains a problem. Old age is invoked, but the benchmark cannot be low average life expectancy but what might be predicted for a man who had survived the dangers of childhood and adolescence; generals like Polyperchon and Antigonos participated in battle in their seventies. Health was clearly a factor, but when this began to be a problem is unknown. Post-traumatic stress disorder, or syndrome, is repeatedly mentioned (pp. 183, 238, 244, 262, 316), although Kaigi concedes that this hypothesis is beyond verification. Perhaps the condition existed in antiquity; perhaps it is a product of our modern age of counseling.

In such a wide-ranging study, details are bound to be queried: for example, the date of Salona's capture (p. 86), the location of Pylai (p. 113), the omission of Palmer's theory that the Euphrates was the frontier agreed with Shahvaraz in 629 (accepted by Howard-Johnston, deeply implausible to my mind, but certainly to be discussed). More detailed maps would have eased comprehension of the complicated campaigns of the 620s, and tighter organization to eliminate frequent minor repetitions would have clarified discussion at several points. Overall this is a bold endeavor, albeit flawed, but it will require a heroic scholarly effort to produce a better account.

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KATHRYN M. RINGROSE. *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 295. \$40.00.

With carefully developed sensitivity to issues of gender and sexuality, we are peculiarly well positioned to think about eunuchs. On a popular level, a mystery series begun in 1999 by Mary Reed and Eric Mayer features the Lord Chamberlain of Justinian I, a eunuch named John who uses his distinctive physiology to traverse the many different worlds of sixth-century Constantinople. Likewise, in Christopher Harris's *Memoirs of a Byzantine Eunuch* (2002), the protagonist negotiates ninth-century Byzantine society by virtue of his discrete nature. On a scholarly level, Kathryn M. Ringrose has advanced our understanding of the nature and activities of this particular kind of "made" man. Using a sensibility well tuned to Foucauldian nuances of gender and sexuality, she presents a portrait of men especially engineered to bridge genders and worlds.

Ringrose argues that eunuchs represented a "permanent third gender" in Byzantium. Determined by language, physiology, and culture, eunuchs were distinctive kinds of men, in a sense perfected for service. They were, variously, objects of desire and suspicion, generals and sybarites, angels and demons. Ringrose outlines the highly charged and conflicting Byzantine

attitudes toward these men, and she presents the ambiguities as comprising an identity and role for eunuchs that was both essential and disturbing to that medieval culture.

To make her case for eunuchs as a distinct gender, Ringrose uses an impressive range of sources, hagiography, theology, chronicles, science, and *vitae*. She focuses on the late antique and middle Byzantine periods, as she is interested in tracing the ascent of the eunuch as "protagonist," which was especially apparent in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The twelfth century was a turning point for the fortunes of eunuchs at court, as the Comnenian dynasty worked through networks of aristocratic kinship that made eunuchs, so often outsiders in the past and valued for it, increasingly marginal. Their diminishing role is not a full concern of this book. *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond* (2002), a collection of essays edited by Shawn Tougher, includes an essay by Niels Gaul that specifically examines the late Byzantine eunuch.

The range of late antique and middle Byzantine texts marshaled by Ringrose is impressive, and it does support her case for a distinctive gender that has a history; that is, a complex history of changing roles and values. The change is best illustrated by the contrast in attitudes between Basil of Caesarea (ca. 330–79), who said that eunuchs were "damned by the knife," and Theophylaktos of Ohrid (ca. 1050–after 1126), who wrote two poems and a very literary *Defense of Eunuchs*. The last is by far the most lengthy and personal text about the positive role of eunuchs from the point of view of a Byzantine elite, and Ringrose uses it as proof of general endorsement of the institution of eunuchism. She unpacks the texts by Theophylaktos at some length only in the concluding chapter, and so they stand in as summarizing works. But one would do well to read other arguments about Theophylaktos's diagnostic worth, as Margaret Mullet (in the Tougher collection) makes an excellent case for interpreting Theophylaktos's writing as "a highly individual account."

Ringrose nicely draws out the similarities and differences in the conceptualization of eunuchs and angels, a natural comparison to make as both served as mediators and were presented as youthful and beautiful creatures. She perhaps overplays the assimilation of angel and eunuchs in verbal and visual description, as angels were far more labile than allowed by the texts adduced in this book, but her point, that eunuchs could be imagined as fulfilling roles played by angels in heaven, is well taken. Yet eunuchs were not wholly good creatures, as represented by the sources; they were also likened to demons, and they were assigned profane roles never given to angelic ministers of God. Ringrose presents this complex picture with care and evenhandedness, although she might have used the subtle examination of angels and eunuchs by Enrico Maltese, in *Dimensioni bizantine* (1995), to good effect as well.

For diverse questions on Byzantine history, such as

court ceremony and acculturation, as well as those already noted, one will have to turn to this book, and its range of interpretation demonstrates the admirable work the author has carried out. Nearly all Byzantinists, as well as medievalists eastern and western, will find important material here.

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BONNIE EFFROS. *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*. (New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xviii, 174. \$49.95.

This is the third book that Bonnie Effros has published in the last two years that is based on the research originally carried out for her 1994 dissertation. She has not been repeating herself. Her material and interpretations are rich, illuminating, and frustrating. Illumination results from Effros's imagination and energy, while frustration arises from stubbornly silent sources that are unevenly distributed across the Merovingian period (say, 500–700). Moreover, written evidence clusters in the south of Gaul, whereas archaeological work has focused on the north. The thesis of this book is as straightforward as it is unsurprising: communal consumption of or abstinence from food or drink reveals social relations and values. What is surprising in Effros's account is the amount of evidence she has found and, more specifically, the ways in which that evidence bears on gender relations. Effros is primarily concerned with the social, ritual, and symbolic aspects of eating and drinking. Accordingly, she says little about the acquisition of food and drink or about what was actually consumed (although drink reduces easily to beer and wine). Effros organizes her material into five short chapters that are marked by a good deal of overlap and repetition. A few themes stand out, even if the topics (i.e. chapters) under which they are arrayed are not clearly differentiated.

The ritual significance of eating, more particularly of feasting, is to the fore. Saints emerge as providers of food and drink, which makes sites and ceremonies associated with one saint or another important opportunities for analysis and interpretation. Effros did not have a chance to read Philippe Buc's *The Dangers of Ritual* (2002) before sending her manuscript to the publisher, but anyone who has read both Effros and Buc will, in thinking about the former, find plenty of reason to reflect on the problems of interpreting rituals that survive in dense textual frameworks. I wonder if Effros might have thought more productively about what, exactly, constitutes a ritual. Effros also demonstrates that Christians in Gaul early and eagerly incorporated food rituals into their own celebrations: that is, we cannot talk of "pagan survivals." I agree. But I think that for Effros, as so often for her predecessors, pagan tends to mean Germanic. For the citizens of early medieval Gaul, paganism might regularly have had Greco-Roman antecedents. I do not

mean to suggest that *those* antecedents "survived" but I do think that Effros is a bit careless with "pagan." Effros cleverly builds not eating into her account, partly in connection with Christian asceticism and partly in connection with the rogations that emerged in Vienne. Community could be formed among those who feasted and those who fasted.

Monks and clerics, like powerful laymen, depended on relationships of *amicitia*, which could be created or nurtured by ritualized feasting. The provision or denial of food and drink under certain circumstances could display leadership and patronage and could provide means and moments for the manipulation of social and political hierarchies. Effros reads her evidence through clerical lenses, which is fair to the corpus of material with which she engages but less fair to the society revealed by that material. Did clerics behave as they did, at least where feasting is concerned, because they were clerics or because they were persons of a certain social status and background? As good as her interpretations are, Effros could have made them better, broader. Where she is very good is in showing how some aspects of feasting served to articulate masculinity and how women, often from privileged backgrounds, understood the code of feasting and even managed to get around the limitations imposed by strict claustration. She has important new things to say about Radegund's community at Poitiers.

A final theme that deserves attention is the use of food for health and healing. Healings were generally associated with saints and relics and took place at holy sites. Pharmaceutical substances such as dust from saints' tombs or the Eucharist might be ingested specifically to restore physical or spiritual health. Effros's comments on this large subject are descriptively sound but would have profited from deeper theological reflection. Effros has intriguing things to say about the obscure treatise *De observatione ciborum* written by the no less obscure Anthimus in the early sixth century and somehow discovered decades later in Gaul. This little book describes how various dietary regimes could promote or restore good health. Nobles, she observes, were disinclined to act on its advice because their lifestyles almost demanded excess. Fair enough; but I wonder how many nobles were even acquainted with the treatise.

Effros has written a book full of new insights on familiar subjects and replete with things that many people will not know. She makes her readers think hard on almost every page.

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DANIEL BARAZ. *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 225. \$35.00.

Sweeping across many centuries and, at least for comparative purposes, three medieval societies (the

Christian West compared with Byzantium, and Islam), this book explores not the actual practice or incidence of cruelty but rather its waxing and waning uses as an intellectual category. In fact, Daniel Baraz argues that use of the term reflects intellectual tradition and political spin rather than any reliable measure of cruelty occurring within a society or imposed upon it by external enemies. Although he begins with a consideration of the thorny debate over characterization of the medieval west as cruel, he quickly moves away from that fruitless and subjective question to one of perceptions of cruelty in the medieval world itself.

In the late antique world, seminal analysis of cruelty, drawing heavily on Seneca, characterized it within Roman society as excessive judicial punishment by a tyrant, or pleasure in inflicting pain in general. Significantly, cruelty was likewise seen as a trait of the barbarian "other" and was associated with their excessive violence, particularly with cannibalism. To these themes, the post-Constantinian Christians added martyrdom; notions of cruelty developed with the theology of martyrdom, and only then did demonization replace the idea of imperial judges simply doing their duty. Moreover, Baraz insists that this development emerged only from the Latin and not the Greek cultural heritage (which lacked a tradition of discussing cruelty).

In the Latin West, crucial concepts were passed on via Augustine and Jerome. Augustine, however, spiritualized the discussion to find cruelty in that which injured soul rather than body. Jerome emphasized the famous "medical metaphor"—that suffering physical cruelty might actually benefit the soul. Then a relative silence on the topic descended. Despite the violence in early medieval Europe, charges of cruelty scarcely appear. The cause is not, Baraz argues, simply weary accommodation with violence or a lack of learning, but a cultural choice. Texts such as Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks* show internal violence but rarely call it cruel. Even accounts of pagan Viking incursions attract the language of cruelty mainly in martyrological works rather than chronicles.

In the central Middle Ages, martyrdom continued to generate the language of cruelty, especially in an age when *imitatio Christi* meant following Christ especially in his cruel sufferings. It was also used to castigate Jews as the "other" in the case of alleged ritual child murder and to demonize the Christian murderers of Thomas Becket. With even clearer political intent, cruelty was attributed to such heretics as the Cathars. Still more revealing is the case of the Mongol invaders. Detailed accounts of systematic violence, sexual barbarism, and cannibalism carried undeniably affective intent and repeatedly labeled the Mongols as cruel. At work here Baraz sees not simple reaction to historical circumstances but the characteristic central medieval revival of classical themes coupled with the gathering force of an ethics of intention. His case is comparative: the Byzantines and Muslims suffered even more than the Europeans, yet their accounts fail to emphasize

sexual cruelty and cannibalism. Muslims wrote nonaffective, matter-of-fact accounts and (like early medieval Latin westerners) often saw invaders as a punishment sent from God. Greek Christians, lacking the Latin tradition of concern with cruelty, wrote in a manner closer to the Muslims.

The use of cruelty as a political category of demonization went from strength to strength in late medieval and early modern Europe, where the legitimacy of various groups was achieved and violence against them justified. The peasants who raged during the Jacquerie in mid-fourteenth century France, Baraz claims, were denounced as cruel practitioners of cannibalism. He admits some possibility of truth in the charges, opening the door a crack for actual historical events influencing ideas. Yet another comparative question might be asked: were the English rebels of 1381 (like the French, better characterized more carefully than as "peasants") similarly tarred with the label cruel? Baraz has little trouble showing that Pedro I of Castile was "the Cruel" to his enemies but "the Just" to his friends. He likewise shows that the intellectual and emotive context for political use of charges of cruelty lay in the obsessive interest in every detail of the passion of Christ, a vehicle and reflection of the intense and growing concern over cruel suffering in general in late medieval Europe.

Concern for cruelty as a category of thought had been strongly reinforced by Thomas Aquinas in the late thirteenth century. It became a preoccupation in the early modern period with its wars of religion and conquests in the New World. Now the cultural context changed and a quantifiable sense of cruelty emerged: all pain and violence crossing certain lines came to be seen as cruelty. This radical change was aided by the printing press cranking out word and woodcut. Cruelty and cannibalism were attributed to Indians in the New World, to Spanish Catholics in the New World by Protestants, and to one's religious enemies in Europe; those killed on one's own side, of course, became martyrs, cruelly killed by forces of the "other." The tendencies appear in the Catholic Michel de Montaigne and in the Protestant martyrologists John Foxe and Jean de Léry.

An important and imaginative study in intellectual history, this book informs us about the use of a powerful concept over centuries and simultaneously warns against easy assumptions about correspondence between text and context.

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JUSSI HANSKA. *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages*. (Studia Fennica Historica, number 2.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 2002. Pp. 220. €27.00.

Meditating on the flood that devastated Florence in 1333, the chronicler Giovanni Villani repeated the

opinion of local theologians that God had used nature to punish mankind's sins—following or subverting nature's laws to create that punishment. Villani's personal view echoed that of the theologians. Florentine immorality had indeed caused the disaster, he wrote. Without the prayers of holy men and religious communities, and the liberal almsgiving of the laity, the whole city would probably have succumbed. On a more general level, Villani added, "we may say that all the pestilences, battles, sackings and floods, arsons and persecutions, shipwrecks and exiles come upon us with the permission of Divine justice to wash away our sins. Sometimes they come according to natural order, sometimes supernaturally, as Divine power sees fit."

The world that Villani evoked—of divinely ordained catastrophe averted, mitigated, or endured with supplication and atonement (processions, votive masses, almsgiving, and so on) and then variously explained by church and laity—is the subject of what Jussi Hanska modestly calls his *libellus*. Villani's text is one of numerous apposite pieces of evidence that Hanska cites. His "little book" is in many ways a reviewer's dream. First, and not least, it really is short. Second, it has a precise and carefully explained focus and structure. It examines religious and, to a lesser extent, magical responses before, during, and after catastrophes. These are not drawn from the whole range of calamities exemplified by Villani, who, like everyone else in the Middle Ages, made no distinction between sackings and floods: Hanska's book is explicitly confined to what we would now call natural disasters. He does not just deal with the Black Death, which has up to now dominated discussion of the topic, and he does not follow the usual materialist approach that historians take to such afflictions, an approach in which religious activity is quite secondary to health passports and drainage schemes. Third, the book offers a satisfyingly broad treatment of religious responses, mainly in northwestern and Scandinavian Europe. Fourth, it embraces a "long Middle Ages" from the rogation processions of late antiquity to the slow and uneven decline in popularity of comparable religious remedies during the early modern period. Finally, although the book necessarily depends to some extent on a synthesis of the fragmentary scholarly literature available on its subject, it has a novel archival basis of its own: catastrophe sermons and kindred texts, on which there is a substantial and thoughtful discussion and two appendices.

Throughout the book, Hanska is alert to what the different kinds of evidence will or, in the case of hagiography especially, will not tell us. He is also refreshingly frank about the limitations of his reading, and about the testing circumstances in which the book was written (on the margins of other, funded, projects, as a labor of love). Despite its welcome concision, this is more than a *libellus*. It puts the whole subject on a newly secure footing and should find a broad reader-

ship. The Finnish Literature Society deserves our gratitude for publishing it.

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DOMINIQUE IOGNA-PRAT. *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150)*. Translated by GRAHAM ROBERT EDWARDS. Foreword by BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN. (Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 407. \$59.95.

When this book appeared in French in 1998, it had a mixed reception because it challenged many accepted views about Cluny and Peter the Venerable. For Dominique Iogna-Prat, Cluny was not "anti-feudal," which is described as a "curious 1950s notion" (p. 94), but was, on the contrary, deeply involved in secular society. Peter the Venerable was the major proponent and theorist of this position. In spite of "the rose-tinted legend" that he was "the apostle of nonviolence" and advocate of reason and love, he was in fact "compelled to make war" (pp. 347–48, 356). Peter is described as having a "generally steely personality" (which is stronger than the French "esprit en général bien trempé") and being the "living incarnation of the sexual phobia inhabiting the contemplatives" (pp. 356–57). He denounced the church's enemies and "in his own radical way helped to forge the intolerant society that emerged during the time of the first two Crusades," when "Christian universality tried to impose itself by fire and blood" (pp. 300, 323).

The book is divided into two parts of unequal length. The first, and shorter, part deals with the transition from Christianity (a community held together by belief) to Christendom (a social order coterminous with the church) and the development of Cluny from an *ecclesia* into an order, which was completed by 1200. "As a society of unblemished (*parfaits*), poor, virgin individuals," Cluny "offered a refuge to secular mankind" and was "the public treasury of the Christian republic," as Peter called it, referring perhaps to the prayers of its monks, which were a resource for all Christians, rather than, as here, to its role as an asylum and hospice. As they became increasingly institutionalized and centralized, the Cluniacs confused "their own church with the universal Church" and regarded Cluny as the "citadel of heaven" and "a kind of substitute Rome" (pp. 2, 81, 234). Its charters and memorial books reflect the integration of monastic and lay society in Cluniac houses. Cluny thus stood for many of the central values of the age, including the "logic of Christendom" or "structural necessity" to exclude those who were different and to persecute and demonize the Other (p. 23).

The main spokesman for this point of view was Peter the Venerable, to whose treatises against the followers of Peter of Bruys (Petrobrusians), the Jews, and the

Saracens the second part of the book is devoted. *Contra Petrobrusians*, written around 1140, was "the first antihetical treatise written in the medieval west" (p. 122) and marked the discursive stage, which by 1200 gave way to the judicial stage, of the war against heresy (p. 147). Proceeding through *investigatio*, *discursio*, *inventio*, and *defensio*, Peter analyzed and refuted the views of the Petrobrusians, especially their denial of "the bonds of *caritas* linking the living to the dead," upon which depended "the finely woven fabric of relationships of kinship and fidelity upholding society in the feudal age" (p. 247). In *Adversus ludeos* and *Contra sectam Sarracenorum*, Peter respectively excluded Talmudic Jews from humankind and demonized Mohammed and his followers (pp. 323, 355, 361). Western society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries thus "began to define itself in terms of what it rejected as nonhuman" (p. 359).

There is much food for thought in this book, which is marked by broad learning and a close reading of the texts. With the wisdom of hindsight, Peter the Venerable can indeed be seen as advocating intolerance and a narrow view of Christian society. Almost alone among his contemporaries, however, he made a serious, even if from our point of view wrong-headed, effort to refute those he regarded as enemies of the church. It is uncertain where he acquired his knowledge of the Petrobrusian heresy and Judaism, but the translations he had made of the Qur'an and other Islamic texts were for four centuries the major source of European knowledge of Islam. There was a broad as well as a narrow side to his polemical writings, and also to his other works, which show a notable toleration toward differences within the church, and both sides must be kept in mind when assessing the man and the age in which he lived.

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DAWN MARIE HAYES. *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389*. (Medieval History and Culture, number 18.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 193. \$70.00.

Whether we consciously recognize it or not, humans love metaphors. Through metaphoric language we see connections between things not obviously linked, and we make decisions about our lives based on metaphoric associations. Metaphors also offer powerful tools for historians to understand how people in the past viewed their lives, and this is perhaps particularly true for the Middle Ages. In medieval times, people took their metaphors seriously, and metaphoric associations gave even everyday items particular nuance: for example, roses were women and hickory nuts Christ. Thus, to understand the Middle Ages, we have to take seriously the metaphors that shaped the medieval world.

This book offers an in-depth look at one of the central metaphors of the Middle Ages: churches as

bodies. It is the nature of metaphors that they never go only in one direction, so if churches are bodies, then bodies, too, are temples. Dawn Marie Hayes recognizes this complex relationship and argues that "Christian bodies and church buildings were inextricably joined to the extent that rarely could one exist without the other" (p. xix). Hayes's analysis is more sophisticated than this statement, for she shows that indeed medieval people saw their churches as human.

The book focuses primarily on Chartres Cathedral to demonstrate the argument that church and body were one in the perception of the faithful. The author begins by studying clerical expressions of buildings and bodies as two facets of Christian worship. Hayes shows the relationship between consecration and baptism, arguing that the two rites were similar enough to link buildings and bodies in the minds of the faithful. In this section, Hayes also considers the space of the church building, demonstrating that some parts were more sacred than other sections (just as some parts of the body were perceived to be "higher" than others). This first chapter is the weakest, primarily setting the stage for the analysis to come. I urge readers to persevere; more interesting chapters follow.

The second chapter looks at how bodies and building were linked in the sacred function of the church. The history of Chartres Cathedral depended upon its famous relic, the *sacra camisia* that Mary was said to have worn during childbirth. This garment not only provided the impetus for building the church and for the stream of pilgrims who visited, but it offered a constant metaphoric reminder of bodies that bleed and bear children. Hayes's recounting of the many miracles that the faithful recorded show that these miracles were profoundly physical, offering protection, healing, and even resurrection. Chartres Cathedral's miracles are not very different from those reported at other churches, but that does not contradict the argument that sacred and bodily spaces were inextricably linked in the minds of believers.

The second part of the book looks at "Mundane and Profane Uses of Medieval Sacred Places." Just as human bodies are involved in mundane things, so were church bodies. Hayes brings medieval churches vividly to life as they were filled with travelers, penitents, children playing, and couples making love. Indeed, the medieval sacred spaces could be visibly human. The final chapter moves from Chartres to Canterbury to offer an intricate and analytic look at the murder of Thomas Becket. Hayes shows how, in the midst of the desecration of the church, the body of the archbishop served to consecrate and make even more holy the church body.

Hayes offers a conclusion that does a great deal more than summarize the argument that has been developed throughout her book. She suggests that, by the fifteenth century and beyond, the medieval metaphor of church as body began to break down. With the decomposition of the metaphor, new ways of looking

at the church, the world, and bodies would lead to the Reformation.

This book is part of a series—"Studies in Medieval History and Culture"—that brings works by scholars at the start of their careers to point to new directions for future research, and it fulfills this goal precisely, offering new insights and tantalizing forecasts for further studies. At the risk of pushing the metaphor too far, I look forward to Hayes or others fleshing out the skeleton that has been drawn here so we can really see the rise and fall of the medieval body of the faithful in the churches with which they identified.

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LARS HERMANSON. *Släkt, vänner och makt: En studie av elitiens politiska kultur i 1100-talets Danmark* [Kindred, Friends, and Power: A Study of the Elite's Political Culture in Twelfth-Century Denmark]. (Avhandlingar från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg, number 24.) Göteborg: Avhandlingar från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg. 2000. Pp. 280.

This masterly study by Lars Hermanson takes up a traditional and important field within Danish medieval history: the political system of the twelfth century, when Denmark became a strong and independent monarchy. It does so by proposing a totally new methodological approach, which is convincingly argued and which will certainly influence all future studies of the topic. Traditionally, king, church, and aristocracy have been considered the three social groups that, through shifting alliances and competitions, formed twelfth-century Danish society. These groups grew out of a more egalitarian, kin-based Viking-age society, and the long process of transformation resulted in the victory of the monarchy, the establishing of central state power to control the old families, and a harmonious and mutually advantageous collaboration between king and church, at least under the two archbishops Absalon and Anders Sunesen (1177–1222). Hermanson claims that this is all wrong. No clearly defined social groups existed in the Danish Middle Ages, nor did any definable family clans. What did exist was an elite with common ideals, common goals, and common means to gain power. Members joined different elite networks held together sometimes by family affinities but more often by the personal, political form of alliance called *amicitia* in the contemporary sources (which corresponds to becoming foster brothers). These networks of friends competed for economic and political resources by employing royal and ecclesiastical positions. To become a bishop was thus not a social category in itself but an instrument for members of a network.

Hermanson argues very convincingly for this thesis from a number of sources, including narratives such as Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* from ca. 1200 and charters. With one example after another, Hermanson under-

mines the fundamental basis of almost all twentieth-century historical writing on this period. In some cases, however, the deplorably poor source material from Denmark in the twelfth century makes it difficult to reach firm conclusions. Hermanson claims that titles of royal officials in charters show that the magnates held power in their own right and not as delegated from the king, and that the titles themselves should not be understood as evidence of an elaborate royal administration. They shifted fast and covered different functions and may perhaps be seen as honorific. This is possible and even probable, but not proven.

The last part of the book is devoted to an analysis of Saxo as an author. Since the critical interpretations of the brothers Curt and Lauritz Weibull in 1915–1928, the narrative content of Saxo's text has automatically been doubted by modern historians, while most of them have agreed that the purpose of Saxo's writing was to depict the—really existing—friendship and respect between King Valdemar and his foster brother, Bishop Absalon, and his family. Hermanson now suggests that Saxo's insistence upon the importance of Absalon and his family for the king must indicate that they actually lacked prominence compared to other families. This is a new and interesting view of a much-studied medieval author.

Hermanson's book is based on a modern sociological approach and also inspired by anthropological methods; it is a fortunate blend of political history, prosopography, and a kind of new cultural history that analyzes political decision makers from ground level. Its methodological inspiration is distinctly not Danish, and it is therefore a little surprising that comparisons to the history of areas other than Denmark are scarce or nonexistent. Magnates are seen as members of local networks, although many of them must also have been members of international ones. Also, in focusing on power and politics, Hermanson neglects the fact that institutions such as churches and monasteries were local members of an international body and cannot be reduced solely to power instruments for magnates. Such criticisms are pertinent, but primarily as an inspiration for further attempts to better understand Danish medieval society. They do not change the overall impression of Hermanson's book as a refreshing and stimulating new interpretation, which for many years to come will be obligatory reading for all who are seriously interested in the period.

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LINDA E. MITCHELL. *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England 1225–1350*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. 185. \$49.95.

This is a volume composed of eight case studies and a coda with reflections on kings, law, aristocratic widows, and social change. In some respects it follows a conservative or traditional agenda; in other ways, it is

a book with an innovative and arresting agenda. The case studies focus on a woman (or group of women) within families of wealth and power, whether by inheritance, marriage, or both, and the essays explore the ways and extent to which their marriage alliances, secular politics, and efforts to make and break great estates are a reliable entrée into a more general and bi-gendered analysis of political and economic strategies, marital and legal negotiations, and interpersonal relationships among the nobility. As such, most chapters present short versions of the kind of work offered by scholars who have written on the fortunes of great families, their founding fathers, and the landed estates they put together. We can turn to studies by G. A. Holmes (*Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* [1957]), J. M. W. Bean (*The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416–1537* [1958]), Carole Rawcliffe (*The Staffords: Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394–1521* [1978]), and Michael Altschul (*A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217–1314* [1965]), to name but a few who have worked in this vein.

Where Linda E. Mitchell strikes off in a new(er) direction is to focus each case study around one or more of a family's central women rather than its men. Thus we follow a process comparable to reading a map or a graph when we lay a transparent sheet with a different category of colored-coded data atop the old material. While we can still read the older pattern (which radiated outward from a male-oriented, patriarchal center), the new reading gives us a wholly different perspective or context when it comes to tracking and deciphering those vast and complex webs of family alliances that are the warp and woof of upper-class historical research. Now the web is that spun by one or more women—sometimes depicted as objects, but mostly, as Mitchell chose her cases, as agents—in shaping their own lives and the family's political and economic saga.

Five of the chapters are central to this case-study approach, each concentrating on how the women and families chosen present a variation of the general theme of female centrality and empowerment. It might be a tale of different paths leading to home. Chapter two, "Agnes and Her Sisters: Squabbling and Cooperation in the Extended Medieval Family," traces how the great Marshal inheritance came—through an astounding series of deaths and of males without legitimate heirs—into the hands of the daughters of Sibyl and William de Ferrers, and how these sisters and nieces and cousins traveled the road to riches and dynastic aggrandizement. The parallel fortunes of mother and daughter (chapter three, looking at Margaret de Quency and Maud de Lacy) offer a different mini-paradigm; we can turn to a tale of astute management in the Welsh Marches (Maud Mortimer of Wigmore, in chapter four), or an attempt to play the competing identities of "Englishness" and "Welshness" to advantage along those borders (chapter five, on the Lestrangle family in Powys). Several studies

follow more individualized or biographical threads: the puzzling charges of murder brought against Maud Mortimer, the long and unhappy life of Alice de Lacy, Thomas of Lancaster's widow, and Isabella de Vescy, tossed on the stormy waters of politics and reversal in the reign of Edward II.

Mitchell suggests that these women, while operating within the framework of patriarchal power and legal constraint, found ways to play the system. This is an interpretation that has been extended to many aspects of women's history (and gender history), and she marshals her material to support this assertion. No quarrel here. She suggests that perhaps too much of a good thing led to antifeminist changes in laws regarding the transmission of land and the exercise of dower privileges and property. She also reflects on the correlation between strong and weak kings (or good and bad kings) and the status and treatment of these high-born "viragos." In short, these detailed essays stress "the conflict between cultural norms as to gender and [the] social norms of human action" (p. 134), and they are studies that should attract a fair share of attention from students in several lines of inquiry.

I do have one serious if carping criticism about reading this book, let alone giving it to students. These studies cry out for the heavy reinforcement of detailed genealogical tables rather than the three inadequate ones offered. A study of families across generations and encompassing their collateral lines needs more and better reader-friendly support than we find here. Only John Horace Round could have kept all this material in his head. In addition, some maps of manors, honors, and lordships would not be amiss. Good scholarship should not hobble itself in terms of the accessibility of its argument. But this volume is rich new wine, holding up very nicely even when being poured from old bottles.

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PIERRE CHAPLAIS. *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages*. New York: Hambledon and London. 2003. Pp. xiii, 277. \$34.95.

Pierre Chaplais secured a rightful place as his generation's doyen of the formulaic study of medieval English royal documents (known as diplomatics) by producing such works as *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the PRO, 1101–1272* (1964; rpt. 1976), *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (1981), and the ambitious two-volume reference manual *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* (1975–1982). This last collection of diplomatic documents was to be accompanied by an additional two volumes of commentary, the first on information exchange between governments and the second on the negotiation and settlement of diplomatic agreements. After a hiatus of over

twenty years, the volume under review represents the next installment.

The lengthy caesura is explained by the loss of publishing support from the Stationary Office for such Public Record Office (PRO) record series in the late 1980s, the subsequent challenges of typesetting the volume amid the ever-changing computer technologies of the 1990s, and the continual difficulty in finding a publisher. Indeed, the eventual publisher of the volume required a (if only slightly) revised title to set it apart from the original PRO publication—no doubt in the hope of selling it as a monograph in its own right.

In three extremely long chapters, Chaplais surveys English diplomatic practice from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to the expansion of royal record keeping during King John's reign; articulates the forms, formulae, and delivery protocols for diplomatic correspondence; and analyzes the forms, formulae, and travel protocols for diplomatic missions (both envoys and embassies). About forty percent of the first chapter is an excursus on comparative evidence from Roman, Byzantine, and continental diplomatic practices, which Chaplais offers as analogs for English custom in the virtual absence of any documentation before the twelfth century. By the end of this sparsely documented period, however, English envoys had begun to carry letters patent and close in addition to oral messages.

Chapters two and three rely on the richer font of documents from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries to provide a detailed analysis of practices such as seals for diplomatic documents, the formal protocol of diplomatic letters and treaties, means of correspondence delivery, letters of credence, the types and status of diplomatic representatives (from simple couriers to solemn ambassadors), diplomatic use of languages (Latin, French, and then English), and a brief consideration of court ritual upon the arrival of a diplomat.

The book shares the format of its twin cousins published over two decades before. It begins without introduction and ends in abrupt fashion without conclusion or summation, and in spite of the excellent index compiled by Susan Reynolds, it is further limited by the lack of a bibliography. Indeed, the book does not read like a monograph but like a reference manual on diplomatics. It will no doubt be purchased and used as a companion volume to its predecessors.

Chaplais relates that typesetting for this book began in the mid-1980s, and the book's age shows. Use of secondary literature is quite limited, and that which is cited comes from the diplomatic historiography produced from the aftermath of World War II to the mid-1970s. A cursory survey of the footnotes indicates that only four scholarly works cited date from after 1976, the most recent being from 1980. Insights in particular from the last decade's revival of diplomatic history, with its social and cultural history underpinnings, are not integrated into this study of medieval diplomatic practices. Recent scholarship on English

diplomatic relations beyond France and Scotland is absent as well (e.g. Arnd Reitemeier's *Außenpolitik im Spätmittelalter: Die Diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Reich und England 1377–1422* [1999]), since the book is based heavily on traditionally studied Anglo-French and Anglo-Scottish diplomatic documents. In sum, the book should be understood as a reference manual that does not break new ground, but it is a worthy capstone to Chaplais's career. It will be of more use in the critical auxiliary study of diplomatics and diplomatic protocols than in the study of medieval English diplomacy per se.

All scholars of English medieval diplomatic history owe a debt to Chaplais, because their work is built on his foundational primary source scholarship in the field of diplomatics. That open space on their library shelves next to *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice* can now be filled.

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KENNETH BAXTER WOLF. *The Poverty of Riches: St. Francis of Assisi Reconsidered*. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 165.

How did Francis of Assisi's pursuit of voluntary poverty affect the involuntary poor? Were they excluded because, having nothing to give away, they could not emulate merchants and their sons who possessed wealth? Did Francis reject manual labor in favor of mendicancy? Did the begging of the friars attract alms that otherwise would have gone to the involuntary poor? Kenneth Baxter Wolf's book raises these key issues. Not since Vida Scudder's long-forgotten *The Franciscan Adventure* (1931) has anyone seriously looked at the relationship between Francis and the poor of his day. Scholars have been preoccupied instead with Paul Sabatier's thesis that the church and the ministers of the order betrayed Francis and with the "Franciscan Question," that is, the effort to sift through the numerous sources in search of "the historical Francis." Wolf, therefore, has put Franciscan studies into his debt by coming at his subject from a different perspective that has the potential to shed new light on Francis and his movement. Moreover, Wolf's citations are primarily to the recent three-volume English translation edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (1999–2002), which makes it easy for his readers to go to his sources.

Wolf raises significant issues, but his treatment of these issues is not fully satisfactory. In an appendix, Wolf sketches and evaluates the sources for the life of Francis. He discusses, for example, the *Assisi Compilation* (pp. 97–99) but he apparently does not know that two key sections within it, the *Intentio regulae*, and the *Verba sancti Francisci*, have an existence separate from this wider collection and that both have been attributed to Brother Leo, although that attribution is

much debated. Wolf's grasp of the sources appears somewhat superficial.

Wolf insists that Francis and his brothers pursued voluntary poverty because that pursuit promised spiritual riches, and he is adamant that the early Franciscans adopted mendicancy because begging had been a corollary of voluntary poverty for centuries. Thomas of Celano's *Vita prima* modeled its portrait of Francis on Sulpicius Severus's *Life of St. Martin*, Wolf argues, and, therefore, Celano's Francis emphasized mendicancy rather than manual labor in accordance with the tradition of lives stemming from Sulpicius's work. Wolf contrasts Francis with Raymond "Palmario" of Piacenza (d. 1200). Raymond devoted his life to serving the involuntary poor; Francis devoted himself to persuading his fellow merchants and their sons to give up their riches and imitate Christ spiritually.

Two issues arise. Is Wolf arguing about what the historical Francis did or he is contending that Francis, as portrayed in the normative sources, chose this course? Wolf writes: "If the goal of this study were to criticize Francis for his part in the Christian appropriation of poverty as a spiritual virtue by the nonpoor, my readers would have good reason to accuse me of anachronism" (p. 37), which seems to say that Wolf is not concerned with the historical Francis but with the later portrayal of Francis. But Wolf also speaks directly of Francis when he writes: "that it was (Francis's) success in taking poverty as a virtue away from the involuntary poor and giving it, in a newly spiritualized form, to the rich that secured for Francis the respect and veneration of guilty burghers" (p. 89). The author wavers between these two notions without resolving them.

Moreover, Wolf ignores Francis's statement in his *Testament* that he insisted on doing manual labor and that he and the brothers begged only when their labor was not rewarded with food and shelter. This stance is found also in the seventh chapter of the *Regula non bullata*. These passages clearly suggest that Francis insisted on doing day labor for subsistence, something that argues for continuing identification with the involuntary poor.

Wolf suggests the Franciscans attracted to themselves alms that otherwise would have gone to the poor and thus effectively diverted resources from the relief of poverty to themselves. This assertion, however, demands quantifiable data, and Wolf certainly makes no attempt to offer any. Such a study would in fact be fascinating.

Francis continues to be the subject of much adulatory and often uncritical writing. Wolf merits praise for having raised important and controversial questions, even if his answers are not as satisfactory as one might wish. Because of the issues it raises, his book deserves to be purchased and carefully read.

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ANDREW JOTISCHKY. *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 370.

Andrew Jotischky's story of the Carmelites is, on the face of it, mainly of interest to a small circle of specialists, yet its implications for our understanding of the perceptions of the late medieval world are far reaching. Most importantly, Carmelite history helps us to grasp how such a fundamentally conservative and backward-looking society could, at the same time, have been so innovative and dynamic, characteristics seen as much in art and technology as in spirituality. In the early thirteenth century, the Carmelites were an insignificant group of unregulated hermits living on Mount Carmel, where they enjoyed the benefits of the security that followed the partial Latin revival in the wake of the Third Crusade. By 1214, before the Fourth Lateran Council imposed a ban on the establishment of new religious orders, they had received a rule from Albert of Vercelli, Patriarch of Jerusalem. They were, therefore, very much a part of the contemporary crusading world. In 1238, however, they first decamped to Cyprus and then, during the 1240s, began to appear in western regions such as Sicily, England, and Provence. This began a process in which they transformed themselves from hermits to friars, from dwellers in the wilderness to urban preachers, and from God's poor to substantial proprietors. Symptomatic was the replacement of their previous habit of shaggy stripes (evidently risible in eyes of many ecclesiastical contemporaries) with one of pure white. At the same time, in keeping with a similar trend among the Franciscans, the membership became increasingly clerical, responding to the demands of their new role as preachers and confessors. Soon, the reality of hermit life in a rocky wadi faded from institutional memory; in its place was substituted a series of texts in which Mount Carmel was deployed as the binding element in a chain of narrative that purported to demonstrate that their predecessors had lived there in a continuous succession since the order's foundation by the Prophet Elijah. The historiographical tradition this created was breathtaking in its audacity, for the Carmelites presented themselves not only as a venerable institution of great antiquity but indeed as the original monastic order. By the fifteenth century, in the paintings of Masaccio and Masolino, they appear not simply as "like the Apostles," as did other mendicants, but as "among the Apostles" (pp. 332–33). As Jotischky writes, the Carmelite account "transforms the typology into a series of narrated historical facts" (pp. 329–30).

Specifically, the Carmelites had felt threatened when they found themselves listed as "doubtful" in the papal scrutiny of the orders that took place at the Council of Lyons of 1274. Although they gained formal recognition from Pope Honorius IV in 1286, the uncertainties of this period seem to have given impetus to their desire to anchor themselves more firmly in a solid and lengthy historical tradition in which their real

origin in the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem would be relegated to a minor episode. The *rubrica prima*, which formed a prologue to the order's constitutions, and a treatise known as the *Universis christifidelibus*, formed the basis upon which were built the more sophisticated works of academic Carmelites, among whom were John Baconthorpe, Jean de Cheminot, John Hornby, John of Hildesheim, and Philip Ribot. These engaged with contemporary scholastic debate on its own terms, deepening the history of the Carmelites to such an extent that by the time they had finished with it no other order could match its scope and length. The Franciscans and Dominicans had the advantage of charismatic founders, but the Carmelite historical imagination was unfettered by reference to an origin placed at a specific point in recent time. In fact, this remaking of the image and function of the Carmelites did not pass entirely without challenge within the order—most notably by Nicholas Gallicus, prior general between 1266 and 1271, in his *Ignea Sagitta*—but the scale of the dispute was tiny compared with the fissures within the Franciscan order, and it does not appear that dissident voices had much influence once those brothers who had actually lived on Mount Carmel died out.

All this raises some interesting questions about our approach to the medieval past. Are we to conclude that, in the sense that we mean it today, nobody actually lied? For instance, how are we to understand the *vita* of St. Angelo, the Carmelites' very own workshop model saint, whom they even claimed had met Francis and Dominic? St. Catherine may never have existed, but at least that nonexistence was so long ago that a plausible history could have emerged over time, whereas the appearance of Angelo in the 1360s was absolutely blatant invention, put together from an easily obtainable kit of parts. So fundamental was this pattern of thought that John Bale, the Carmelite historian who became a Protestant, did not change his approach when he changed his beliefs; the Protestants as much as the Carmelites needed the past to legitimize the present. In fact, the attacks of sharp contemporary critics show that the Carmelites did not get away entirely unscathed, although even skeptical opponents, while ridiculing the actual content of the story, seem to have accepted the premises upon which Carmelite historiography was constructed.

This is an excellent book: scholarly, judicious, and thought provoking. Those interested in both the specific development of the Carmelites and in the wider field of "constructed historical traditions," not only of religious orders but also of secular rulers and noble dynasts, will find their knowledge and comprehension of these phenomena greatly enriched. The relationship of detail to the general context is a conspicuous feature of the book, and even those with no particular interest in Carmelites as such will find chapter eight on the patterns of thinking in mendicant orders very valuable. The one weakness is the lack of illustrations. The seminal work of Baconthorpe and the scenes on Pietro

Lorenzetti's altarpiece are contemporary and quite evidently arose from the same mindset. Visual evidence is integral to the author's argument, but apart from a section of the altarpiece on the removable dust jacket, there is none.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ROGER FRENCH. *Medicine Before Science: The Rational and Learned Doctors from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. v, 289. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$23.00.

Roger French's book is a study of medical doctrines that pays special attention to developments during the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century. It surveys the itinerary scholarship had to follow in order to free itself from the grip of Aristotelian natural philosophy and from the medical teaching of Galen, which was based on it. The first part (of three) of the book opens with a survey of the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen and in this way introduces the authority they acquired in medieval universities. To be sure, there were already at the time critics who resented the "Monstrous logical constructions" based on faulty translation to the Arabic of Greek classical texts. The names of Roger Bacon and Francis Petrarch come immediately to mind. But it took catastrophic events like the Black Death of 1348–1349 and the "French Disease" in early 1520 to alert critical observers to the insufficiency of academic teachings. The unhappy voices became louder already during the early years of the Renaissance when Plato regained primacy over Aristotle and Hippocrates over Galen. Medical "heroes" (a term of predilection in this book) started looking with benign eyes at "empiricism," previously much denigrated.

In the seventeenth century, new ground was broken in the understanding of anatomy and of the nature of sickness. As much as we admire nowadays these pioneers of modernity, French reminds us that, in their time, they constituted a small minority who were often frightened and persecuted. William Harvey, for example, continued to examine students on Galenism after making his revolutionary discovery of the circulation of blood (p. 168). In France and on the Iberian peninsula, practitioners deviating from the "old teaching" were menaced even with the death sentence (pp. 223–24). The modernization of scholarly thinking did not follow a straight line of uninterrupted progression. Besides Harvey, Vesalius or even Paracelsus, French examines the works of less famous teachers like John Tabor, Josephus Thomas Rosetti, Friedrich Hoffmann, and Georg Ernest Stahl, who found it difficult to separate from the old doctrines. Even the eighteenth century's famous Herman Boerhaave should be counted among their number (p. 228).

The doctors presented in this book were all univer-

sity trained. In terms of numbers, this academic corps presented, according to French, "less than half" of the medical persons who practiced in the Middle Ages (p. 126). This estimate may be too high: even a figure between five and ten percent may be too generous. Their high status may be gauged from the salaries they asked for and from the responsibilities they were assigned at times by public authorities. French pays only occasional attention to the social and economic history of these professionals (e.g. pp. 201–03) and concentrates most of his effort in exploring treatises written by some of them. Yet nonmedical sources, such as legal documents, may be of help when looking for information about the extent of clinical success achieved by the predecessors of "scientific" medicine.

Today's graduate student, whom French had in mind when writing those pages, will not learn from the book how to identify a "learned rational doctor" in the Latin documents he or she may explore. The title *magister in medicina* does not appear even once in the book. However, the student will possess a very elaborate guide to an enormous treasure trove of literature, most of it by modern scholars but some by medieval authors. Their doctrines are presented briefly, it is true, yet in a very clear and succinct manner. The book will surely raise the interest of future scholars and serve them well.

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TOM BETTERIDGE, editor. *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe*. (Studies in Early Modern European History.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. vi, 173. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$29.95.

The editor of this engaging volume of essays evidently found them, as a collection, perplexing. The essays are ordered alphabetically rather than in any way—methodologically, thematically, chronologically, geographically—designed to highlight the volume's coherence. (The divergent lengths of the chapters help little in this regard; the two final chapters barely mention sodomy at all.) Indeed, it is the diversity of approaches and lack of any overall direction in scholarship that Tom Betteridge emphasizes in his introduction. Despite Betteridge's claim that it is reductionist to distinguish among the approaches taken within the fields of literary criticism and history, one can recognize a trend among each discipline's practitioners. Whereas literary critics tend to question the validity of sodomy as a descriptive category, instead being concerned with the circulation of homoerotic desire within texts, historians tend to interpret the term sodomy less problematically. This distinction holds true for the contributions to this volume. What is demonstrated, however, is not the simple-minded empiricism of historians compared to the theoretical sophistication of literary critics (as some partisan commentators would have us believe). Rather, the book demonstrates that the meanings of sodomy—its signifiatory power as an act, a discourse,

or an identity—were not fixed but shifted according to context.

Sodomy figures in the writings of two influential Protestants, John Bale and John Foxe, as a general sex crime (including sexual disorders such as masturbation, cross-dressing, self-castration, and bestiality alongside sexual relations between men). Whereas both men saw sodomy as the consequence of clerical celibacy among Catholics, it is not entirely clear whether this was imagined as a potentially damaging sexual outlet for all men if they were so constrained. In Foxe's writing, at least, Betteridge suggests, written forms of homoerotic exchange between Protestant men did not endanger gender and moral codes. But this interpretation is premised on the assumption that physical love between men necessarily contained an erotic component. Whereas sodomy here denotes religious disorder, in English political satire in the seventeenth century, sodomy was deployed discursively as a signifier of political corruption. Danielle Clarke cleverly shows that in political writings contemporaries had problems drawing distinctions among different kinds of male bonds; the languages of the friend, the favorite, and the sodomite could easily collapse in upon each other. Sarah Salih finds a Foucauldian homosexual identity—a personage, a past, and a case history—recognizable in a pre-1215 chivalric romance but exorcised in later medieval accounts of the same story, and she agrees with Joan Cadden that the ways in which different genres, in this case confessional and visitation discourses, conceptualize sexual identity are related to their distinct purposes. This latter point is confirmed by the work on criminal records.

The essays that focus on sodomy as a crime provide an interesting comparison to the sodomy-in-text discussed above. For one thing, it is apparent that in many parts of Europe sodomy was prosecuted and punished very infrequently relative to other crimes. In Frankfurt am Main between 1562 and 1696, only two cases were prosecuted. In Scotland, "buggery" with men was not prosecuted at all; the courts heard only cases of men having sexual relations with animals. Venetian prosecutions of sodomy targeted a range of nongenerative sexual acts involving women as well as men. Here, we see that even legally, sodomy did not have a single meaning. In some parts of early modern Europe, sodomy referred to sex between Christians and other religious groups such as Jews, Turks, and Saracens. Maria R. Boes demonstrates that despite having a reputation for sexually "touching" other men, a fellow in Frankfurt might not be socially or economically ostracized. This contrasts with the punitive stance of the law codes. The fact that a man had a reputation as a "sodomite" suggests that some kind of identity was bestowed on him by others, but this was not to the exclusion of other identities: a pastry baker, an employer, a husband, a friend. Even when the authorities became more punitive in the mid-seventeenth century, ordinary people appear to have been

quite tolerant of men who desired and attempted to have sexual relations with other men and boys. The same is suggested by N. S. Davison for early modern Venice. However, if legally sodomy included more than one behavior, it does not follow that contemporaries were unable to distinguish categories. William Naphy's essay demonstrates that sodomy prosecutions in Geneva referred to three distinct practices, and the courts utilized different lists of questions for each. Distinctions were made among what we would now refer to as pedophilia, sexual assaults on adult males, and consensual sexual relations between men. Interestingly, the last appears to have been understood by contemporaries as entirely normative for the men concerned, suggesting an acceptance that homosexual identity did exist. Prefiguring Michel Foucault's formulation by two centuries, judges looked for patterns in history (had the sodomite been abused as a child?) and in sexual preference (did he avoid sexual relations with women?). This did not prevent them from passing death sentences, but it does illustrate an awareness that sodomy was more than merely a sexual act and involved sexual preferences. Foucault may have termed sodomy "that utterly confused category," but early modern people were quite capable of ascertaining the term's plurality without being the least bit confused. Contemporaries were able to utilize sodomy as a discourse signifying any number of disorders and at the same time to determine particular types of sodomitical behavior with their own patterns.

In short, what we learn from this volume is that our understanding of early modern sodomy depends upon the evidence we examine. This, of course, has been said before. While the book thus makes no distinctive contribution to current debates about premodern sexualities, its well-written essays contain a plethora of interesting information and perspectives that add to current scholarship.

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MERCEDES GARCÍA-ARENAL and GERARD WIEGERS. *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*. Translated by MARTIN BEAGLES. Foreword by DAVID NIRENBERG and RICHARD KAGAN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xxiv, 173. \$40.00.

Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan-born Jew who lived from about 1550 to 1616, was a commercial and political entrepreneur who negotiated diverse environments, took high-stake risks, and ended his life in ruin. Using the scattered archival footprints Pallache left in Morocco, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers have constructed a coherent and revealing picture of his complex career.

Pallache is not a major figure in early modern European history. But neither is he unknown to scholars. He has long been represented—on the basis of scanty and partly unreliable evidence—as a loyal Jew,

a pillar of the early Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam, and a fervent supporter of Dutch military action against Spain. This book shows that Pallache was nothing of the kind. He and his brother lived for a time (1603–1607) in Madrid, where they tried to maneuver themselves into a position at the Spanish court by selling strategic information about Morocco. In 1607, it seems, Pallache formally offered to convert to Catholicism in order to settle there permanently with his family. However, the Inquisition's concern about this plan caused him to flee across the French border and make his way to the Netherlands.

In Amsterdam, Pallache served as the diplomatic agent of the sultan of Morocco and engaged in commercial ventures together with his brother and other family members. That he chose to join the newly established Portuguese Jewish community was entirely natural under the circumstances. But according to García-Arenal and Wiegers, he was never fully integrated into the community either commercially or socially; indeed, over the years there was considerable tension between the Pallaches and the Portuguese Jews.

Even after settling in Amsterdam, Pallache's political involvements remained a matter of self-interest. While it is true that he engaged in military action on behalf of the Dutch against the Spaniards (as a privateer), this was not a sentimental venture. He used his privateering mission to launch pirate attacks against any ships that happened his way, including, among others, a Dutch ship. Moreover, at the same time that he was privateering for the Dutch in order to thwart Spanish military ambitions on a Moroccan coastal town, it turns out that he was secretly providing the Spanish with information about his activity.

Pallache's seizure of Spanish cargoes eventually led to his arrest for piracy by the English at the behest of Spain. With Dutch intervention (the Dutch were concerned about his knowledge of Dutch state secrets), Pallache was released, but he returned to the Netherlands in 1615 financially ruined and distrusted by the Dutch. And with good reason: he was soon negotiating a contract with the Spanish to supply them with Dutch secrets. However, he died in 1616 before providing any significant services.

In sizing up their elusive subject, the authors discern continuity not in his loyalties or goals but rather in a life-long talent for strategic adaptability that allowed him to abandon, juggle, or switch allegiances with little difficulty. Pallache was not, they contend, unique in this respect, as they demonstrate by sketching the careers of some of his contemporaries—among them, other Jews from Fez who spent time in Spain and Portugal.

Lacking evidence about Pallache's childhood and early adulthood in Fez, the authors skillfully marshal evidence from other sources to supply some context. From the testimony of Isaac Almosnino, a direct contemporary of Pallache, they offer the reader an idea of his likely education. They examine the circum-

stances that drove both Jews and moriscos to flee Morocco for Spain in this period. And, analyzing the high-risk behavior Pallache exhibited, they speculate that his family's social status was modest, depriving him of a more secure way to build his fortune.

Insofar as the authors speculate on Pallache's inner convictions, they raise the possibility that he was a skeptic. Yet they also note that on a privateering journey for the Dutch, Pallache brought along Jewish servants who prepared his food according to Jewish dietary laws. They conclude with due caution that whatever his beliefs, Pallache resembled other "renegades" of the period who, as Lucetta Scaraffia has shown, "worked toward a position where they were in dialogue with themselves alone" (pp. 131–32).

The book is generally judicious in its conclusions and shrewd in its utilization of detail. It provides a narrative framework by following a chronological scheme, pausing at appropriate junctures to supply background for a new context. Along the way, it explores a hitherto unobserved pattern of ties between North African Jews and moriscos active in Christian Europe. It is unfortunate (but perhaps unavoidable) that the narrative loses its coherence in last chapter, dealing with the fates of Pallache's close kinsmen after his death.

I strongly disagree with the authors on one point: that Pallache was "a clear predecessor of the European 'court Jews'" (p. 130). The court Jew's primary function—it was never Pallache's—was to supply rulers with large sums of money or goods on credit. Moreover, unlike Pallache, the court Jews generally played an important secondary role as overseers of the Jewish community.

Details aside, the book constitutes a significant contribution to the history of the political information web of early modern Europe, and of the men behind it. To the authors' credit, Pallache emerges in the book only to the extent that the sources permit: he steps out with tantalizing incompleteness, not so much like the fully articulated Rembrandt portrait on the book's cover (a man in Oriental dress, not Pallache himself) as like one of the chiaroscuro portraits of the age.

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ROBERT BIRELEY. *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 300. \$65.00.

The Jesuits are generally considered the vanguard of the Counter Reformation. Well organized and efficient, they successfully tried to win social elites for their program of religious reform, their particular brand of intense piety, and their relentless fight against heresy in all its forms. Often considered devious schemers and manipulators by their opponents, Protestant as well as Catholic, their image in historical accounts has remained deeply ambivalent. Robert Bireley is one of the foremost experts on the history of

the order in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (and is himself a member of the Society of Jesus). In his earlier work on Adam Contzen and William Lamormaini, he demonstrated that the relationship between religion and politics was never entirely straightforward, and that most Jesuits remained aware that at least temporary compromise was inevitable if one wanted to succeed in the intricate game of power politics. The present book widens the scope of Bireley's analysis considerably, in particular by including developments in France and, to a lesser extent, Spain (where Jesuit influence at court was less pronounced), and, even more important, by looking at the strategies the central command of the order in Rome pursued.

The picture that emerges is far more diversified than the traditional image of the Jesuits as the pope's monolithic crack regiment suggests. Invariably individual Jesuits were linked by personal choice and inherited or acquired loyalties to the rulers they served or to various political factions. It was not easy for the superior general—for most of the time under discussion here the Roman aristocrat Muzio Vitelleschi (superior 1615–1645)—to preserve at least the appearance of unity. Vitelleschi was well aware that too deep an involvement by individual priests in politics at the various European courts was a risky strategy. France, for example, was an especially difficult country for the Jesuits. Members of the society had in the past often belonged or appeared to belong to the radical Catholic movement that had openly justified resistance against a ruler who was a heretic or lax on heresy, such as Henry III or Henry IV, both murdered in the name of the true faith. When, therefore, the German Jesuit Contzen, who held an influential position at the Bavarian court, published two tracts in 1624–1625 that could be read as an incitement to opposition against Louis XIII and his minister, Cardinal Richelieu, because they refused to join the alliance against the German Protestants and were even inclined to support them, Richelieu was alarmed, and the French Jesuits took great pains to distance themselves from such dangerous positions, as Bireley shows.

Nevertheless not just the call for holy war but also the desire for peace (among Catholics) could get Jesuits into trouble, as the case of Nicolas Caussin demonstrated. Appointed confessor to the French king in 1637, he did not hesitate when celebrating Mass to call Louis XIII to account for fighting an unjust war against Catholic Spain and held him personally responsible for the infinite misery that this war had inflicted on innocent men and women in France and abroad. Caussin, who saw himself in the tradition of the Old Testament prophets and of courageous clergymen such as St. Ambrose speaking out against injustice and oppression, soon found himself banned from the court and in internal exile in the Bretagne. Although Superior General Vitelleschi himself favored the idea of an alliance embracing all Catholic countries and had initially considered the Thirty Years' War as a holy war to which all Catholic princes

had been directly summoned by God, he hesitated to incur Richelieu's wrath. Vitelleschi's successor, Vincenzo Carafa, although by conviction opposed to concessions to Protestants, became in the end a moderate and tried to discipline and restrain those members of the order who opposed the Peace of Westphalia (despite the fact that the pope himself rejected the treaty as a lasting settlement). Moderation seemed the only way to prevent the society from falling apart as Jesuits in Vienna and Munich had long abandoned their militant stance, which seemed to spell doom for the princes and countries they served. Their Spanish brethren had never shared the holy war position, as Bireley emphasizes. In Spain, "Counter Reformation militance was least evident" (p. 269), partly because the politicians to whom the Jesuits looked for protection and favor, Philip IV and the count of Olivares, wanted to keep the German Protestants and England neutral, or even to win them as allies.

In this fascinating and well-researched study, Bireley shows that there was never a grand political strategy pursued by the Jesuit order as a whole, although individual members exerted considerable influence, particularly in Germany, where other, older ecclesiastical communities and institutions had been weakened by the Reformation. But in the last resort, the Jesuits' desire to gain princely protection often led them to support and legitimate the authority of secular rulers, implicitly—although hardly ever openly so—even against the Papacy. This, in Bireley's opinion, holds true at least for the period after the mid-1620s, when the last claims for a papal supremacy in secular matters maintained by Jesuits such as Robert Bellarmine were abandoned by most members of the society.

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JASON LAVERY. *Germany's Northern Challenge: The Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian Struggle for the Baltic, 1563–1576*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Brill. 2002. Pp. xx, 164.

Diplomatic historians will find much to appreciate in this work, originally a Ph.D. dissertation completed under the supervision of Paul Bushkovitch. Jason Lavery analyzes the relationship between the Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark after the pivotal Peace of Augsburg, specifically the years 1563–1576.

The author draws some important conclusions. For example, he contends that the Peace of Augsburg should be seen as more than "a fragile, temporary truce" (p. ix), a prelude in effect to a conflict that would erupt again in the Thirty Years' War. Nor was the Seven Years' War of the North exclusively a regional conflict. Maximilian I emerges as a stronger leader than many historians have thought. The author, however, never really proves his larger point that the states of the Holy Roman Empire were "ready and able to defend the Augsburg order against foreign

threats" (p. x). Few will be surprised by his conclusions about the role of dynastic ties and the critical importance of Lübeck not only to the Hanse but also to the Holy Roman Empire and Sweden.

Of particular note is Lavery's stress on the economic interdependence of Baltic and Atlantic trade; the unexpected effects of the trade wars and blockades, for example, on the grain trade; the complete dependence of Sweden on the importation of salt; the various forms of "maritime thievery" resorted to by the Baltic powers; and the effect of contingent events, such as the mental instability and ultimate overthrow of Erik XIV, on the negotiations to end the conflict. The author ably traces the influences of various parties and the attempts to force a settlement and reaches the undeniable conclusion that earlier efforts failed because neither of the protagonists was willing to end the war, and that, ultimately, international efforts to end the war succeeded only because both sides were exhausted and ready for peace.

Although Lavery has generally organized his book chronologically, beginning with the First Rostock Conference (1563) and ending with the Peace of Stettin (1570–1576), this work is not for the uninitiated. Lavery assumes a great deal of background knowledge on the part of the reader, particularly about the rise and fall of the Hanseatic League and its influence on the Baltic trade, the rivalry between Denmark and Sweden, and internal politics within the Holy Roman Empire. In some parts of the work the author circles back in time. For example, chapter four ends with the deposition of Erik XIV in 1568, but chapter five begins again with 1566 and 1567 and does not come to 1568 and Erik's loss of power and its importance until more than ten pages later.

Lavery generally writes quite lucidly but sometimes repetitively. Had an editor taken the time to eliminate clichés such as "there was no smoke without fire" (p. 105), "putting his prestige on the line" (p. 111), and "taking a page out of Erik's book" (p. 116), the book would read better. More time should also have been taken with the index. I happened to check just one entry, but could find nothing on pp. 124–25 concerning Erik XIV's dealings with John Frederick II of Saxony.

These issues aside, the book is a richly documented archival study, based on an impressive array of primary sources in "Lübeck, Rostock, Gdańsk, Munich, Bamberg, Berlin, Marburg, Cologne, Wolfenbüttel, Vienna, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Dresden, Stralsund, and Greifswald. Four maps, five genealogical tables, a chronology, and an index grace this volume.

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WALTER GOFFART. *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570–1870*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 603. \$65.00.

The study of historical atlases—collections of maps compiled to throw light on some historical process—

was long neglected. Now two scholars have adopted the theme: Walter Goffart in the book under review, and Jeremy Black in *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past* (1997). Fortunately their books are more or less complementary. Both confine themselves essentially to maps produced in Europe, but whereas Goffart concentrates on the period from 1570 to 1870, Black emphasizes chiefly the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both books suffer from a problem inherent in their theme, which is that in the absence of much secondary literature, such surveys constantly run the risk of deteriorating into mere lists. Although both struggle against this difficulty, they do not always succeed.

Like Black, Goffart begins with Abraham Ortelius, whose *Parergon*, or set of historical maps, accompanied many editions of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, a world atlas first published at Antwerp in 1570. Trying to get away from a simply chronological or territorial treatment, Goffart pairs his six chapters more or less by century. Thus while chapter one deals with atlases of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, chapter two considers some of the most important maps found in them; this atlases/maps approach also works for the eighteenth century (chapters three and four) and the nineteenth century (chapters five and six). The plan has the advantage of allowing Goffart to use a macro approach while reflecting on the genesis and development of atlases, and then a micro approach to analyze individual maps more closely. Of course, it also has the disadvantage of leading to some duplication.

Chapter one is largely concerned with elucidating the relationship between the atlas of Claudius Ptolemy, that great classical compendium of cartographic knowledge, recovered in Western Europe during the fifteenth century, and the work of Ortelius. It is fittingly illustrated by an Ortelian map on which the classical known world is superimposed on a (blank) map of the rest of the world; perhaps it ought to have been explained that this was also a map produced in some versions of Ptolemy's atlas. Chapter two brings to our attention some particular maps, of which William Lambarde's 1568 map of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy (figure 2), is perhaps the most extraordinary, although Petrus Bertius's 1623 map of the empire of Charlemagne (figure 4) runs it close. For some reason, to work over a map like John Speed's *The Invasions of England and Ireland with all their Civil Wars since the Conquest* (1601), showing the location of all battles in England and Ireland between 1066 and 1600, seems to bring us closer to the mind of the historian who conceived it.

In chapter three, Goffart reflects on the great explosion of historical atlases during the eighteenth century, taking in not only the monumental enterprises like the seven volumes of Zacharias Châtelain (1705) but also the more innovative work of Johan Hase, whose *Atlas historicus* of 1750 set new standards in chronological and thematic rigor (pp. 147–49). Chapter four, the longest in the book, takes us into eighteenth-century

maps of the Middle Ages, analyzing such extraordinary products as the "Map of the Royal Palaces or Manors in the German kingdom of Eastern Francia, from Medieval Charters and Diplomas," published by J. G. Bessel and F. J. Hahn in 1732. It is astonishing that so striking a match between text and image could be produced at so early a date, using a close reading of sources that many of us have believed (and, no doubt, taught) originated only much later.

With the nineteenth century (chapter five) came not only the first national historical atlases (p. 339) but also the plan of organizing atlases with the maps classified according to their geographical extent. A great many maps thus came to be drawn of formerly neglected areas and processes. Whereas chapter four seems a bit long, chapter six seems short, given the remarkable interest of the maps that are analyzed. The conclusion offers reflections on the nature of historical mapping and the way in which the image can be brought cunningly to reinforce the text. For these early centuries, historical maps lack the delightful and spectacular ideological intrusions common in the twentieth century (and brought to our attention by Black). But Goffart does succeed in imposing some order on his complex tale, and a remarkable list of maps and atlases, culled from a very great variety of repositories, follows his conclusion.

This book is technically very well produced, with virtually no typographical errors. It would have been more seductive if the maps had been more elegantly produced; the rather thin, yellowish paper stock cannot do justice to Goffart's remarkable examples. Still, Goffart has now given us a book that traces an aspect of the development of historical knowledge until now sadly neglected.

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CHARLES ESDAILE. *The Peninsular War: A New History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xv, 587. \$40.00.

Charles Esdaile has written a fine book. It is decidedly meant for scholars, although his spritely chapter introductions show a knack for popular history. Considering its relative brevity, the book's scope is astonishing. Esdaile gives us much more than a narrative of the war in Spain and Portugal (1807–1813) that resulted from Napoleon Bonaparte's attempt to add Iberia to his empire. He explores the conflict primarily from the perspectives of the Spanish and British, but does not neglect the French and Portuguese, or the war's impact on other European powers. To find an account of the Peninsular War with the detail of Esdaile's, one must go back to that of the late Sir Charles Oman (7 volumes, 1902–1930)—and Esdaile offers more on the nonmilitary aspects of the war. His work is so carefully done that I had almost finished it before I found

anything to disagree with except his use of "further" for "farther."

The author has scoured the pertinent Spanish archives, including the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca del Senado, Real Academia de Historia, and Servicio Histórico Militar, all in Madrid, plus the Real Colegio de San Albano, in Valladolid. In England, he has mined the British Library, London, and Public Record Office, Kew; the Portland Collection at the University of Nottingham; and the Wellington Papers and Carver Manuscripts at the University of Southampton. He did not visit the French archives but has used a number of French printed primary sources, and consulted a plethora of secondary works in Spanish, English, and French.

Esdaille has written a comprehensive military history but more than that. He includes an account of King Joseph Bonaparte's government in Madrid, and the rocky relations between Napoleon and Joseph. He similarly treats the aspirations, failures, and accomplishments of the liberal Spanish rebel government in Cadíz, including its complex relations with the British. He is especially good on political activities and intrigues in London and their effects on the campaign and military appointments, including that of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who earned the title duke of Wellington in the peninsula.

The author devotes much space to the guerrillas—their origins, evolution, and role in the war—but does not fall into guerrilla worship. Rather, he says, many of them were "bandit gangs made up of . . . outlaws, deserters, draft evaders and destitute *campesinos*" (p. 148). However, he praises bands led by patriots, such as Francisco Espoz y Mina, and credits the good and bad with keeping the British forces informed on the French.

Esdaille offers a number of revisionist views. He defends the Bourbon dynasty, with reservations regarding Ferdinand VII and Manuel Godoy. He begins his account of the Peninsular War with the invasion of Portugal by French troops under Andoche Junot (November 1807), although the action was in Spain until the British landed in Portugal in August 1808. He argues that the Spanish regular army contributed much to winning the war—by wearing down the French rather than by victories—and expresses respect for generals such as the Marqués de La Romana and the Duque del Parque. He rehabilitates some Spanish generals, notably García de la Cuesta, whom the British saw as "an infirm old man . . . obliged to be lifted into his saddle" and a "*deformed-looking lump of pride, ignorance and treachery*" (pp. 200–01). He credits Cuesta's troops with the charge that ended the Battle of Talavera (p. 208). Almost in passing, he settles a long-lasting argument over British tactics. Using the testimony of line infantrymen, he shows that although marksmanship and disciplined fire were factors in their victories, they were finished by bayonet charges (p. 99).

Esdaille insists, and I think rightly, that French defeat in the peninsula was not inevitable, citing the

fact that in 1812, before the Russian campaign, the French controlled all of Spain save Cadíz and remote areas. He holds that although Masséna was driven from Portugal (1810) by Wellington, aided by guerrillas and the Royal Navy, Masséna had "eroded the foundations of Spanish resistance," and that every French victory thereafter "brought the day closer when the *partidas* [whom he assigns a major role in Allied victory] could be exterminated" (p. 338).

Esdaille further asserts that there is no truth in the time-honored view that the "Spanish Affair" had ruined the morale of French troops. He writes that "there is little firm evidence that, boosted as it was by a military machine gifted by an extraordinary capacity for [motivating] the most unwilling conscript, the rank and file's fighting spirit [had significantly declined]," and he goes on to cite the valor of the French during 1813–1814.

It is only when he departs from his main subject, in his conclusion, that Esdaille goes wrong. He claims that "just as in France in 1793, so in Spain and Portugal a 'people numerous and armed' had confronted foreign aggression and emerged triumphant" (p. 501). The European powers emulated the Iberian example and defeated Napoleon. Unhappily for this thesis, the "people numerous and armed" in France were not guerrillas or angry mobs but conscripts and volunteers. Further, the European powers used no conscripts and few volunteers against Napoleon. However, these gaffs do not destroy the value of the book, which should become the standard synthesis on the subject.

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WILLIAM I. BRUSTEIN. *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 384. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.00.

What is a hate crime? You know when you see it, says the law. Given the resurgence of antisemitic acts might in Europe and the Middle East over the past few years, what is an antisemitic act might seem to be equally self-evident. And yet, in both cases the nuances as to what is hate crime, what are antisemitic acts (and crimes) remain difficult to assess. William I. Brustein attempts in this brave book to tease out the differences that exist between and among the various stands of antisemitism between the late nineteenth century (1899) and the beginning of World War II (1939). Brustein's work is inherently empirical; he looks at newspaper reports of antisemitic incidents (from blood libel accusations to *Kristallnacht*) and at the relative function of national predisposition and cultural bias in various European settings. His focus is on the appearance of antisemitism in France, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, and Romania. Having coded a wide range of newspaper reports from this period and from these national contexts, he has a database of at least those incidents that were seen as relating to the "Jews."

From this he sets out to discover the similarities and differences in the various representations of the "Jews."

What lies at the heart of Brustein's study is a disavowal of Daniel Joseph Goldhagen's case for a German special tradition of antisemitism that led to the Holocaust (*Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* [1996]). Brustein shows that antisemitism (and the very definition of who and what are the "Jews") is a function of the needs of specific times and places. Thus (and we are truly not surprised) antisemitism is a problem of the non-Jews. It reflects the preoccupations of segments in European society about their own anxieties and self-definitions in times of crisis. That this context of antisemitism also affects diaspora Jewry and the self-definition of individual Jews (often in different and contradictory ways) is clear as well, but this is a separate issue.

When we look at Brustein's case, it is clear that real events—European economic chaos, the migration of Eastern European Jews, the rise and success of the revolutionary Left—are all coded as "Jewish." The shift from a religious definition of antisemitism ("the Wandering Jew") to a biological one ("the Jewish race") had taken place during the first half of the nineteenth century as the general culture replaced "religion" with "science" as the basis for its understanding of the world. But this general shift does not make the former vanish and the latter triumphant. The transformation of socioeconomic definitions of the "Jews" imbedded in Christian religious anxiety about the taking of interest into the notion that the Jews were the wellspring of economic exploitation (on the Right or the Left) is a further continuation of these multiple transformations during the period Brustein examines. The secularization of such images does not diminish their religious origin. Social reality (migration, inflation, depression, revolution) simply serves as a template for the rhetoric about the Jews.

It is clear that not all comments about the Jews in the period from 1899 to 1939 are negative stereotypes. Some seem to be positive statements. But here, too, the "Jews" are dealt with as a uniform category. The Western "Jews" may be in a different state of transformation than those in the East because of the impact of the Enlightenment. The image of the "Jews" remains rooted in the function of this collective in arguments about difference. Everyone glibly speaks of the "Jews" as a given empirical category in the light of notions of national characteristics, religious identity, social formations, etc.

And here we come to the nub of Brustein's problem. Why the "Jews"? Is antisemitism merely a ubiquitous form of xenophobia? Actually, one can ask the same question about "Green" antisemitism today. As with the period examined by Brustein, we can quote a wider range of empirical cases where the "Jews" as a collective is imagined to "do something." Today it is Israel and Zionism that provide the empirical basis. But the underlying question is why the Jews in all cases? The

answer is the primacy of Judaism as the core belief system through which and against which the central cultural/religious motors of European identity (Christianity in all of its varieties) and of the Muslim world (Islam in all of its varieties) define themselves. In this model, Christianity and Islam replace Judaism and the Jews as the prime focus of cultural, religious, and national identity. We—this argument states—are not the Jews and we must constantly prove it. Whatever the Roman Catholic Church says, the fact that the Gospels continue to state, in ways unambiguous, that the Jews are those people who were blind and would not see haunts our contemporary world. In Islam, the Koran echoes these sentiments. The textual basis for the transmission of such beliefs is powerful even into a world of nonbelievers, into a world in which anti-Judaism has become the "science of anti-Semitism."

Brustein makes an ample case for difference in the function of the image of the Jews. His empiricism, however, confuses "real" events with interpretations; newspaper essays are texts and must be so read rather than simply reduced to a data set. Antisemitic speech acts are those coded as antisemitic. Here Brustein has undertaken one powerful half of the argument. We can only hope that he returns to his data set for qualitative in addition to quantitative information about the differences in the meaning and function of antisemitism from 1899 to 1939.

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Chicago

CONAN FISCHER. *The Ruhr Crisis, 1923–1924*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 312.

The history of the French-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 has long been told propagandistically, most notably under National Socialism, or neglected because of the divisive political memories it awakens. Conan Fischer makes a major contribution in providing the first comprehensive analytical account of the impact of the occupation on the Ruhr, based on the voluminous *Besatzungsakten* (occupation files) compiled by German authorities and preserved in Rhinish-Westphalian archives. Although other historians have drawn selectively on these sources, Fischer exploits them exhaustively to reconstruct the entire course of the occupation. He pays particular attention to its catastrophic effects on the people of the Ruhr, as well as to their role in initiating and sustaining passive resistance. This resistance is situated in the context of the progressive erosion of German authority in the Ruhr, national politics, and international diplomacy.

The wide-ranging *Besatzungsakten* lay to rest the more notorious myths surrounding the occupation. For example, French accusations and later Nazi glorification of active resistance were grossly exaggerated. Violent sabotage played a small role, limited to isolated, ineffectual groups, with little reliable evidence of support from the German state, industrialists, or,

especially, population. Moreover, Ruhr industrialists did not consistently exploit the occupation to undermine the Weimar Republic or revive militaristic nationalism but rather were divided. They alternately supported the Weimar government, cooperated with the French, and sought to reinstate prewar working conditions, but for most of 1923 they focused on commercial interests rather than broader political or economic goals. Lower-level factory and mine managers worked pragmatically with the union-led works councils within Weimar's industrial relations system to sustain the resistance and alleviate food, currency, and other shortages. Most important, passive resistance was not simply instigated, let alone controlled, by the German state but was a genuine popular movement. Especially among Catholic and Social Democratic workers, it became synonymous with defense of the republic, and among virtually all workers it expressed a profound opposition to militarism. As an independent political force, passive resistance also narrowed the government's options. It was called off only when catastrophic economic conditions throughout Germany made its continuation futile. As Fischer trenchantly observes, the Weimar Republic never recovered from the disillusionment provoked by the end of passive resistance among the republic's most ardent supporters, especially Social Democratic workers. Fischer backs up his conclusions with detailed analyses of such diverse subjects as government administration, policing, education, food supplies, transportation, labor relations, and women and children.

The treatment of German national politics is more problematic. Fischer does not examine the conflicting political agendas of German parties before 1923 and during the passive resistance as critically as he does the positions of the Allied powers. Raymond Poincaré may have gone for broke in occupying the Ruhr, but many Germans refused to accept either defeat in World War I or the Weimar Republic and pursued their own *Katastrophenpolitik*. Passive resistance as government strategy could be viewed not as expression of national unity or defense of the republic but rather as the lowest common political denominator to hold the fractious parties together until crisis allowed them to pursue their agendas separately. Fischer analyzes well the political conflicts in Germany after the end of passive resistance, but without having laid the foundation to understand their larger context.

The weakest part of the study is its handling of social conflicts. The most informative archival and secondary sources on workers' protests are largely ignored (as well as some older studies of the Ruhr occupation). From February 1923 to May 1924, workers in the Ruhr engaged in no fewer than six increasingly massive waves of demonstrations, strikes, riots, and even localized insurrections, directed not against the occupiers but against the German state and employers. While Fischer covers the protests in April, May, and July-August 1923 at least briefly (although not always accurately), he passes over the hyperinflationary con-

vulsions after the end of passive resistance and says nothing about the strike wave in defense of the eight-hour day from December 1923 to May 1924. These conflicts paralyzed the Social Democratic Party and socialist unions and delayed industrialists' exploitation of the Ruhr occupation to reverse Weimar's economic reforms. The defeat of workers in these conflicts, as much as the end of passive resistance, disillusioned them with the democratic republic.

Despite these limitations, Fischer's book fills a major gap in the historiography of the Weimar Republic. Its sober, well-written recounting of the impact of the occupation offers a stark reminder of the immense human costs and incalculable political consequences when nations resort to military force to resolve conflicts.

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STEPHANIE C. SALZMANN. *Great Britain, Germany and the Soviet Union: Rapallo and After, 1922-1934*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. x, 201. \$75.00.

"Rapallo has always been a byword for Russo-German secret and potentially dangerous collaboration," Stephanie C. Salzmänn writes. The term came up whenever the two countries intensified their relationship. Once the Hitler-Stalin pact was concluded in August 1939, followed quickly by the onset of World War II in Europe and right up to the end of the Cold War, Rapallo was referred to, mostly but not exclusively in the press, as the first of a series of Russo-German collaborations posing an imminent or potential threat to the West. Anything that might lead to a Soviet-German "alliance," this informal doctrine went, was inherently dangerous. Salzmänn refers to this as the "myth of Rapallo" and asserts that it is time to examine its actual historical basis. Was the Rapallo alignment a threat to the powers that wrote the Versailles treaty? Rightly or wrongly, was it so regarded in London?

At Rapallo, Germany and Russia mutually renounced the collection of reparations and intergovernmental debts and agreed to formal diplomatic relations. The government of the Bolsheviks was recognized as legitimate by a major European power for the first time, and the potential unity of powers with reparation claims against Germany was precluded. Both powers gained significantly from the agreement, and it had an impact on British policy. By late 1924, the Foreign Office recognized that Germany's relationship with Soviet Russia prevented Britain's diplomatic withdrawal from Europe to the position of an offshore imperial power. Instead, British diplomacy played a leading and highly positive role in liquidating the Ruhr occupation, in framing the Dawes reparation settlement, in negotiating the West European security pact signed at Locarno, and in bringing Germany into the League of Nations.

In 1922, however, neither the governments, the foreign ministries, nor the press of Europe were prepared for a formal agreement between the two major powers antagonistic to the Great War peace settlement. It caused a sensation and temporarily interrupted the huge multinational conference taking place at Geneva at the time. It was not the Rapallo agreement that doomed the Geneva Conference, however, but rather the unrealism and the impracticality of David Lloyd George's dream of a postwar European reconstruction pivoted on a jumbo reparations-war debt settlement and the readmission of a less radical Russia into European international trade and development. The British Foreign Office was not alarmed. There it was calmly predicted that domestic difficulties in both countries precluded them from adventurous foreign policies separately or together and that their ideological differences spoke ill for the longevity of their combination.

At the time of the Ruhr crisis, the Rapallo relationship proved to be of no particular benefit to either party. When French and Belgian troops and engineers occupied the German coal-producing district in January 1923, Soviet support for Germany was less than all out. The press criticized the action, and Poland was publicly warned not to intervene. Confidentially, Berlin was informed that Germany could expect no more than moral support. Secretly the Soviet regime sponsored a stillborn, armed proletarian insurrection in Germany with weapons, funds, and advisors at a time when the consequences of the invasion had sent the country into financial chaos. It was at this time, Salzmänn maintains, that Soviet foreign relations could have posed the most serious threat to European peace and stability between 1919 and 1939, either by greater support for Germany in resisting the French occupation, or in the form of a more successful Communist uprising. However, neither at this time nor at any other during the almost twelve years of the Rapallo relationship did Germany or Russia come to the aid of the other.

To the Soviets, Rapallo meant that Germany and Russia would have a special relationship; they would be each other's primary "alliance" partner. The possibilities for this ended in 1924–1926 when Germany initiated and concluded the Locarno Treaties with Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. To Gustav Stresemann, good relations with Russia continued to be worth preserving, and to that end the Foreign Ministry met Moscow's demand for a full political treaty, a limited neutrality agreement termed the Treaty of Berlin. The treaty was not inconsistent with Locarno; Austen Chamberlain, Britain's foreign secretary, recognized this and calmed the atmosphere. Nevertheless, Germany paid a price for keeping the wire to Moscow open, for sustaining an *Ostpolitik* at a time of *Westorientierung*. In Paris, Aristide Briand and Raymond Poincaré saw the Berlin treaty as justification for denying German appeals for an accelerated end to the allied military occupation of the Rhineland district.

Moreover, Chamberlain became increasingly reluctant in his support of Stresemann's campaign for relief from the penal clauses of Versailles. Because Stresemann did not play the Russian card—threaten London or Paris with closer relations with Russia—as a way of advancing his agenda, Chamberlain was able to live with the Rapallo relationship. He even benefited from it: at the time of the Anglo-Soviet break in diplomatic relations in 1926, Chamberlain had access to Germany's good offices in Moscow to calm the crisis.

By 1928–1929, Rapallo had lost much of its original purpose. There was no prospect of a combined German-Russian effort to push Poland back to its ethnographic frontiers discussed in 1925. Any recovery of territory ceded to Poland in the Great War peace agreements depended on the support of Britain and France, and that was not forthcoming. Stresemann's priority remained what it had been: the prompt and complete end to allied military occupation and a revised and permanent reparation settlement to make Germany's international obligations stable and predictable. When Berlin undertook a diplomatic campaign toward these ends in London and Paris, success depended on a high level of trust in Berlin as a long-term and reliable negotiating partner. Closer relations with Moscow, or the threat thereof, would have been counterproductive. With the Russian counterbalance to the west depreciated, little was to be gained now from the Rapallo relationship—except in one respect. Clandestine military collaboration—joint development and testing of weapons and equipment, officer training, and joint maneuvers on Russian soil—reached its greatest extent in the years 1927–1932. In fact, Salzmänn maintains, it is this military cooperation that was of most benefit to both states, and that part of the three-level relationship (political, economic, military) was never called into question. The Foreign Office knew about the arrangements in some detail and recognized that the flouting of the treaty was considerable and systematic. Yet a blind eye was turned in London. Public attention focused on German military cooperation with Russia would only strengthen French demands for security guarantees and so burden the Geneva disarmament negotiations.

Within a month of the beginning of the Hitler government in March 1933, relations between Germany and Russia became exceedingly tense. Actions taken against Soviet citizens living or working in Germany, Adolf Hitler's own anticommunist pronouncements, public statements made by Alfred Hugenberg, the leader of the nationalist party and a member of the government regarding Germany's need for *Lebensraum*, and talk by Alfred Rosenberg, the chief ideologist of the Nazi Party, about giving Poland the Ukraine in exchange for the Danzig corridor all caused considerable alarm in Moscow. Narkomindel notified the German government that they were not at all interested in a continuation of the Berlin treaty, and Maxim Litvinov announced a major shift in Soviet foreign policy. Heretofore Russia would side with

those powers in Europe working to preserve peace and support the League of Nations and other international organizations. Soon Moscow was pursuing a conciliatory policy toward France and moving to join the League of Nations. Germany signed a nonaggression pact with Poland, in essence reaffirming the status quo there. The idea of Germany and the Soviet Union uniting to overthrow the 1919–1922 settlement in Eastern Europe, was dead—until it was revived five and one half years later with the Hitler-Stalin pact.

This is an excellent book. The language is polished; the composition is both satisfying and economical; the research in archival and printed sources is state of the art; previous scholarship is used intelligently and sensitively. It is also an important book that should put an end to many still popular misconceptions about relations among the nations of Europe in the era between World War I and Adolf Hitler.

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CLAUDIA BALDOLI. *Exporting Fascism: Italian Fascists and Britain's Italians in the 1930s*. New York: Berg. 2003. Pp. v, 217. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.

In this brief monograph, Claudia Baldoli reviews “the history of Italy’s attempts to transform its emigrants in Britain into enthusiastic Fascists” (p. 1) during the embassy of Dino Grandi from 1932 to 1939. Simultaneously she traces the nature of the contacts between Italian state officials and British Italophiles, be they expatriates in Italy, conservative admirers of the Duce in Britain, or members of Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists. This double purpose is reflected in her chapter structure; three chapters track the drift of emigrants into what she calls a “community” of true believers, two focus, if sometimes fitfully, on British friends of Italy, while a final chapter concentrates especially on Grandi during his last two years as ambassador and what Baldoli sees as his unavailing attempts to deflect Benito Mussolini from a full commitment to the Axis alliance with Adolf Hitler.

In producing her book, Baldoli has read widely in the archives, but her greatest debt is to *L'Italia Nostra*, from 1928 the weekly newsheet of the London Fascio all'Esterio, to the papers of the central organization of the Fasci (until the end of 1937, led by ex-squadrist Piero Parini), and to the files, published and unpublished, of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Conceptually, she is influenced by Emilio Gentile and others of the current “culturalist” school who are sure that 1930s Italy was pressing ahead with a genuine cultural revolution. For those living outside the national borders, as Baldoli puts it, “under Fascism, *italianità* was no longer to be [just] a cure for the emigrant’s ailments, but an authentic anthropological revolution” (p. 9). Especially during the campaign against sanctions in 1935–1936, when (Baldoli somewhat ingenuously repeats a Grandi phrase) London

was “Italy’s most dangerous ‘trench’ and the headquarters of the enemy,” a full-scale conversion to radical fascism did occur. Then, she claims, “the embassy and the *Fascio* proudly witnessed the emergence of a miniature corporative [sic] state in the capital” (p. 74).

This moment of dedication to the revolution was not maintained, however. More cautious than Gentile has been in some of his statements about the alleged fanaticizing of the fascist regime’s subjects in Italy, Baldoli concludes: “By isolating the Italian communities from British society and by organizing espionage activity, the *Fasci* certainly contributed to Italy’s preparation for war against Britain. Yet the Italian community itself was not prepared to follow Fascism to that extreme end.”

The conclusion is sensible enough, and the detail of Baldoli’s account is of value. Nonetheless, there are problems. Baldoli is not very convincing in assaying the changes in Grandi’s attitudes and actions. A proper study of this mephistophelean character is much needed, but Baldoli is too inclined to believe Grandi’s words and self-assessments to add much to our knowledge. Driven by her definition of proper source material, she fails to pursue Grandi into the highways and byways of British high society. By the standards of most ambassadors, the handsome, charming, and relatively youthful Grandi, with a glamorous hint of the devilish about him, was an attractive addition to the London and county world. It would have been nice to know more about his place in the social whirl.

Similarly, both emigrants and British expatriates never come to life in this account. Although Baldoli starts with a useful survey of the 29,000 Italians living in Britain in 1931, they appear thereafter only as a collective being acted upon and so lacking any serious texture or individuality. The level of their “Fascistization” remains imponderable while there is no attempt to explore their understanding of Italy and the Italies, of Catholicism and the family, of (relative) financial “success,” of patronage, “power,” and “leadership.” What was their comprehension of the nation and of fascism, dictatorship, and the charismatic Duce? We do not learn the answer from Baldoli. In 1935–1936, for example, was the “consent” manifested by many emigrants occasioned by the revolutionary presentation of the war in Ethiopia or by its traditional face as a longstanding national ambition, bringing belated reward in “Africa” of the sort that the British had long achieved and so not really threatening the existing world moral order? In sum, despite her praiseworthy final skepticism, throughout her book Baldoli is too ready to take fascists at their own word.

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MICHAEL DOBSON and NICOLA J. WATSON. *England's Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 348. \$29.95.

There are many Elizabeths. The real queen, earnestly sought by scholarly biographers, has been represented as a political genius who made a great power out of an ailing offshore island; a clever actress who rode her luck; and a dithering incompetent who tried to look decorative while her servants ran the country. There is plenty of sound historical evidence for all these views, and the scholars who have advanced them are not necessarily being dishonest, or pursuing their own agendas. Part of the trouble is that there is simply too much evidence, much of it written by contemporaries with their own axes to grind. Another part is that Elizabeth was at great pains to make herself opaque, a defensive mechanism that she felt compelled to adopt.

This book by Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson, however, is not about the real Elizabeth, but about her various incarnations in drama, myth, and fantasy, which began almost as soon as she was dead and are still being produced today. The sight of a woman exercising power in her own right, and not through the more familiar method of influencing a man, or men, was intriguing and puzzling in itself. For generations after her death, the conventional perception of women (shared by all men and the great majority of women), was that females were not only physically weaker than males but intellectually inferior as well, and prone to be ruled by their emotions, often called "humors." Mary, Queen of Scots, was a classic case in point. Impeccably royal, beautiful, and intelligent, she nevertheless failed utterly (in a way) through her appalling taste in men and her total inability to control her emotions. Mary's triumph, although it benefited her little, was also through conventional female means: she bore a son. By contrast, Elizabeth, who never married and who insisted on making (or not making) her own decisions, was an enigma, so much so that some writers professed not to believe in her at all, and so we have Elizabeth the hermaphrodite, or the transvestite man, and Elizabeth the secret wife and mother, whose whole public career was a sham.

The old queen was also a convenient peg on which to hang the political and sexual preoccupations of later generations. When she died, behind the conventional and theatrical mourning, there was much relief. She had become a very difficult old lady, and it would be good to have a king again, upon whom the traditional imagery of majesty could sit more comfortably. However, within a generation the political mistakes and sheer insensitivity of the Stuarts had raised a nostalgia for "Good Queen Bess," who, for all her weaknesses, had known what it was to be English, and had known a good man when she saw one. Although the "Elizabeth industry" never subsided entirely, there were a number of well-marked peaks of activity: the early seventeenth century, when it was an implied criticism of her successors; the mid and late nineteenth century, when it supported the imperial pretensions of another female ruler, Victoria; and the late twentieth century, when women in power had become familiar, but the problems of female priorities remained.

Romantic writers, and more recently filmmakers, have tended to take their history lightly, and to concentrate upon the three known relationships of the queen's life: her adolescent adventure with Thomas Seymour, her mature flirtation with Robert Dudley, and her old-age experience with Robert Devereux. The two last, in particular, have spawned a wealth of more or less fictitious passion, seeking to build Elizabeth's public life around her private emotions and speculating endlessly on the fascinating question of how far her affection for Dudley really took her. Nearly always this involves imposing the mores of the writers' own generation upon the sixteenth century. This was as true of Benjamin Britten's *Gloriana* (1953) as of the film *Shakespeare in Love* (1998). Whether Elizabeth really felt the constant tension between private (female) inclination and public (male) responsibility is perhaps hardly relevant in this context: it has been the stuff of drama for at least two hundred years.

The roots of all this imaginative activity lie in Elizabeth's own lifetime, not so much in the facts of what happened as in the ways in which they were represented. Did the queen ever give her famous and prophetic commission to Cecil in 1558, or make her Tilbury speech thirty years later? Both the documents testifying to these events are copies and may not be contemporary. We only have Camden's word for it that she eventually named James as her successor upon her death bed, which could easily have been a convenient myth invented by her council. The constructing of Elizabeth began during her reign, and with her own knowledge and approval, so we should hardly be surprised that she has continued to stimulate the imagination of almost every generation since. The study of such a process in a way is straightforward—a narrative of successive presentations—but in another way it is intensely difficult to decide exactly what authors and dramatists were attempting to achieve and, equally important, why. The authors of this work have handled most of the disparate mass of information with skill, although with a somewhat heavy academic hand in places. I am not sure that we need to take "Blackadder II" seriously, although it probably says something about our recent educational system. If it is possible to be both straightfaced and tongue in cheek, then Dobson and Watson succeed. Elizabeth is, and has been for years, a reflection of our own preoccupations, so the story—as the authors end by suggesting—is likely to run and run.

DAVID LOADES

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DAVID LOADES. *Elizabeth I*. New York: Hambledon and London. 2003. Pp. xxii, 410. \$29.95.

David Loades, a political historian with numerous publications, principally on Tudor topics, describes Elizabeth's character in his introduction: she possessed a woman's mind, had a style that was "feminine," and exhibited a "prevarication [that] . . . was constantly

wrong-footing her unfortunate servants" (pp. xvi, xix). In separating the queen's personal history from that of her reign, he emphasizes the issues on which he believes she had the most input: court life, marriage negotiations, maritime enterprise, and the use of the royal prerogative. In analyzing her governance, he states that although Elizabeth was a "rare creature, a genuinely independent woman," she failed to resolve two problems: finding adequate finances and creating a satisfactory relationship among crown, lords, and commons. Unfortunately, in its conceptualization, use of evidence, and scholarship, his study lacks the competence of some of his many previous publications.

Adopting Eric Ives's and David Starkey's model, Loades validates the conceptualization that identifies gender relationships at Tudor courts with courtly love, the medieval literary theory that posits an older, married lady, the mistress, manipulating the emotions of a younger man or knight, the servant, with whom she might have sexual intimacy. Literary scholars have long denied that this theory, popularized by C. S. Lewis in 1938, was an actual social practice or even a dominant literary phenomenon. Occasionally, to mask political and financial motivations, men seeking wives or the patronage of great ladies utilized some of this theory's language and conventions in their communications, but it did not define actual gender relationships. Moreover, Elizabeth was a single woman, whose courtiers competed for political power and patronage, not sterile emotional liaisons. Early modern works on the instruction of women and on court life lack any evidence of the social acting out of this theory of gender relationships that is rooted in male fantasies. Perhaps the conceptualization lingers in some court studies because in English universities social history, including women's history and gender studies, is a distinct subfield apart from political and religious history. (See Robert Tittler, *Albion* 32 [1999], for a discussion of this topic).

Turning to Loades's evidentiary analysis, he validates the gossip reported in 1549 by Elizabeth's servants, who were detained by crown officials for questioning about her relationship with Thomas, Lord Seymour, the widower of Catherine Parr. Legal experts have clarified that individuals quizzed under these circumstances routinely reveal facts that their inquisitors wish to hear. Instead of speculating about the emerging sexuality of the adolescent Elizabeth, Loades could have focused on Seymour's attempts to ingratiate himself with Edward VI and his close female heirs in an unsuccessful challenge to his brother, Edward, duke of Somerset's position as lord protector.

Other misleading documents on which Loades relies are the reports of Spanish resident ambassadors in England who functioned as enemy agents. Elizabeth actually expelled two of them for fomenting conspiracies against her rule. These diplomats kept spies at court to provide them with rumors and gossip, which they routinely reported to their government often without attempting to obtain confirmation of their

facts. For example, in 1559 the count of Feria forwarded a list with both correct and incorrect names of those whom Elizabeth was expected to favor. Although he points out Feria's errors, Loades unquestionably accepts the hearsay statement in 1562 of the Spanish ambassador, Alvarez de Quadra, who claimed that when Elizabeth was suffering from smallpox, she confessed to her privy councillors that she had done nothing improper with Robert Dudley.

Finally, Loades's scholarship is surprisingly flawed. Many important studies of Elizabeth—for example, those by Carole Levin, A. N. McLaren, and Mary Hill Cole—are missing from his bibliography. The book also contains several factual errors. It was only after Mary Stewart's abduction, not before, that she advanced the earl of Bothwell to the dukedom of Orkney and that his wife divorced him. Most recent experts on Mary's life generally disagree with Loades's claim that she was Bothwell's consensual premarital lover and colluded in her abduction. He mistakenly states that she did not challenge the jurisdiction of the English court that condemned her for treason. Denouncing her "obsessive desire to recover power in Scotland," Loades labels this intelligent, well-educated woman "stupid" (pp. 199, 220). Some of his references to Anne Boleyn are incorrect: for example, the trial date of her alleged lovers. Finally, evidence does not support his assertion that smallpox left Elizabeth's face badly scarred. These significant errors probably indicate that he rushed into print in order to salute the anniversary of her death. She deserves a finer memorial than this.

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PAMELA E. RITCHIE. *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: A Political Career*. East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 306. \$31.95.

Mary of Guise is possibly the most obscure and least researched of that remarkable collection of female regents and rulers who helped to shape European diplomacy and politics in the sixteenth century. A fair critical assessment by historians of Scotland has been hampered by reliance on Protestant sources and confessional prejudices. Outside Scotland, ignorance about Mary has been reinforced by her triple misfortune of having been a woman, a member of the Guise family, and a *politique*—none of which until recently attracted serious historical attention. Pamela E. Ritchie's monograph is all the more timely given the fact that Mary of Guise is now most likely to be known from her portrayal by Fanny Ardant in Shekhar Kapur's hopelessly inaccurate but popular film, *Elizabeth* (1998).

As a foreigner and a woman, Mary would have faced formidable problems without English hostility, lawlessness, and heresy. She achieved a measure of stability by relying on traditional methods of personal rule, dispensing patronage even handedly, taking counsel

from across the political spectrum, and visiting in person and dispensing justice in the outlying regions of the kingdom. While this is a book devoted to Scotland and internal politics and policies are dealt with in fair detail, Ritchie successfully places Mary's purview in terms of nascent French imperial ambitions. Historians have neglected the ways in which the failure of dynastic claims in Italy forced a reorientation to the Atlantic. Dreams of a colony in Brazil at Portuguese expense ended in disaster. A Franco-British empire that incorporated England, Scotland, and Ireland was more feasible given Tudor dynastic problems. The scheme, which began with the establishment of a French protectorate in Scotland in 1548, was formalized by the marriage of Guise's daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, to Dauphin Francis in 1558. But the project was already in trouble before Francis and Mary became king and queen of France in July 1559, and it collapsed entirely after the deaths of Francis and Guise herself the following year. It was never likely to succeed without substantial resources and dynastic stability. Comparison with Habsburg ambitions and success is fruitful. France was unable to compete and bankrupted itself by 1559. Although Scottish affairs loomed larger during the Guise-dominated regime of Francis II, effective military intervention to crush the Protestant insurgency in Scotland could not be organized.

Religious schism was a crucial factor in the collapse of the putative Franco-British empire, but not, as Ritchie shows, in the manner traditionally ascribed to it by historians of Protestantism. Mary was concerned with dynastic stability and tried to accommodate her Protestant subjects. English intervention proved more effective than French, and opportunists, sensing the turning tide, swelled the initially small group of rebels. Ritchie's emphasis on international diplomacy will not find favor in all quarters, particularly in the current historiographical climate, which ascribes primacy to religious ideology as a cause of political change. Ritchie's Mary is a contradictory figure: although she was clearly someone of great charm and respected by her enemies, all too often she comes across as a cipher of dynastic interest. Further investigation of her religious principles and personality is warranted. Contemporaries attributed the remarkable success of the Guise family to their solidarity. Mary, like her brothers, was not dogmatic and was able to adapt her religious principles to political circumstance. This did not mean that she had no principles. Was she an evangelical Catholic sincerely committed to a third way like her brother, the cardinal of Lorraine? The growing confessional divide in both France and Scotland vitiated the chances of any movement succeeding, but it is a possibility worth exploring. It is significant that Mary of Guise's short-lived successor as regent of Scotland, her youngest brother, René, had a Protestant tutor and was by marriage closely associated with the French Calvinist leadership. While not as flamboyant, romantic, or as powerful as her female contemporary

rulers, Mary of Guise is rescued by Ritchie from the villainous role attributed to her by Protestants. This book sheds new light on a period of history when Scotland played a major role in European affairs.

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JOHN CRAMSIE. *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI and I 1603–1625*. (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2002. Pp. xi, 242. \$75.00.

For much of the twentieth century, James VI and I was portrayed as an incompetent ruler whose extravagance greatly weakened English royal finances. The corruption and maladministration of the king and his courtiers, it was said, pushed England toward the civil war that broke out in 1642. During the past few decades, James has been receiving a much more favorable press from scholars, a number of whom have argued that he was very far from being a political incompetent. So-called revisionists have contended that the causes of the English Civil War cannot be traced back into James's reign. Revisionists have also been inclined to absolve James from responsibility for his financial problems, arguing that his difficulties resulted largely from the ramshackle and antiquated nature of England's fiscal machinery.

John Cramsie's very welcome and scholarly book argues that James was not a mere extravagant incompetent in financial matters. The king's policies, he claims, were grounded in attitudes that were widely (although not universally) accepted in early modern Europe and that were derived especially from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a much-read text of political advice. The *Cyropaedia* recommended that rulers give generously to their subjects, thus winning their loyalty and affection. Subjects would be sure to reciprocate by granting the ruler generous financial support if he required it. James's liberality, argues Cramsie, therefore had respectable intellectual roots. It was also underpinned by sound political calculation, he contends, for in England James was a new and little-known king, of a new and foreign dynasty, and it made sense for him to spend money in building up political support.

On occasion, such spending could also have more crudely material purposes. Cramsie shows that a large number of projectors offered James the prospect of a substantial return for a small investment in their schemes for such things as draining the fens, establishing a fleet to fish herring, and coining copper farthings. James and his financial officials backed a number of these projects but rarely with much success. Indeed, the patents that the king granted arguably backfired on him financially, for they contributed to straining his relations with Parliament, which (unlike the loyal subjects of the *Cyropaedia*) proved reluctant to vote him money. The introduction early in the reign of extraparliamentary impositions on overseas trade per-

haps did most of all to sour relations between the king and the House of Commons. Cramsie describes impositions as the one great revenue success of the reign, and there is certainly something to this, for they brought in much money. But they cost the king political capital, which might well have been translatable into still more money in the form of taxes.

Cramsie's book is a very well-researched study of the interplay between politics and finance in James's reign. It is clearly and engagingly written and is based on an impressively wide range of primary printed and especially manuscript sources, many of which have only rarely been used before. It is fully informed on recent secondary literature. Cramsie convincingly challenges the revisionist idea that James's financial problems were the result of functional strains within an antiquated fiscal system, claiming that the king's financial failure was much more the consequence of political than of institutional causes. He demonstrates the falsity of the revisionist claim that the Jacobean House of Commons rarely tried to make the voting of taxes contingent on the king redressing its grievances. He accepts the modern view of the king as no incompetent, but the picture of James that emerges is certainly not that of someone who was very adept at either finance or politics. Cramsie argues that much of James' conduct makes sense within the terms outlined in the *Cyropaedia*. This is an appealing and imaginative idea, but Cramsie does not really succeed in showing that Xenophon's book had all that much influence on James and his advisors. Moreover, the reader is left wondering why a competent James would have continued to endorse the *Cyropaedia*'s thinking after it became obvious (by 1610 at the latest) that his subjects were not, in fact, happy to grant him large sums to relieve his necessities. Cramsie interestingly argues that James's style of government was highly fluid, nonbureaucratic, and personal. One result, he claims, was that the king was given too much advice, and this was a reason why he backed some ill-conceived projects. The argument against the king's incompetence looks a little strained here.

The text would have benefited from some tables on royal revenue and expenditure, and on inflation. More could have been said about coinage and monetary policy. But mostly this is a very fine first book that will be required reading for everyone interested in Jacobean politics and finance.

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JOAD RAYMOND. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 403. \$70.00.

Thoroughly invested in the realm of politics and polemic, the pamphlet and its distinction in early modern Britain "as an idea—a means of speaking, an

arena for thought, a space for reading," indeed as "the unchallenged candidate for the prime model of the efficacy of print" (p. 384) is the subject of this study by Joad Raymond. Relying on the witness of hundreds of printed pamphlets between 1637 and 1800, together with earlier proto-pamphlet forms like newsbooks, tracts, corontos, and libels, Raymond recounts the pamphlet's rise to prominence, locates it within the parameters of the book trade and seventeenth-century politics, and establishes the generic conventions pamphlets both employed and exploited. The author proposes four theses. First, the pamphlet is a complex and "historically relative" genre defined by rhetorical elements, political and polemical uses, and the exigencies of print culture. Second, the pamphlet constitutes a literary form that is bound to defined traditions and conventions of pamphleteering. Third, during the period 1500–1700 the pamphlet was affected by and participated in "a metamorphosis in the nature and idea of print," that saw political and public life come to depend on printed texts. Fourth, "pamphlets became a foundation of the influential moral and political communities that constitute a 'public sphere' of popular political opinion" (pp. 25–26). Raymond says that "the story woven from these four theses is not a direct one" since it "offers a range of stories with different kinds of narratives and temporality" (p. 26), but I see a fairly direct narrative that tends to coalesce around two rather than four principal intentions. The first, and the subject of most of the first four chapters and a substantial part of the sixth, is the definition of the pamphlet as a literary genre. The second, occupying the second chapter and chapters five through eight, is a survey of the place of pamphlets in engaging political action and public opinion at three historical moments: the 1587 "crisis within the Elizabethan church" (p. 25); the English Revolution, beginning with the deluge of Scottish covenanting pamphlets in 1637; and the Restoration, especially the 1678 Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis.

The crucial moment in defining the pamphlet genre comes for Raymond in 1587 with the appearance of the Martin Marprelate tracts. Prior to this time, "pamphlet" was used to describe a number of printed prose forms: in short, any "single" or small item that issued from the printing press. The Marprelate tracts not only exploited the nature of proto-pamphlets that by the 1580s generally had come to be accepted as commercially distributed, short, inexpensive, readily accessible, vernacular works printed in quarto that engaged political, social, and ecclesiastical issues but also embraced literary conventions that came to define the pamphlet genre (plain speech, faith in the efficacy of print, generic self-consciousness, and imaginative projection of both the authorial persona and the scene of reading that envisioned a dialogue). The English Revolution sustained these generic attributes and saw their embodiment in new subgenres (letter pamphlets, play pamphlets, "characters," and printed sermons) that engaged entirely new voices (Levellers, Quakers,

Ranters, and women) in public debate, and that also enacted parliamentary government. In the Restoration, despite changes in commercial publishing practices and Roger L'Estrange's efforts to effect rigorous censorship and controls on stationers, pamphlets performed the Popish Plot, its subplots, and the Exclusion Crisis and impressed themselves on the literary imagination of such writers as John Dryden and Andrew Marvell.

Central to Raymond's generic definition of the pamphlet, and indeed the principal characteristic that distinguishes it from both other singles and from "news," is its role in engaging public opinion to create moral and political communities (a "public sphere") that effect political transformation. The book's nuanced and overwhelmingly detailed account of predominantly seventeenth-century pamphlet literature reflects the impressive breadth and depth of Raymond's reading in the genre as well as his thorough engagement in the scholarship of early modern print culture, political and cultural history, and seventeenth century literature. This book forcefully argues the often disputed case that print provided a viable public sphere nearly a century before one emerged in eighteenth-century coffee houses. While marshalling the vast array of textual evidence to display the printed pamphlet's cultural and political relevance dispels some widely held misperceptions about seventeenth-century literature and culture. He demonstrates, for example, that establishment efforts to restrict publication and control controversy in the 1630s were far less effective than is widely believed, since printed texts from Scotland and Amsterdam found their way into trilateral distribution networks with England to sate the public appetite for news and debate. Raymond also shows that the proliferation of printed texts in the early 1640s derived more from an escalating market for pamphlets than from what has often been regarded as a "collapse" of censorship. He counters contemporary scholarly opinion that confines early modern women to the private sphere by showing how the pamphlet afforded women a vehicle for "negotiating the limitations on woman's speaking" (p. 277).

While it offers significant and often original insights, this book interrupts a coherent and cohesive narrative on the nature and cultural relevance of pamphlets with two chapters whose contents are largely peripheral to understanding Raymond's central argument: one on early modern print culture, the other on commercially printed news between 1580 and 1660. In its attempt to survey a topic to which considerable scholarly effort has been devoted, the chapter on "Printing Practices and the Book Trade" provides less a useful synthesis of the scholarship in the field than an unmediated agglomeration of evidence and opinion that, unlike the subtle historical account found in the rest of the book, often fails to discern important historical differences and transformations in printing and trade practices between 1500 and 1700. Admittedly the wide dissemination of pamphlet literature is predicated upon the

inherently commercial nature of the book trade with its street peddlers, chapmen, hawkers, and mercury women, and to talk about censorship's alleged "collapse" needs reference to the system of controls; but discussion of these matters would better have been incorporated within other chapters in places relevant to the arguments at hand or relegated to footnotes. The same may be said of "The Business of News, c. 1580–1660," which, although it accounts for the English taste for news that fed the market for pamphlets, contains much that is superfluous to understanding pamphlets and their political impact.

Unfortunately this study's practice of analysis and categorization draws attention to a problem with nomenclature that recurs throughout the book. Raymond's reference to the earliest form of newsbooks as "occasional pamphlets" (p. 6) confuses his argument for pamphlets as a distinctive genre that participated in public discourse. If we are to accept Raymond's premise that the pamphlet is a distinctive literary genre, inherently politically engaged, he must consistently employ another name for the countless short printed texts that conventional wisdom has referred to as "pamphlets." Alternatively, the political pamphlet whose conventions Raymond so effectively defines may be but a subgenre of a much larger category.

Small lapses aside, with its formidable account of cheap print and politics, Raymond's book deserves a place beside Tessa Watt's *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (1991) as a standard work in the field of early modern British history.

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STUART ANDREWS, *Unitarian Radicalism: Political Rhetoric, 1770–1814*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xii, 232. \$65.00.

In the midst of an "enlightened age," the ill will, the depth of hatred, indeed, the violence directed toward some of its most progressive exemplars in the 1790s is still puzzling and requires explanation. Stuart Andrews seeks to account for the notorious and vicious attacks on Joseph Priestley in Birmingham, William Frend at Cambridge, and Thomas Fyshe Palmer of Dundee within the context of a popular Anglican establishment, on the one hand, and the radicals' inflammatory political statements, on the other. This book provides a basic introduction to Unitarian leaders (and a few noted Arians, like Richard Price and George Walker) and surveys their political writings from the founding of the first Unitarian chapel in London through the Unitarian Relief Bill of 1813. The subtitle is important, because the strength of this book lies in its analysis of published political statements that help explain the reputation of Unitarians as politically disaffected and potentially seditious.

Following an introductory chapter that surveys early efforts to obtain religious freedom, Andrews deals in the first main section with the theological beliefs of the

Unitarians, drawing chiefly on the writings of Priestley. Unitarians held many traditional views (a high view of the authority of Scripture, belief in Jesus Christ as Messiah and in his resurrection, second coming, and future judgment), but since they denied the doctrine of the Trinity, they were specifically excluded from the Act of Toleration and became subject, like English Jews, to the penalties of the Blasphemy Act of 1698. Their resistance to the established order commenced with the campaign against subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and Andrews helpfully extends the discussion to Cambridge University and the efforts there to release graduates and Anglican ordinands from subscription. The failure of these efforts accounts for the exodus from the Anglican Church and the formation of the first Unitarian assembly at Essex Street, London, in 1774. In section two, the author examines the pulpit politics of Theophilus Lindsey, John Disney, and Thomas Belsham and surprisingly detects a near absence of radical political rhetoric in these ministers' sermons. Lindsey's politics, for example, were largely reserved for his nontheological writings and correspondence.

A third main section of the book considers the Unitarian attacks on William Pitt and Edmund Burke. Andrews argues that Priestley's *Letter to Pitt* (1787) was so strongly stated that it contributed to the growing popular distrust of the Dissenters. Similarly, Priestley's reaction to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) was susceptible to misunderstanding and was fatefully misrepresented; "gunpowder Joe" was now portrayed in the popular imagination as Guy Fawkes, and that imagination forged odd and destructive links between hatred for Dissenters and hatred for Catholics. The extraordinary leadership of the Unitarians is illustrated by the fact that seven of the first fifteen responses to Burke were written by anti-Trinitarian Dissenters. But later, in campaigning for peace, Frend, like Priestley, also hurt the cause by the violence of his rhetoric.

The fourth part of the book is the most innovative in that it deals with Unitarian networks in the provinces, stretching out from Essex Street Chapel to the midlands and the north, northeast to Norwich, and west to Bristol. Although this section relies heavily on Grayson Ditchfield's Cambridge thesis and the massive, two-volume work on reform by Jenny Graham, it concisely surveys the importance of Unitarian publishers and the distribution of radical publications through the Unitarian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Virtue. A short chapter on the tiny minority of Unitarians in Scotland and Ireland is followed by the last main section, which revisits Unitarian journalism during the conflict with Napoleon Bonaparte. The book concludes with an account of several eminent Unitarian sojourners exiled in North America and in France.

This study clearly gives the Unitarian movement the place it deserves in the annals of toleration and radical politics. The large number of Unitarian leaders who published treatises against subscription and the Test

and Corporation Acts is notable and worthy of celebration, and their prominence in the movements for the abolition of slavery and for parliamentary reform is equally remarkable. The book, however, leaves the reader with the distinct impression that the Unitarian contribution was largely unique, and it does so by neglecting the broader religious context of oppositional politics in late eighteenth-century Britain. Knud Haakonssen, in a survey of recent scholarship on the problem of religion and radicalism, concluded that the key political divide in this era was not one of "rational" (or Unitarian and Arian) Dissent versus "old" (or Trinitarian) Dissent but rather that of an "enlightened" nonconformity (heterodox and orthodox combined) versus an entrenched establishment (Knud Haakonssen, ed., *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* [1996]). From reading Andrews's book, one would never guess that ten times as many orthodox Dissenting ministers in London supported relief from subscription as did Arian or Unitarian ministers (even if the former published fewer statements against it). Thus, apart from the broader context of religious disaffection provided by books like Robert Hole's *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England, 1760-1832* (1989), Eileen Groth Lyon's *Politicians in the Pulpit: Christian Radicalism in Britain from the Fall of the Bastille to the Disintegration of Chartism* (1999), and Ian R. McBride's *Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (1998), the multid denominational support for toleration and radical opposition to the government cannot be appreciated. Ironically, by emphasizing the traditional aspects of Unitarian belief, Andrews's book points in similar directions to these recent monographs, but the theoretical importance of this insight never rises to the point of conscious expression in the book.

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RON HARRIS. *Industrializing English Law: Entrepreneurship and Business Organization, 1720-1844*. (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 331. \$60.00.

This is a provocative book that successfully charts the development of business organization during the Industrial Revolution in England and how this development affected individual businesses and the economy as a whole. Historians have puzzled over the glaring discrepancy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries between the dynamic nature of the English economy and the nation's stagnant legal system. How could English business have flourished in a legal environment much more restrictive than that of less advanced economies? An outgrowth of his dissertation and published as part of Cambridge University Press's "Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions" series, Ron Harris's book goes a long way in helping to

explain this contradiction. It is an ambitious work that combines British legal, economic, and political history.

Weaving between the two well-established schools of thought that analyze the development of English business law as either an autonomous internal dynamic of the legal system itself or a functional evolution taking place in conjunction with the rise of the market economy, Harris argues that the complex nature of the interaction between the legal and economic worlds does not permit a simple, coherent thesis. He wisely concludes that a more accurate picture of the period is a turbulent one: changing sectors with different needs, changing court opinions, and changing market competition. Only a particular time and place determines the accuracy of either an autonomous or a functional explanation.

Far more important than the general description of the development of business organization that Harris offers are the more specific major discoveries he treats us to. In a chapter on the passage of the Bubble Act (1720), almost standing as an independent study, Harris successfully shows that the accepted interpretation of the motivation behind the act is fundamentally flawed. Textbooks explain the act as reactionary legislation aimed at curtailing the development of the joint-stock companies and, as such, casting a century-long shadow on their development. Through a clever analysis of contemporary pamphlet discourse and statutes, Harris, while not totally discounting the traditional explanation, demonstrates that the act rose much more directly out of concern over public finance rather than anti-joint-stock company sentiment. This is important because, as the book further reveals, the Bubble Act was not the major turning point in the development of business organization scholars once believed.

Harris surprises us with other important discoveries in this book. It has been generally thought that the joint-stock organization was of only marginal importance before the nineteenth century, but Harris's evidence indicates otherwise. Although perhaps not evenly in all sectors, joint-stock organizations were apparently much more prominent in the eighteenth century than previously thought, markedly affecting the substance of the market and competitive practices. Harris also shows how the unincorporated company failed as an adequate, temporary substitute for the business corporation.

Throughout this book, Harris displays a keen eye for looking at old problems in a new way and employing novel methodologies. In exploring the borderlands between law and business, he consistently takes a practical approach. He does not fall into the trap of looking only at what judges and other legal experts had to say, even though their opinions are much easier to discover. He rightly focuses on the much more important perceptions of the average attorney, businessman, and investor.

The book has other practical uses. Harris's descriptions of the myriad business organizations, from sole

proprietorships to joint-stock corporations, are concise, cogent, and will be an invaluable resource for any scholar looking at the business world during the early Industrial Revolution. His treatment of the important features of business organization such as transferability of interest, limitation of liability, and court jurisdiction will be of the greatest value to those unfamiliar with the subjects.

There are minor weaknesses to be mentioned. Like many monographs that spring from dissertations, this one retains some of its former traits, including a somewhat wooden style. For the most part, the charts are confusing and unhelpful. Harris has an annoying habit of constantly reminding the reader what will be proved and what has been proven. But these are minor distractions. This is an important work. It vastly improves our knowledge not only of the development of business organizations during a most critical period but also expands our understanding of the nexus between the English legal and business worlds.

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CATHERINE HALL. *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830–1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 556. Cloth \$79.00, paper \$29.00.

Spearheading the impeachment proceedings against Warren Hastings in the British Parliament during the late eighteenth century, Edmund Burke warned darkly: "Today the Commons of Great Britain prosecute the delinquents in India. Tomorrow the delinquents of India may be the Commons of Great Britain." Parliament ignored his warning, and colonialism became deeply lodged in British life. Historiography, however, chose to treat empire as something "out there," unrelated to the metropolitan "inside." Like much recent postcolonial scholarship, Catherine Hall's magnificent new book insists that the histories of the empire and the colony were deeply connected. She tracks the two-way traffic between England and Jamaica by focusing on two groups of people: the Baptist missionaries who traveled to Jamaica to "civilize" the African Jamaicans, and the abolitionists and nonconformists in Birmingham. As for the book's argument, the title says it all. This is a double-edged project linking the efforts of Baptist missionaries and nonconformist men to civilize themselves as they sought to Christianize Jamaican "heathens" and constitute them as civilized subjects. Looking at both Jamaica and Birmingham, Hall suggests that the double project of producing civilized subjects ended up "racing" England, differentiating the whiteness and "civilization" of the English from the blackness and "savagery" of the African Jamaicans.

As Hall makes clear in the book's introduction, her study of the twinned history of England and Jamaica, white and black, resonates with her own personal history. She recounts growing up in northern England

in a Baptist family whose world stretched across to missions around the globe. This expansive sense of the missionary world—combined with the experiences of political activism, feminism, training as a historian, marrying a Jamaican, and raising interracial children—brought her to scrutinize her Englishness and whiteness. Hall poignantly reflects on the presence of empire and race in her existential context as an opening to a larger and compelling story about the constitution of Britain in its colonial engagements.

The period between emancipation and the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865, and between the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, frames Hall's account of Birmingham and Jamaica. During this period, she suggests, racial thinking hardened. The cast of characters (a list prefaces her account) that drove this process comprised of imperial men like Governor John Eyre, intellectuals like Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill, and of course missionaries, nonconformists, and reformers. Hall relates the story through the activities of these characters. She writes about the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, and its mission in Jamaica through William Knibb, Joseph Sturge, and others who went there to civilize but came to the realization that Christianity and slavery were incompatible. While confronting the plantocracy's hostility, the missionaries encountered the harsh realities of black lives at the daily level and envisioned civilized futures. Knibb thought that his black parishioners could one day live as civilized peasant subjects. Sturge was relentless in his support for abolition. Hall's description of the missionaries' activities sparkles with details on the circumstances and complexity of their lives and thoughts. She is also attentive to the nuances. So, while the missionaries appear to have dealt humanely with African Jamaicans, they are also shown to have been ambivalent, at best, about racial equality. Indeed, they thought and conceived of the world in terms of race.

What was implicit and ambivalent during the 1830s and 1840s became explicit and clear after the Morant Bay uprising. As black political agency spelled the death of the missionary moment, a clear divide opened between white Englishmen and black Jamaicans. Around the same time, Jamaica and abolitionism also lost influence in Birmingham. "In the new conjuncture of 1867," Hall writes, "being a 'friend of the negro' was no longer a mobilizing political identity, capable of drawing men and women into activity" (p. 424). She provides a detailed account of how this came about, and notes the influence of several different historical forces—the limits of ideology, the changed racial mood in response to the Indian "mutiny," and the response to Morant Bay. The political movement leading up to the Reform Act of 1867 marked the changed conjuncture. With "manly citizenship" the mobilizing slogan for reform, the work of race and empire in constituting Englishness was safely tucked away from view, thus giving rise to the historiographical convention that colonies were "out there," unrelated to metropolitan history.

This is a book of lasting importance. It works with sophisticated conceptual tools and offers an extraordinarily thorough and persuasive account of the intertwined histories of the colony and the metropole. Readers should note, however, that the book pays little attention to the lives and thoughts of black subjects. Although writing "subaltern history" is outside Hall's main concern, and it may be too much to ask for in a book already too long, the absence of the story from the other side jars, particularly in a book of such great accomplishment.

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P. J. CAIN. *Hobson and Imperialism: Radicalism, New Liberalism, and Finance 1887–1938*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 320.

Until he was forty-four years old, J. A. Hobson was best known as an economic eccentric (heretic was the word that, decades later, he applied to himself) who had spoken disrespectfully of the Victorian virtue of thrift and had opposed Britain's expansionist policy in southern Africa. He knit these two strands of thought together into *Imperialism: A Study* (1902), which is now his claim to historical attention. Hobson's starting point was the contention that many economic problems were caused by the unwillingness of the rich to spend all of their income, leading to what he called "under-consumption." He became convinced that "under-consumption" left a surplus of funds that were driven into investment overseas, and that this had caused the immense territorial expansion of the British Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At its simplest, this was based on showing that Britain had acquired a lot of land since 1870 and had invested heavily overseas at the same time. Critics pointed out that the money invested overseas did not go to the large land areas or the areas of dense population that had been acquired. The personal convictions of Sir George Goldie, Sir William Mackinnon, and Cecil B. Rhodes seemed at least as convincing an explanation of Britain's acquisition of Kenya, Nigeria, Nyasaland, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe as any notion of investment, if only because so little money was invested in tropical Africa. The rout of Hobson seemed to be completed by the appearance of Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher's *Africa and the Victorians* (1961), which gave strong reasons for seeing British expansion in Africa in terms of successive governments' desire to secure the trade routes to India through the Suez Canal and around the Cape of Good Hope. Hobson's reputation was left to depend on some highly qualified phrases of approval for his idea of "under-consumption" in John Maynard Keynes's *General Theory* (1936) and on V. I. Lenin's praise for *Imperialism* in the course of attacking the theories of Rosa Luxemburg and Rudolf Hilferding.

Recently Hobson's arguments have been revived. Lance Davies and Robert Huttenback (*Mammon and*

the Pursuit of Empire [1988]) gave substance to Hobson's assertions about profit and loss from empire by showing that British taxpayers paid a high price for activities that did not do them much good, and that a lot of the benefit went to the predominantly upper-class investors in imperial undertakings. Peter Cain and A. G. Hopkins, in their two-volume *British Imperialism* (1993), found that a good deal about the British Empire was easier to understand when approached from the point of view of people in the City of London concerned with commerce and finance. The historiography volume of the *Oxford History of the British Empire* (1999) is still dominated by Robinson and Gallagher, but Hobson receives more attention than might have been expected twenty years ago. Cain has now examined the intellectual history of Hobson and *Imperialism*, which forced him to explain, or perhaps explain away, the speed and completeness with which Hobson moved from strong opposition to overseas investment to a firm declaration nine or ten years later that overseas investment was good for the country that made the investment and good for the country that received it, and then by the 1930s came back to his views of 1902. Cain attributes the first shift to Hobson's concern about Joseph Chamberlain's tariff reform program, which reinforced his earlier suspicions about protectionism and opened his eyes to the virtues of free trade. This led Hobson to a fairly orthodox economic position where he paid more attention to the advantages of overseas trade and investment. It might be asked whether Chamberlain's concentration on relations with the self-governing colonies, which fairly clearly had benefitted from external investment, led Hobson to see its advantages where he had seen none before, but Cain's deeper explanation of Hobson's changes is that he accepted orthodox economics when the world seemed to be going well but, during the crucial years of imperial expansion and during the slump of the 1930s, took his own, bolder approach. This makes Hobson look a little weak and lacking in conviction about his own theories but should not lead anyone to overlook their impact, or the value of Cain's study of their development.

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PATRICIA LYNCH. *The Liberal Party in Rural England 1885–1910: Radicalism and Community*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 262.

English rural communities were notoriously parochial in their loyalties, cultures, and interactions, and any effective political movement on a scale wider than the immediate locality had to contend with these limitations. The simple structures for mobilization did not exist in many rural areas. Workers rarely congregated in large numbers; they were dispersed in terms of both employment and residence. Employers and landlords easily intimidated them. Their work patterns denied

them the leisure opportunities that could reinforce the associational patterns contributing to political mobilization. Rural laborers also lacked the preconditions for politicization assumed by so many radicals and modern-day historians: their literacy levels were a constant source of complaint and comment, and they lacked the organizational training and skills of public speaking taken for granted by the politically committed of the towns. Rural workers were unable to vote until 1884, and, even then, large sections were still effectively excluded from the supposedly eligible male population. As late as 1911, forty percent of adult males were not on the electoral register, including substantial numbers from rural areas. Ironically, this exclusion has been reinforced by a political historiography that has come close to ignoring the role of the rural working electorate in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century electoral politics—that is, until the appearance of Patricia Lynch's book.

Lynch examines the fortunes of Liberal Party campaigns in the rural electorates from the Third Reform Act of 1884 to the eve of World War I. Her book is concerned with local government as well as parliamentary politics and, with carefully considered analysis of the many factors leading to such varied outcomes, takes the reader through Liberal rural success in 1885, disarray until the resurgence of 1906, and then losses in 1910. Although the book is about the Liberals, it also has much to say about their Conservative and Unionist opponents. It has fascinating material on local personalities and campaigns—Herbert Samuel's activities in south Oxfordshire, for example—and provides excellent local focus with its case studies of constituencies in north Essex, south Oxfordshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. Lynch certainly establishes her case for a rural dimension to the popular political culture of nineteenth and twentieth-century England. The book is a convincing corrective to historians' preoccupations with the urban working class and the politics and electorates of the cities. It is the first serious account of the national role of rural workers in English government and politics during that period.

There are debatable aspects to Lynch's analysis. Her argument that an important strand in rural political culture was attachment to the notion of harmony and cohesiveness in community, and that Liberal successes and failures hinged on the ability of the party to articulate these sentiments, has (somewhat functionalist) explanatory potential but is never satisfactorily demonstrated to this reader. There was certainly a discourse of lost and threatened community, a nostalgia for local unity far more widespread than mere political rhetoric, but whether rural workers responded to it when it came to the reality of political decision is a totally different matter. There are worrying gaps in contextual preparation. Central works in English rural history and sociology are never cited: the names Alan Armstrong, Howard Newby, and Keith Snell, for example, are not in the footnotes or bibliography, although their work is directly relevant to Lynch's

project. Lynch is also surprisingly silent on the languages of politics. She cites the influential work of Patrick Joyce, but not that of James Vernon on nineteenth-century political culture in the period up to the 1860s, despite its applicability to the sorts of electorates that she deals with. The book is excellent on land reform and condemnation of landed power, yet more guarded in its discussion of religious factors, notwithstanding the importance of religious language, imagery, and personnel in the rural trade unionism that was so closely linked to Liberalism. Finally, there is a question of timing (although scarcely something that the author could control). Lynch's research and writing was completed before the census of 1901 became available. Thus her occupational analyses of Liberal support in 1901 and 1906 had to rely on the census of 1891, with an inevitable skewing of the data. It would be fascinating to see a reworking of this data in the light of the now available census material.

None of this, I hasten to add, detracts from the importance of Lynch's thesis. Stimulating books always provoke criticism. This is an innovative, important new work that has implications way beyond the history of an old political party.

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KELLY BOYD. *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855–1940*. (Studies in Gender History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. 274.

Despite its ephemeral nature, the boys' story paper provides a useful window through which to view important social and cultural developments in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain. By reorienting the "penny dreadful," the lurid, sensational stories sold in cheap weekly installments, toward boys in their early teens, mid-nineteenth-century publishers were able to tap into a new market created by rising literacy rates. By the end of the Victorian age, there were more than a dozen boys' story papers, with a combined circulation of over one million. The genre continued to expand in the twentieth century, and it was not until the rise of the comic book in the post-World War II era that the boys' story paper faded from the adolescent experience of most British boys.

Kelly Boyd focuses specifically on how the papers reflected and influenced concepts of masculinity. In the nineteenth century, the heroes of the stories were almost always upper or upper-middle-class boys, thereby identifying masculinity with elite status. Although the stories were intended primarily to entertain, there was an implicit didactic purpose, for they sought to reinforce an unquestioning acceptance of the social hierarchy. They also focused on the empire as the realm in which masculinity was most usefully expressed: the protagonists of the stories moved all over the globe, effortlessly and unthinkingly dominat-

ing the indigenous peoples with whom they came into contact. Not surprisingly, the view of other races was simplistic, adhering to contemporary stereotypes that saw Africans and Asians as far inferior to whites.

By the early twentieth century, the version of heroism depicted in the boys' story paper had come to reside lower on the social scale and was seen as the product of hard work rather than superior birth. This change was in part due to the democratization of the papers' readership. Alfred Harmsworth's decision to lower the price of his publications, which dominated the contemporary market, to a halfpenny brought them within reach of all but the poorest boys. Also playing a role was an increase in the years of formal education for working-class boys, which delayed their full-time entry into the workforce and allowed them greater leisure. In the stories from this period, the empire became a proving ground in which masculinity had to be developed rather than automatically expressed, and the depiction of other races became more paternalistic as overt racism was condemned, with black characters making more frequent appearances as loyal servants in need of white supervision and protection. The fractured and fractious nature of Edwardian society made the emphasis on individualism that had dominated nineteenth-century boys' story papers dangerous; cooperation, conformity, and commitment to community were the virtues that authors and publishers now sought to promote. This motif proved particularly apt during the Great War, when the boys' papers equated manly heroism with military service.

The trend toward democratization continued after the war, as did constructions of masculinity that encouraged obedience and conformity, which Boyd attributes to a desire to counterbalance the insecurity and instability of the interwar period. In these years, the heroes of the stories often began as rebellious, undisciplined youths, but they were molded, usually through sage adult counsel, into good citizens. True manliness was not innate but something developed through experience and education, under the watchful eye of a parent or teacher. At the same time, the empire became a source of greater tension, a dark, unruly realm in need of firm guidance from the mother country. Other races came in for more hostile treatment, as the papers saw a return to the crude stereotypes of the Victorian era, a response Boyd connects to increased immigration to Britain from Africa and Asia. At best, black characters were depicted as jungle savages whose admitted physical strength was useful only when controlled and directed by whites, and at worst they appeared as greedy and shiftless children in need of firm colonial authority.

Boyd concludes with a chapter that examines the depiction of women in the boys' story papers. The predominant concept of "separate spheres" suggests that female characters in the Victorian era should have been depicted as passive and weak, but in fact they were often strong-willed, active heroines who rescued themselves from threats rather than waiting for male

assistance. By the early twentieth century, however, most female characters had become more timid and docile, as suffragettes and other “aggressive females” came to be seen as posing more of a threat to social convention, and by the interwar years gender relations had become so problematic that the authors of the stories preferred to eliminate them altogether.

Boyd’s work dovetails nicely with other recent studies of the importance of popular literature in shaping British identity, emphasizing as it does complexity over monolithic arguments. In places, it suffers from a tension between a presentation of a broad survey of the boys’ story paper as a literary genre and an emphasis on more specific thematic concerns. Also problematic is a tautological equation between masculinity and heroism, which assumes rather than proves that the two were synonymous. In general, however, this is an important study of an underutilized source, which Boyd uses to take a fresh look at a key aspect of British identity between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.

STEPHANIE BARCZEWSKI
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LAWRENCE OF ARABIA: THE BATTLE FOR THE ARAB WORLD. Directed, produced, and written by James Hawes. UK. 2003; color and black and white; 112 minutes. Distributed by Lion Films/PBS.

Anyone who would confront the legacy of T. E. Lawrence must deal with the machinery of mythmaking: Lawrence’s own, most famously in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926); that of the other key makers of the Lawrence legend in his own time, notably including American journalist Lowell Thomas (his book, *With Lawrence in Arabia* [1924], less critical perhaps than his celebrated film/lecture displays in America and London in 1919–1920); and finally, of course, David Lean’s epic film, *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), featuring Peter O’Toole’s stellar screen debut. For his new documentary on the subject, James Hawes, a veteran television producer with a dozen credits for documentaries and television series, enlisted as historical consultants two Lawrence scholars, Malcolm Brown (editor of Lawrence’s *Selected Letters* [1994], co-author with Julia Caves of the Lawrence biography *A Touch of Genius* [1989], and author of the new biography *T. E. Lawrence* [2003] in New York University Press’s *Historical Lives* series), and Suleiman Mousa (who penned the myth-demolishing, if not always convincing *T. E. Lawrence: An Arab View* [1966]). The aim of Hawes’s documentary seems to be a demythologized but still heroic portrait, enriched by incorporating more fully Arab voices and views, and intending above all else to re-embed Lawrence into the context of emerging Arab nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century. The film fails, however, fully to achieve such a new portrait because of flawed directorial and contextual choices.

Hawes incorporates the standard repertoire of doc-

umentary practice in *Lawrence of Arabia*: a narrative voice-over, mixing an authorial third-person overview with actor-read excerpts from Lawrence’s own writings (drawn from both letters and *Seven Pillars*) and those of contemporaries (it is Winston Churchill’s eulogy, for example, that is given the last word in the film); archival still photographs and early film images (replaying rather too many times Thomas’s footage of Lawrence’s camel charges through the Jordanian desert); maps with red-colored arrows to give both geographic sense and to outline troop movements (useful even if for most film viewers it will leave them thinking of *Casablanca*); an abundance of talking heads; and, more unfortunately, re-enactment (more on that shortly).

The experts consulted include predictable choices, such as John Mack (the Harvard psychiatrist who authored the Pulitzer-winning biography of Lawrence, *A Prince of Our Disorder* [1976]), Michael Yardley (who has penned two Lawrence biographies, *Backing into the Limelight* [1986] and *T. E. Lawrence* [2000]), and Youssef Choueiri (author of the influential *Arab Nationalism* [2000]). Hawes also features less predictable and more problematic commentators, like Kamel Abu Jaber, ex-foreign minister of Jordan (perhaps best known for his role at the Madrid Conference in 1991); Senator Alia Abu-Tayeh of Jordan (the grand-daughter of Auda, who fought alongside Lawrence and about whom the senator, unsurprisingly, has nothing bad to say); and two other members of the Abu-Tayeh clan, Meyet and Ali Abdullah, identified in the film as “tribal historians” (who, like the senator, have little role beyond praising their ancestor). A couple of Arabs are singled out mostly for being old enough to recall Lawrence’s times, albeit awfully vaguely: Abussalman (“106 years old,” the subtitles tell us) and Movedal Balous (“eye-witness,” we are informed). Neither, however, adds much to the record (Abussalman tells us of life under the Ottoman rule: “I remember those times as if it was a dream . . . They were terrible,” and Movedal, who must have been a child at the time, witnessed nothing but his father’s meeting with Lawrence and Faisal at Azrak). The aim is clearly to give Arabs voice in the story, but little is finally added thereby. The experts disagree about almost nothing in this controversial life story and so serve merely as visual footnotes to the narrator’s voice-over account.

By far the largest part of the film, however, is given over not to the experts, or to those archival images and maps, but to the re-enactments. Hawes recruits not one but two actors to play Lawrence (one young, one old), as well as actors for other key figures and a handful of extras to play Arab tribesmen, and they shot on location in Jordan and Syria. But the reenactments are a pathetic sort of half-step toward full acting: there is no dialogue, only sound effects and general noise (cheering and shouting from the Arab extras during camel charges, for example). The lack of full action, and the ludicrously limited scale (never more than a

dozen camels in any shot, it seems), gives the whole film a cheesy, low-budget feel that makes one long for Lean's extra-filled epic sweep. That the narration is given to portentous, often melodramatic, grand statements ("The scars were a reminder that he would never be free of the desert"; "Lawrence was being sucked into a betrayal that would haunt him the rest of his life"; "Lawrence began to seek out danger"), and that these are reinforced by the recited words of Lawrence's more grandiloquent melodramatics ("An individual casualty is like a pebble skipped in water, rings of sorrow widened out from it"; "The dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible. This I did"), underlines the paltry performances on show in this documentary and ends up undermining any hope of finding here a demythologized Lawrence.

In terms of content, the documentary reasonably summarizes the broad arc of Lawrence's life, from his student years to his death just before the outbreak of new war, and provides significant contextualization of Lawrence's (and Britain's) role in the Arab rebellion against Ottoman rule. In the former, it highlights all the usual watershed moments, and deals more explicitly than earlier film treatments with Lawrence's possible homosexuality and with his complicity in the final outcome in the Middle East (the division of the Arab world between imperial powers). In the latter, the film reasonable strikes a balance between the extreme views of Lawrence as central mover of the revolt and as self-promoting traitor of the Arabs, highlighting his genuine sympathy with Arab aims and his keen awareness and guilt about of Britain's betrayal of its promises.

Minor flaws crop up along the way, however. The uncritical praise for Lawrence's Arab allies, especially Faisal (by no means as universally supported by the Arabs as he seems here), shows far less close examination than that given Lawrence or the British. The treatment of the Balfour Declaration is unforgivably one-sided, quoting only the document's first clause (the part about the "national home for the Jewish people") and ignoring entirely the last part (which insists that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine"). The documentary oddly bypasses both the controversy about Lawrence's complicity in Arab atrocities near Tafas and the whole range of disputes that followed the takeover of Damascus. The commentators betray a presentist bias that colors their explanations at times (most obviously when Yardley asserts: "Nothing changes. All the issues are the same issues. You've got Zionism, Arab nationalism, tribesmen who are fanatical, concerns about how you're going to suppress that fanaticism. All the same issues"). And the tendency to let psychological explanations of Lawrence's actions cover any questions that arise about his motives or activities becomes grating.

Between such interpretive flaws and the more disas-

trous decision to rely so heavily on re-enacted scenes, there is little to recommend *Lawrence of Arabia* to serious historians. This is unfortunate, since a fully contextualized, finally demythologized portrait of Lawrence's role in the Arab revolt at the beginning of the last century begs for a new interpretation in a new century whose beginning has again been marked by the intervention of Western superpowers in the Middle East.

THOMAS PRASCH
Washburn University

TIMOTHY LARSEN. *Christabel Pankhurst: Fundamentalism and Feminism in Coalition*. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, number 4.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2002. Pp. ix, 156. \$75.00.

Christabel Pankhurst, the daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst, is best known for the leading part she played in the suffrage campaigns of the Women's Social and Political Union and for her searing critique of male sexual mores, *The Great Scourge and How to End It* (1913). Timothy Larsen's new study looks beyond the years of Pankhurst's suffrage activism to consider her neglected career as a fundamentalist preacher in the United States and also in Great Britain from the 1920s. As Larsen demonstrates, most historians have assumed that in embracing fundamentalist Christianity, Pankhurst repudiated her feminist principles. Larsen argues that Pankhurst's later pessimism as to the value of female enfranchisement may, in fact, be viewed as part of a broader malaise concerning the future of parliamentary democracy. This was a position shared by many in the postwar era, including such radicals as Charlotte Despard. Larsen points out that Pankhurst's continuing commitment to feminism may be excavated by turning to her religious writings—a source curiously ignored by many Pankhurst scholars. This neglect, as Larsen's work makes clear, may be viewed as symptomatic of a wider tendency to make stereotypical assumptions concerning the gendered dynamics of fundamentalist religion. Although it is frequently assumed that devotees of such a movement will share conservative, even misogynistic views as to the position of women, Larsen's book reveals a more nuanced picture. Thus, he notes that many leading fundamentalist preachers approved of Pankhurst's previous activities as a feminist campaigner. Moreover, that Pankhurst was able to achieve such ascendancy within the movement is testament to the fact that fundamentalist religion could offer opportunities for women in the public sphere that were still, in the 1920s, in the process of negotiation in other contexts.

These are important insights. Nonetheless, the book is not uniformly successful in the execution of its arguments. Larsen, a scholar of nineteenth-century theology, is comfortable and authoritative as he explains the complex theological bases of conservative evangelicalism in these years. Yet a lack of familiarity with the secondary literature pertaining to the suffrage

movement seriously weakens his analysis of Pankhurst's feminism. It is surprising to note that many of the central scholars in this field—Susan Kingsley Kent, Sandra Stanley Holton, Angela John, Martha Vicinus, and Lucy Bland—are not cited by Larsen. The consequence is that the author is left struggling in the dark when he comes to discuss such issues as female sexuality, as he lacks the analytical tools that have been developed and refined by experts in the field. Thus, his consideration of Pankhurst's possible "lesbianism" does not refer once to any of the extensive literature that has evaluated and critiqued the practices and discourses of same-sex relationships in this period, including that of "romantic friendship." Similarly, a consideration of Pankhurst's *The Great Scourge* is not contextualized within specific contemporary debates, such as that of social purity, the author relying instead on vague concepts of "conservative Christian mores" (p. 14).

Equally, the book is marred by a somewhat idiosyncratic structure. The discussion on sexual attitudes, for example, is contained within one of many oddly titled subsections. In this case, the title is "Sexual Intercourse"; other examples include a subsection entitled "Pankhurst the Pundit." Perhaps more problematic is the absence of an introduction. Some of the themes and concerns one might expect to see in such a chapter appear in a three-page epilogue at the end of the book, where Larson gives, rather belatedly, a brief overview of historiographical treatments of Pankhurst. Similarly, although the concept of "fundamentalism" is central to the whole book, a full discussion of what is meant by this term does not appear until chapter five.

Although his book is evidently the product of considerable research, Larsen is not always sufficiently subtle or convincing in his employment of sources. Thus, an uninspiring overview of the women's suffrage movement is based almost solely on Pankhurst's own account, which, as Larsen himself admits, is a "pedestrian narrative." On another occasion, Larsen is strangely critical of his material, declaring that "Pankhurst's narrative of her conversion leaves a lot to be desired"—a comment rather suggestive of a desire to predetermine the meanings of his sources. At other times, Larsen's own narrative is obscured by a desire to pursue tangential issues. In such a slim book the justification for pursuing ideas that are not of the strictest relevance is slight. These peculiarities are regrettable, for in raising the complex relationship between feminism and fundamentalist Christianity, Larsen has identified issues of central importance to scholars of both feminist history and religious studies.

KATHRYN GLEADLE
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MARTIN DAUNTON. *Just Taxes: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1914–1979*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 406. \$60.00.

A year after the publication of *Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799–1914*, Martin Daunton has now completed his massive account of the history of modern British fiscal policy with a volume that takes the story down to 1979 and the election of Margaret Thatcher's first Conservative government. Although it is perhaps a pity not to place the Thatcherite fiscal revolution itself under forensic scrutiny, Daunton clearly feels that as a historian he is on safer ground tracing its prehistory. His aim is to explain how British taxation policy became ossified after World War II, ultimately creating a fiscal crisis deep enough that Conservatives found the political will to risk radical reform and recast Britain's balanced "fiscal constitution" in favor of enterprise and wealth creation. Although clearly unsympathetic to many aspects of the Thatcherite revolution, not least its disregard for questions of social justice, Daunton has no doubt that the fiscal crisis was real. In many respects, therefore, this book represents an attempt to understand the historical roots of that crisis.

At the heart of his explanation is an intriguing paradox. Daunton argues that during World War I, the British state made excessive use of loans rather than taxes, creating massive postwar funding strains. By contrast, during World War II, taxation policy was tightened more quickly, soaking up inflationary demand and reducing the state's reliance on loans. On the surface, therefore, Britain had learned from the mistakes of 1914–1918 and was able to fight the second war from a much stronger fiscal base. However, Daunton's great paradox is that whereas Britain's "fiscal constitution" emerged strengthened from the traumas of postwar transition after 1918, able to fund massively higher levels of both debt repayment and social expenditure without generating any significant anti-tax backlash, it fared much less well in the gentler social and political climate after World War II. Daunton argues that after 1945, a combination of political and administrative factors undermined attempts to strike a successful settlement between British taxpayers and the state, creating social tensions and economic inefficiencies that ultimately undermined the legitimacy of British fiscal policy.

This is unapologetically a study in the high politics of taxation policy. Daunton's aim is to focus sharp critical attention on crucial debates between the civil servants and politicians who forged British taxation policy over seven decades. Other dimensions of the story—notably political ideas about tax and popular attitudes about being taxed—are considered only in so far as they can be shown to have impinged directly on this inner world of British policy makers. There are problems with this approach, particularly given the central importance of notions of "legitimacy" to Daunton's analysis of successful and unsuccessful fiscal states. Put simply, in the absence of any sustained analysis of popular responses to government taxation we must take on trust claims that the Baldwin-Churchill fiscal state of the 1920s was able to re-establish legitimacy, and that the postwar

welfare state was not. However, there are also advantages to Dauntton's tightly defined remit. First, we gain a powerful sense of the inner workings of the twentieth-century British state: its remarkable imperviousness to outside influences including both ideas and interest groups. Second, we are offered high political history that engages head-on with the "linguistic turn." Dauntton has no doubt that politicians' discourses about taxation had the power "to construct and shape self-perceptions" and thus to redefine political identities (p. 23).

This book argues unashamedly for the under-determined character of both state structures and political discourse. It is an approach seen at its strongest in the revisionist assessment of Conservative fiscal policy during the 1920s. In contrast to the influential interpretations advanced by Ross McKibbin and James Cronin, Dauntton argues that Conservative tax concessions to middle-class families should be seen as a skilful strategy for re-establishing the legitimacy of fiscal policy at a much higher level of revenue extraction than any could have imagined in 1914. Far from representing a decisive political defeat for working-class interests and for radicalism, Dauntton sees Winston Churchill's chancellorship providing a direct link between Edwardian New Liberal finance and postwar Conservatism. The Conservatives presided over a tax system that continued to penalize "unearned" over "earned" income and to redistribute resources from rich to poor (without threatening middle-class living standards). The big question, of course, is why this fiscal system began to break down after World War II? Dauntton identifies three main factors. First, as state expenditure continued to rise, the cushions protecting "middling" taxpayers collapsed. It was no longer possible for the rich to carry the bulk of the redistributive burden, and the state's heavy reliance on income-based taxes meant that ordinary voters, even those on below average earnings, increasingly found themselves facing heavy levels of direct taxation. Second, Dauntton argues that, as the fiscal crisis deepened, administrative inertia and political timidity combined to prevent the state from diversifying its tax base. Civil servants come out of this story particularly badly, determined only to block innovations from restless politicians rather than to help facilitate the development of strategic solutions. Finally, Dauntton argues that the moral language underpinning Edwardian progressive finance—the language of idle aristocrats living off "unearned" income—had simply lost its purchase by the 1970s. By then, pension funds rather than plutocrats were the principal beneficiaries of what was now termed "investment" income. Unable to adapt to meet new social and economic contexts, the fiscal system was ripe for radical reconstruction at the hands of a new breed of British Conservative.

JON LAWRENCE
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RICHARD TOYE. *The Labour Party and the Planned Economy 1931–1951*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, with the Royal Historical Society. 2003. Pp. xi, 268. \$75.00.

This very interesting book begins by citing a 1949 speech delivered by the left-wing Labour minister Aneurin Bevan. In his peroration, Bevan claimed economic planning was "but an insistence that human beings shall make ethical choices on a national scale." Bevan's statement aptly encapsulates Richard Toye's perspective, for he stresses the extent to which economic policy in general—and Labour's in particular—has always been heavily influenced by factors other than the economic.

Toye's concern to place policy making in a wider context is but the latest example of one of the more striking developments within Labour Party historiography. This is associated with the work of Martin Francis, Nick Tiratsoo, and others on the key decade of the 1940s. Since the early 1990s, such historians have argued that Labour's vision of "socialism" was underpinned by moral as much as by material concerns. Against authorities to Labour's left (like Ralph Miliband) and on the party's right (such as David Marquand) they claim the leadership was not composed of timid reformists whose main purpose was to satisfy trade union demands. Building on—but also challenging—the work of Jim Tomlinson, Toye has applied this sceptical approach to Labour's past to the often arcane subject of economics. In particular, he has highlighted the problematic relationship between "planning" and Labour during what is generally considered the party's most socialist moment.

The 1945–1951 Labour government's failure fully to apply "planning" is something all previous historians have noted, many with despair. In the 1930s, Labour appeared to want to give the state authority to own much of the economy and use compulsory powers to control what remained of the private sector. Yet, by the time Labour left office in 1951, ministers' powers were very modest indeed, and they appeared content to pursue an ad hoc series of interventions that merely improved the efficiency of a basically capitalist economy. Those who have commented on this seeming retreat either suggest that Labour's leaders were never interested in challenging capitalism, although they liked to give that impression while in opposition, or they say that, once in office, ministers realized their radical policies were impractical and had the good sense to temper them.

Toye tries to chart a middle way between charges of betrayal and endorsements of pragmatism. Instead, he suggests that ministers remained what they had always been, cautious radicals who genuinely wanted to transform the economy. If the measures they adopted proved inadequate, that does not mean that they knew so in advance. To explain, Toye goes back to 1931, when convention has it that confidence in Ramsay MacDonald's evolutionary approach to economics was

undermined by the miserable experience of his 1929–1931 administration and destroyed by the formation of a National government with MacDonald at its head. In response, the Labour Party sought—for ideological, organizational, and electoral reasons—a means to distinguish itself from MacDonaldism. This meant embracing “planning”—or rather the “idea of planning,” an important distinction. According to Toye, this idea was meant to serve numerous purposes, and it is not obvious to this reader that solving Britain’s economic problems always loomed largest. This significant insight deserved to be developed further, for reference to the “idea of planning” opens up policy making to some of the approaches associated with postmodern historians of politics. Others, however, may think Toye justified in his reluctance to engage with such work.

Despite his stimulating approach to the subject, it is however not clear how far Toye offers up an entirely new interpretation. In the face of claims to the contrary, he is essentially making a case broadly consistent with those who lauded Labour ministers’ pragmatism. This means that, in the end, he agrees that it was circumstances—hostile unions and an angry middle class among them—that forced ministers to amend their earlier, more radical vision of “planning.” That “planning” was, from the outset, such a contested concept, one adopted for a variety of reasons and whose ultimate meaning was never agreed, remains an important point. It is not, however, one that fundamentally detracts from the pragmatists’ earlier stress on the force of “events” on policy making.

It is, in any case, one thing to will an end, and quite another to be prepared to do the hard things—and a robust planning framework would appear to have been one—necessary to achieve that end. Thus, while Toye wants to rescue Labour ministers from their critics, he leaves them open to be considered at least self-deluding and softheaded. In that regard, those who led Labour during the 1940s would certainly be in good company.

STEVEN FIELDING
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ROBERT MACKAY. *Half the Battle: Civilian Morale in Britain during the Second World War*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. vi, 282. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$24.95.

1940, when Great Britain stood alone against fascism and suffered the ordeal of the blitz, has rightly been identified as a pivotal date in contemporary British history. Looking back, it was then that the traditional tension at all levels of society between an innate suspicion of central government and an ultimate willingness to trust it, most recently identified by Martin Daunt in his work on taxation, was most triumphantly resolved. Looking forward, it was then that a sense of “social solidarity” was experienced and used, from the work of Richard Titmuss onward, to justify

the creation and maintenance of the most centralized welfare state outside the communist world. This was a development that was not challenged until the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979.

Robert Mackay has undertaken the ambitious task of seeking the reasons, not just in 1940 but throughout World War II, for both the relief of traditional tensions and the exceptional sense of solidarity. He surveys a wide range of evidence, particularly the government’s Home Intelligence reports and Mass Observation surveys but also private diaries, film, and, rather more surprisingly, official histories. The evidence is initially used to illustrate how good morale was “created out of an interplay between the public and the private, the sense of being part of the community and the private need to meet the war on one’s own terms” (p. 251). Mackay then examines the role of government in creating the framework within which this successful mix of public and private was achieved. Through propaganda but mostly through inducements, he argues, government created a sense of fairness and purposefulness that made personal sacrifice acceptable. Hence the importance of welfare measures on the one hand and, less creditably, the saturation bombing of Germany on the other. These were deemed essential for the maintenance of morale at home if not for victory abroad.

Mackay’s narrative has its own framework. Its purpose is to “reassert the basic veracity of the received picture of the British people in the war” (p. 251) actively supporting their political leaders and cooperating in the drastic reordering of their lives with a mixture of stoical endurance and good humor. Following the publication of Angus Calder’s *The People’s War* (1969) and Tom Harrisson’s *Living Through the Blitz* (1976), there has been a steady trickle of research that has sought to tarnish Britain’s “finest hour.” This, to an extent, provides Mackay with a straw-man target. No one has seriously suggested that civilian morale broke. Rather there have been attempts to qualify the exaggerated claims of universal selflessness and enthusiastic cooperation that were made during the war to sustain morale and thereafter to justify greater social solidarity. Mackay himself admits that such exaggerations existed. The historiographical battle line is therefore drawn over how to balance the recorded failings of a few with the recorded and presumed merits of the many.

One problem with Mackay’s analysis is that it does frequently rely over-heavily on presumption and assertion. Hence, for example, after an all too brief survey of the relevant evidence, he asserts that the extent of women’s volunteer work “far outweighed the negative features of civilian behaviour on the home front—absenteeism, strikes, looting, blackmarketeering, and the like” (p. 133). This might be true, but some quantification would have been helpful. So, too, would some discussion of the nature of source material to remind revisionists that, through the justice system, bad rather than good behavior tends to generate

records. Mackay's evidence, like that of his protagonists, is also geographically and above all chronologically uneven. Many of the harshest criticisms of popular and official behavior, as he rightly argues, have focused on the early stages of the war. What happened thereafter, when government in particular had learned from its mistakes? A better chronological spread of evidence would create a more balanced picture. It might also have addressed the pressing question of why the party truce could not be maintained in 1945 and why civilian as well as military morale was deemed too weak to support the continuing war against Japan (which, had it not been for the bomb, was expected to last at least until 1947). This is an under-researched topic that could shed new light on the nature of postwar Britain.

Mackay's book provides a comprehensive range of evidence to support traditional historical accounts and popular memories of the British wartime home front. It provides also a useful summary of recent attempts to chip away at such accounts and memories. Its definition of morale as a "composite of attitude and behaviour" (p. 2) is novel and challenging. However, the context within which the evidence is deployed is not. With benefit, the war and morale could have been placed in a wider perspective. It is unfortunate, for example, that although a chapter is devoted to the Beveridge Report, there is no engagement with Jose Harris's biography, *William Beveridge* (1997), with its nuanced interpretation of the report's gestation and reception. The class tensions forensically analyzed in Ross McKibbin's *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (1998) are also not addressed. Civilian morale is a topic of importance for much more than just the winning of the war, and it cannot be fully understood solely by reference to the war.

RODNEY LOWE
University of Bristol

GRETCHEN D. STARR-LEBEAU. *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 280. \$39.95.

Recent monographs on the Spanish Inquisition have vastly changed our understanding of the institution itself and the people who were tried by it. They have revealed an Inquisition that was geographically and ethnically diverse, far from monolithic, and often brought to a town by local individuals. Gretchen D. Starr-LeBeau carries these findings further to provide a study of how the Inquisition drastically altered religious and ethnic identity in the town of Guadalupe in southwestern Spain. In the thirteenth century, Guadalupe had a small population and little prosperity, due to a lack of farmland; it was located in the rocky, steep terrain west of Toledo. By the fourteenth century, however, the small statue of the Virgin Mary that was housed in the friary had become the favorite

destination of Spanish pilgrims, though Santiago de Compostela continued to attract most of the pilgrims from other countries. The cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, her friars, and the town that grew up around her shrine increased in popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 289 households in 1408 had grown to 1,030 by 1500. Guadalupe became a community of merchants, pilgrims, travelers, and locals connected by the pilgrimage. Because no Jews had ever lived in Guadalupe, the local conversos, comprising five percent of the households, were recent immigrants like almost all of the old Christian population.

The Jeronimite friary's church also served as the town's parish church, and the friary ruled Guadalupe as its temporal lord. The town's loss of autonomy had occurred in 1389, when the first thirty Jeronimites arrived to take possession of the friary and town, and this loss became cause for local uprisings in the late Middle Ages. Like the lay community, the friary grew rapidly; early in the fifteenth century the number of friars grew to 120 (about fifteen percent of them conversos), and by 1464 it reached a high point of 130.

Whoever governed the friary also ruled the town. A contested election for prior in 1483 involved both converso friars and householders from the town. They lost the election, and the new prior immediately called the Inquisition to Guadalupe. In 1486, 226 conversos, slightly less than ten percent of the total population, were reconciled. Of these two hundred odd cases, the files for thirty-seven have survived. Because only a handful of documents for the earliest years of the Inquisition survive anywhere in Spain, these thirty-seven cases are exceptionally valuable, and Starr-LeBeau makes masterful use of them to address the questions that have preoccupied scholars interested in conversos as objects of oppression, assimilation, and cultural distinctiveness.

She finds not only no fixed boundaries between Old and New Christians but also the contingent nature of religious identity before the Inquisition. Neither Old Christians or conversos followed a single set of religious practices. Sabbath and Sunday observances; Christian and Jewish dietary regulations; rituals of birth, marriage, and death; holidays, festivals, and processions all varied widely in both ethnic groups. In their testimony, furthermore, conversos inadvertently revealed that Judaizing was supported both within Guadalupe and by Jewish communities throughout the peninsula. Guadalupe conversos retained familial and business ties to cities and towns they had migrated from, while others moved back to their old places of residence, leaving behind members of their immediate families. Rabbis in these other cities and towns excused assimilation, especially among the poor, and even converso friars in Guadalupe encouraged Judaizing among their converso parishioners. Women were more likely than men to associate across Old Christian/New Christian lines, but the entire community accepted these relationships as normal.

The Inquisition eliminated this via media by dividing

all inhabitants into Christians or heretics. Under pressure of inquisitorial procedures, the accused admitted to Judaizing. Thus, Starr-LeBeau concludes, the inquisition's investigation of conversos reshaped religious and ethnic identity. The inquisitors assumed that New Christians had a separate identity and solidarity of practices, and historians have accepted this either/or identity when looking at conversos in the past.

This refashioned identity transformed local political conflicts, thus altering the exercise of local and royal authority. The power of the Holy Office came from its ability to construct oppositions—and thus potential sites of power—out of ambiguities. Rather than merely subjugating local officials to a new royal bureaucracy, the Inquisition provided another field for fighting local battles.

Starr-LeBeau provides a much more detailed analysis than previously available of the incremental steps in the process by which the Inquisition established boundaries and orthodox practice, its major impact on Spanish society.

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JEAN-PHILIPPE LUIS. *L'Utopie réactionnaire: Épuration et modernisation de l'état dans l'Espagne de la fin de l'Ancien Régime*. (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, number 21.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2002. Pp. xvi, 462. €56.00.

Liberal historiography of nineteenth-century Spain labeled the period between 1823 and 1833 the "Ominous Decade." Those final ten years of the rule of Ferdinand VII were depicted as a dark period in which a dull-witted monarch imposed, by the means of repression, brutal absolutism on a country averse to implement liberal reforms. Thus the decade was portrayed as an unfortunate interval in which the Old Regime was restored and the country moved backward in time. In recent years, historians have begun to question this simplistic characterization and to pay more attention to the series of institutional reforms implemented during the last years of the decade. However, the reevaluation of the period has been based more on intuitions and perceptions than on fact. Jean-Philippe Luis's book fills the gap in our knowledge of that controversial period of the history of modern Spain.

Luis argues that the "Ominous Decade" cannot be interpreted as return to the Old Regime; to the contrary, he states that those ten years were significant for the process of transition toward the liberal state. Luis bases his argumentation on detailed study of the legislative and institutional reforms, and especially on an evaluation of the nature of the state apparatus after the 1823 restoration. To conduct this evaluation, he studied the professional careers of 487 civil servants in the king's administration. Luis is interested in assessing two things. First the dimensions and impact of the purges conducted by Ferdinand VII: nineteenth-century

liberal historiography depicts this period as "ominous" precisely because of the brutality of such repression. Second, Luis questions whether there was an interruption in the ongoing process of modernization of the state public service initiated during the second half of the eighteenth century and continued by the liberals.

With regard to the purges, Luis discovers that their dimensions were exaggerated by the liberals and that Ferdinand VII's "cleansing" was not exceptional. As a matter of fact, he was the initiator of what became a common practice of the Spanish liberal state: purging civil servants in opposition to the party in power every time that there was a change of government. Regarding the modernization of Spanish public service, Luis states that its interruption was only temporary; after 1824, the administration continued taking steps toward the rationalization of its structures and procedures as well as the professionalization of its staff. This was not motivated by the king's favorable disposition toward modernization; Ferdinand VII was indeed an absolutist who feared the liberals. The king accepted reformism as the only avenue to resolve budgetary problems and the challenges to the future of the monarchy posed by the supporters of his brother Carlos. Both circumstances forced Ferdinand VII to embrace an enlightened absolutistic style of governing that made possible the continuation of the modernization of the state initiated under Charles III. This return to enlightened despotism is what Luis defines as the "reactionary utopia," since it was an attempt to restore an old form of government in a country ready for change. The author concludes that the rules of civil service maintained by the liberal state up to the beginning of the twentieth century were first instituted during the period that is object of his study.

Luis's well-researched and carefully structured book adds substance to a scholarly trend that in recent years has begun to reshape our understanding of the nature of the crisis of the Old Regime in Spain. This scholarship revises the classic paradigm of the bourgeois revolution that presents that crisis as a sudden breakthrough provoked by a conflict among classes. Instead of an uprising motivated by class antagonisms, revisionist efforts see the crisis as a complex, long-term transition that involved more than social conflict. The author sheds light on a period of Spanish history that is insufficiently known. There is no doubt that his study will be seen as essential for our understanding of the history of nineteenth-century Spain.

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JOSÉ ALVAREZ-JUNCO. *The Emergence of Mass Politics in Spain: Populist Demagoguery and Republican Culture, 1890–1910*. Portland, Oreg.: Sussex Academic Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 213. \$24.95.

Modern Spanish history is fascinating but remains, in large part, closed to a broader history-reading public

because much of it has not been translated into English. Since the 1970s, Spanish scholars long familiar to English-speaking academics have produced brilliant scholarship that has gone largely unnoticed outside the relatively small circle of historians of modern Spain. Such a situation results in a paucity of native Spanish historians contributing to the historical discourse of their own nation's history. José Alvarez Junco's book is a recent and welcome translation of *El emperador del Paralelo: Lerroux y la demagogia populista* (1990) that will begin to address that imbalance. Alvarez Junco is a seasoned cultural/political historian who has contributed to a number of political histories of Spain; however, he is most recognized for monographs that examine the sociopolitical milieu of turn-of-the-century Spain including *La ideología política del Anarquismo Español, 1868–1910* (1976), *Lecciones del derecho político* (1984), *Populismo, caudillaje y discurso demagógico* (1987), and *Mater Dolorosa: La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (2001).

Alvarez Junco begins by lamenting the dearth of political biographies for important historical figures of nineteenth and twentieth-century Spain. Nonetheless, this book is not such a biography. Instead, Alvarez Junco reveals in ten succinct chapters the sociopolitical context of turn-of-the-century Spain, specifically Madrid and Barcelona, which allowed Alejandro Lerroux (1864–1949) to carve out a niche for his populist, demagogic political ideals. Lerroux's political prominence, however brief, revolutionized Spanish politics and momentarily attracted working people on a scale unprecedented in Spanish history.

The book's first three chapters seesaw between Lerroux's psychological composition and the historical environment that allowed someone with his personality to succeed. He was a younger child in a large family in which the eldest son was a rebellious character admired by both parents and, consequently, Lerroux's chief male role model. Lerroux emulated his elder brother's roguish behavior in a social and political arena where it earned him a reputation as a tough journalist, formidable duelist, social activist, and honorable man.

The book then details Lerroux's swift political rise via his discovery of rhetorical formats and political issues that drew the attention of urban working people. Lerroux's political ascendancy was aided by his presence in the Spanish working city *par excellence*, Barcelona. Alvarez Junco employs historical, sociological, and psychological methodologies to examine the connections among Lerroux's personal character, public image, and effective political decision making. In the end, Lerroux could not control his own self-image, and he lost the popular support that was its foundation. Instead of working-class firebrand and formidable social activist, Lerroux found himself, during the Second Republic (1931–1936), a washed-up conservative of the center when the most exciting politicians were on the political left or right. The traits that had so uniquely fitted Lerroux to the political context of

turn-of-the-century Spain were precisely those that rendered him so ill-suited to the situation of the Second Republic. Lerroux returned from exile in 1947 and died two years later. The Franco regime recognized only his patriotism, not the brief but central role he had played in the emergence of working-class politics in Spain.

This is a succinct translation that is less than half the length of Alvarez Junco's 509-page original Spanish work. Nonetheless, I enthusiastically recommend it for its rich historical detail, sophisticated analysis, and lucid, engaging narrative, which certainly will broaden the reading audience for this fine Spanish scholar's work.

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HELEN GRAHAM. *The Spanish Republic at War 1936–1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 472. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$26.00.

Spain has only the most marginal call on the consciousness on the vast majority of historians of modern Europe. That it registers at all is due almost entirely to a single event, the Spanish Civil War, and to a single aspect of that event: that it immediately became entangled in diplomatic tensions that were taking the continent ever closer to world war. For this reason, the Spanish Civil War is one of the very few aspects of modern Spanish history that big, English-language publishers take on with any regularity. Helen Graham's excellent study is the latest of these books.

The historical debate over the Spanish Civil War has been lively, to put it mildly. It very quickly became caught up in the politics of the Cold War and decanted into a dichotomy in which some historians argued that the defeat of the Spanish Republic was due largely to the meddling of the Comintern, while others argued that the Communists and other political groups in the Republican zone who shared their views were correct and that their efforts were undermined by the insistence of anarchists and non-Stalinist communists who put prosecuting the war against Francisco Franco behind making and sustaining a social revolution. The former view was most famously argued by George Orwell in *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) and restated by Ken Loach in his 1995 film, *Land and Freedom*. Much of the debate has centered on the figure of Juan Negrín, the socialist who was prime minister of the Spanish Republic from May 1937 until the end of the war. Was he a Communist puppet or a clear-sighted statesman who followed the only policies that might have led to the defeat of Franco?

Within this simplified picture, Graham falls into the second group. As she has continued working on the Civil War, she has developed an increasingly sophisticated analysis, and her current book is a powerful attempt to refute the long-standing interpretation, most recently argued by Ronald Radosh, Mary R. Habeck, and Grigory Sevastianov in *Spain Betrayed*:

The Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War (2001), that the Republican defeat was the product of scheming by Spanish Communists, and especially the Comintern, to use Spain for their own purposes. For Graham, what really mattered in determining the future of the Republic were not the machinations of Communists but “the war itself,” and especially the impact of the non-intervention charade imposed by Britain and France that steadily eroded “not only . . . the Republic’s military capacity, but . . . its political legitimacy as well” (p. xi).

In general terms, Graham’s approach is to restore needed complexity to the history of the Civil War, and especially to some of its most controversial episodes. Part of this entails recalling that Spain’s political organizations had a history that antedated July 18, 1936, that this history included frequent conflicts, and that these conflicts did not magically disappear once the war started. The result is a better rounded picture of some of the political actors than is often the case. Her discussion of the Partido Obrero Unificado Marxista (POUM), generally presented as a Trotskyist formation, brings out the contradiction between its revolutionary ideology and its social constituency, a large part of which was the Catalan lower-middle class.

One of Graham’s principal themes is that the republican government, and especially Negrín, were at the same time prosecuting a civil war and struggling to construct a liberal state. This was, perhaps, an impossible task, but Graham feels that historical judgments of the republic have applied completely unrealistic standards. She makes a useful comparison to the performance of other democracies under the strain of war and argues, correctly in my view, that the republic does not come off so badly. In both world wars, more fully established democracies than the Spanish Republic seriously infringed the rights of their citizens. (Both Canada and the United States went so far as to intern citizens who originated from what were, for the moment, enemy states.) One could also mention, which Graham does not, the assault on democratic and civil rights in the United States during the current “war on terrorism” embodied in the infamous Patriot Act.

Her analysis derives much of its strength from Graham’s incomparable command of the immense historiography. This thoughtful book will probably not be the last word on issues that have been debated for over sixty years now, but for anyone interested in the Spanish Civil War, Spain specialists and other Europeanists alike, it will long be required reading.

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MICHAEL SEIDMAN, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 304. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Michael Seidman’s bold interpretation of the Spanish Civil War builds on the project of his earlier monograph, *Workers Against Work: Labor in Paris and*

Barcelona during the Popular Front (1991), to “bring back the individual” into historical studies. Seidman rejects the currently popular frameworks based on race, class, and gender, which define people according to the (albeit intersecting) groups to which they belong, and argues instead that the foundation of identity is the individual. By individual, Seidman does not mean the “great men” of traditional history but the anonymous, ordinary people whose personal material needs shape their decisions and their behaviors and thus larger social processes. Applying this perspective to the Spanish Civil War generates a dramatically new vision of a conflict that has always been, as Seidman argues, defined and interpreted in collectivist terms, as the outcome of struggles among classes, political parties, and ideological groups.

Seidman rejects the conventional picture of a collectively mobilized Republican population, in which the “people” were drawn into an ideological struggle against the “oligarchy” in the name of various common goals, from anarchism to communism. Instead, the “militants” who were committed to these goals represented a minority, while the anonymous majority viewed the war as no more than an unwelcome intrusion into their private lives. Seidman argues that only in the first phase of the war, from July of 1936 through the battle of Madrid at the end of that year, did militancy dominate the conduct and experience of the war on the Republican side. As the war dragged on, individuals’ selfish needs began to take priority over their commitment to broader causes. In schematic terms, militancy gave way to opportunism, and then by 1938 to cynicism, and, in the last months of the war, to the pursuit of survival. Seidman breaks down individualist behavior into different categories: acquisitive, which focuses on personal or family consumption; subversive, which includes absenteeism and shirking; and entrepreneurial individualism, in which people sought to make profits or to demand higher wages despite calls for personal sacrifice. He illustrates these different types of behavior with an impressive number of archival examples.

Key to all of Seidman’s versions of individualism is the attempt to improve the material conditions of self and family members. He argues that material conditions are as important as the cultural/ideological/symbolic conditions that historians of the Spanish Civil War have focused on, but his text clearly prioritizes the former. In fact, he seems to equate individual needs with material needs, as when he accuses feminist and Marxist historians of “ignoring fundamental material needs” by dismissing individualisms (p. 266). From this perspective, what hindered the Republican cause were the very material failings of not adequately feeding its troops or providing decent medical care, and its alienation of the peasant population through unpaid requisitions.

Seidman’s focus is on everyday wartime experience rather than on the classic question of why the Republic lost, but the book also weighs in on this issue. Instead

of the usual political or diplomatic explanations of party infighting or the "betrayal" of European democracies, Seidman argues that the material failures of the Republican military operation steadily undermined the loyalty of its troops and its civilian population and sealed its defeat. While the Francoists did receive more foreign aid, he asserts that their ability to utilize that aid effectively was as important as the amount of aid itself. In contrast, decentralized and selfish militias squandered Republican foreign aid, and a weak Republican state could not effectively harness its industrial resources. In a war of attrition, Seidman concludes, the most efficient military operation would win.

One of the great benefits of Seidman's focus on the "anonymous individual" and his/her everyday experience of the war is that it neutralizes all the standard politicized debates that still dominate the historiography. Seidman's evenhanded account of the struggle between communists and anarchists over the collectives or the events of May 1937 turns them into backdrops for a discussion of material issues rather than crucial dramas of the war. If material, not political issues were central to the Republic's defeat, then it stands to reason that ideological battles were mere diversions to the gritty action on the ground. Thus, in Seidman's telling, the collapse of the Aragon front had nothing to do with the anarchists' sense of betrayal over the destruction of their collectives but was caused by the desertions of many Republican soldiers who put personal survival ahead of collective sacrifice.

Seidman's attempt to root out the experiences of numerous anonymous individuals, in military reports, soldiers' letters, and other documentation, provides a refreshing antidote to a literature in which the "militants" and the "people" have indeed often been conflated. His general points about the decline of militance over the course of a long and brutal war and the importance of inadequate rations to the Republican military effort are convincing, even if his individualist and deeply materialist historical approach will not be fully embraced by all readers. His efforts to put these experiences into the broader comparative perspective of "civil wars in developing western countries" also push us to reframe our understanding of a conflict often billed as the prelude to World War II," although his comparison is not as systematic as it could be. Thus, while there are numerous quotations and references to the Russian, English, French, and American civil wars, the commonalities and differences are left scattered through the text rather than organized and summarized in a conclusion about civil wars in developing Western countries.

In more general terms, there is a tension in the book between its chronological structure and the limits this narrative structure places on organizing thematic discussions. The chronological thrust of the book hinges on the contention that loyalty to the Republic declined over the course of the war, an evolution marked by the chapter titles, from "militancy" to "opportunism" to "cynicism." The problem is that the primary material

offers no clear distinctions between these phases, since the selfish behavior Seidman highlights, from hoarding to absenteeism to desertion, occurred throughout the war, and the anecdotal and scattered nature of the evidence makes it difficult to determine what made absenteeism different in 1936 as opposed to 1938, other than the obvious general point that conditions deteriorated over time. The result is a fair degree of repetition across chapters as the same types of examples are scattered throughout the text rather than gathered into single discussions. Although the tension between chronology and thematic development is always present in historical analysis, a more thematic organization may have allowed for greater systematic analysis of the problems of the Republican war effort, the experiences and reactions of ordinary individuals, and what this conflict tells us about civil wars in developing Western countries.

Nevertheless, Seidman's book makes an important contribution to the historiography of the Spanish Civil War in the way that it questions many existing assumptions and pushes us to view the familiar saga from a fresh perspective. The new historical assumptions that drive his own interpretation may not be embraced by all readers, but the spotlight he focuses on the gritty material reality of the war and its impact on ordinary Spaniards reveals an opening into the past that cannot be ignored.

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ROBERT MORRISSEY. *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*. Translated by CATHERINE TIHANYI. (Laura Shannon Series in French Medieval Studies.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 391. \$40.00.

In 1809, Napoleon Bonaparte, frustrated by the clergy negotiating with him on behalf of the pope, angrily exploded "You wish to treat me as if I were Louis le Débonnaire. Do not confuse the son with the father . . . I am Charlemagne!" In a rich and provocative study that shows his mastery of medieval and modern historiography and literature, Robert Morrissey traces the complex and contradictory place of the eighth-century Frankish king and emperor in French ideology and imagination from the ninth century to the nineteenth, when a new emperor could claim in word and deed to bring the legendary ruler to life. The book, ably translated by Catherine Tihanyi, is at once a history of French political ideology and a cautionary tale about the uses and abuses of the past.

Throughout the study, Morrissey locates discourses at the juncture of history, myth, and literature that, even as they attempt to instrumentalize Charlemagne for a present, were constrained by the weight of competing traditions, individual intentions, and contemporary circumstances. The result, from the terse accounts of the Royal Frankish Annales and the

anecdotes of Notker to the scholarship of Gaston Paris and the poetry of Victor Hugo, is a king who is in turn avenging conqueror, civilizing founder of schools, the legislator king, the guarantor or ruler of the nobility, and the protector of the French people, images constantly contested across a thousand years of French history.

Already during his forty-year reign Charles the Great was being represented as sovereign warrior and special recipient of divine favor. The later ninth century added the images of Charlemagne the wise, Charlemagne the glorious, and Charlemagne the guarantor of stability and order. In the high Middle Ages, in pseudo-history and in poetry, the king became an ideal contested by nobility and monarchy as well as by papacy. In the late medieval period, Charlemagne provided an image of stability and an expression of eschatological yearnings for unity and order. From the sixteenth century, Charlemagne was caught in the debates over the legitimate power of the king and his role as guarantor of freedom in assemblies seen as the prototypes of the estates general. In time, the monarchy itself lost interest in Charlemagne as a model, and in the seventeenth century the heroes of antiquity overshadowed the Carolingian ruler. However, Jansenists and republicans alike created Charlemagnes whose relationship to the peers, whose *placets* or assemblies, and whose role of reestablishing the ancient rights and freedoms of the French all figured in the critiques of the monarchy as writers sought to define the French nation and its relationship to its ruler. While Voltaire might dismiss Charlemagne as a usurper and barbarian, even after the storming of the Bastille sentimental accounts of a chivalrous Charlemagne as well as evocations of Charlemagne not as king but as emperor could be offered as ways to save the monarchy.

In the aftermath of the revolution and the Terror, Napoleon drew images of Charlemagne as savior of the French nation, as reconciler of the people, as heroic conqueror, and as European emperor as he sought legitimization in an age before the Capetians and their descendants. His defeat once more threw the Carolingian heritage into disrepute, only to be resurrected in the search for a French national epic identity on the German model. Charlemagne's final fall from grace came in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, when Charles and his Frankish empire were deemed too German to represent French identity. By then, too, Charlemagne was increasingly the domain of scholarly philologists, while debate about the nation was couched in the ahistorical language of the new discipline of political science.

If there is a weakness in this study, it is that by focusing so intensely on the French national tradition, one sees only intermittently the effects of other traditions, that of Karl der Große and of *Carolus Imperator*. When the Germanic or the imperial Charles appears, as in the Renaissance or the Napoleonic era, one is unprepared because one forgets that even while gen-

erations of French ideologues tried to make him French, other Charlemagnes were always present and competing in the European imagination.

Today, banished from the French national consciousness, Charlemagne is redeployed by some as father of Europe and rallying point for European unity. Morrissey's study eloquently shows the dangers of any such attempts to build the present on the ghost of a dead emperor.

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CHRISTELLE CAZAUX. *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}*. Foreword by PHILIPPE VENDRIX. (Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes, number 65; Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Collection "Épître musicale.") Paris: École nationale des Chartes. 2002. Pp. 414. €40.00.

Despite the volume of recent research on Francis I as a patron of the arts, there has hitherto been no comprehensive study of the musical life of the Valois court during the first half of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the reasons for this are the widely acknowledged dearth of relevant government archives and the lack of credible documentary sources to substantiate the king's reputation as a lover of music. Undaunted by such constraints, Christelle Cazaux's four-part study sets out to answer a number of important questions. Did Francis really cultivate music as he did architecture, sculpture, and poetry? What place did music occupy in the image that the French monarchy wished to project of itself, and what institutional framework was set up for its support? A review of the nature and extent of the archives central to this inquiry serves as a prelude to the first part, which begins with a discussion of the cultural conditions that nurtured the unprecedented musical activity of Francis's reign. After examining the musical institutions (the Chapel and the Écurie, or Royal Stable) inherited from his predecessors, the author scrutinizes the evidence for regarding Francis as a music lover and finds that it is almost wholly apocryphal or the result of special pleading.

Notwithstanding this conclusion, part two demonstrates that music was sufficiently important to the king for him to reorganize and consolidate the Chapel and the Stable and to add to them a third great household department for its provision, the Chamber. Thus the Chapel singers became responsible for the performance of music required on state occasions only, and their former duty to sing the daily round of liturgical offices now passed to a newly created plainsong choir. The addition of violins to the instrumental forces of the Stable in the 1520s was also a momentous step, given their popularity later in the century. The group of Chamber musicians, comprising both singers and instrumentalists, that Francis established in the latter part of his reign completed the tripartite restructuring of music within the royal household that was to survive

until the collapse of the *ancien régime*. Another effect of his reforms was that a notion of "royal service" developed among musicians, with the result that many of them spent their entire careers at court. This general trend toward stability in their conditions of employment became particularly noticeable in the case of the Royal Stable, where posts were frequently passed on from one generation to another within families associated with a particular instrument.

Part three looks at the uses to which music was put as an instrument of domestic and foreign policy: at royal births, marriages, and deaths, festivals, entrées, state visits, and summits such as that held between Francis and Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The final section of the book comprises a collection of archival references to the role of music at court under the headings "documents" (mostly extracts from financial accounts), and "actes" (letters patent, letters of denization, etc.). There is also a useful series of appendixes giving tables of singers and instrumentalists attached to the various royal households, a biographical dictionary of Chapel and Chamber musicians, and a list of manuscript and printed sources.

On the whole, this book is an impressive achievement. Cazaux handles a sizable body of historic data—musical, personal, political, archival, and generally artistic—with aplomb, adopting a methodology that could well serve as a model for scholars engaged in research of a similar nature. Only rarely does her command of the material loosen its grip, as when she refers to an account book of the Receiver General of the Languedoc for the year October 1517–1518 as being manuscript KK 240 of the Archives nationales, when it is actually KK 289 (p. 19). In the next sentence, she describes another set of accounts for 1533 in the Fonds français of the Bibliothèque nationale as being MS 10392; the correct call mark is MS 10389. A few more serious deficiencies arise from the fact that the book does not always take account of the latest research in the field. It is unfortunate that Cazaux's work appears to have gone to press shortly after the publication of the second edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music* (2001). If that reference tool had been available to her at the time of writing, the author would not, for instance, have repeated the now discredited theory that Josquin des Prez was employed at Milan Cathedral between 1459 and 1472, and subsequently in the ducal chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (p. 40). Such lapses are few, however, and do little to diminish the value of a volume whose coverage of musicians working at the court of Francis I far surpasses that of *New Grove* 2d ed. Despite the occasional blemish, this immensely detailed study is likely to remain the standard work on the subject for some time to come.

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HENRY HELLER. *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 307. \$60.00.

Anti-Italianism was an important phenomenon in sixteenth-century France, closely connected to the developments of Renaissance and Reformation in that country. It began early in the century with the arrival of important numbers of Italian merchants and bankers, particularly in the city of Lyon. They were accompanied by Italian artists who introduced Renaissance art and writing, as well as Italian clergymen who won appointment to a significant number of bishoprics and other key ecclesiastical positions. Anti-Italian sentiment grew later in the century with the arrival of an Italian queen, Catherine de' Medici, and the appointment of a number of Italian courtiers to key positions in the royal government, especially positions managing royal finances. This was particularly striking during the reigns of Charles IX and Henri III, from 1560 to 1589, each of which began with Catherine serving as regent and continued with her as a principal adviser to her sons' governments. Several Italians held key positions in the royal privy council during these years.

Many French people of all classes resented the economic and political and even the cultural power of these foreigners, and they expressed their resentment in publications of many kinds. One crescendo of criticism of Italians followed the massacres of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572. Pamphlets by Huguenots including Francis Hotman, Innocent Gentillet, and, perhaps, Henri Estienne blamed Italians for the massacres and sought an alliance with anti-Italian malcontent Catholics against the royal government. A second crescendo followed the turn to militancy of the Catholic League after 1585, this time in pamphlets by Catholic polemicists who blamed Italians for many of the economic problems and much of the moral depravity they believed then afflicted France. After the death of Catherine in 1589, followed within the year by the assassination of Henri III, a high percentage of the Italians left France. There continued to be Italians of power and influence in seventeenth-century France; one thinks of Marie de' Medici, Henri IV's queen, Concino Concini, and Cardinal Mazarin. But never again were there so many influential Italians and so much resentment of their presence as in the sixteenth century.

In this erudite and judicious book, Henry Heller examines the phenomenon of anti-Italianism. He points out parallels to modern expressions of xenophobia but does not develop them at length. Heller's argument is based primarily on a careful study of the many publications expressing anti-Italian sentiments, supported by a thorough examination of secondary literature on the history of France during this period. At points the argument is garnished with fresh archival research in both Paris and Geneva. Heller explores at length some parallel phenomena, including the somewhat similar nature of antisemitism in the same period

and the role of Italian Protestants in Geneva. At times his argument lacks rigor, not always linking these parallels and other phenomena as closely as it might to the book's central argument. Heller sidesteps a few technical problems, like debate over whether or not Henri Estienne was the author of the *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions et deportements de Catherine de Medici*, one of the most venomous pieces of anti-Italian propaganda. Nicole Cazauran, for one, raises serious questions about the attribution to Estienne of this tract in her admirable recent edition of it. And Heller stops rather abruptly with the accession of Henri IV, not considering much those few Italians who continued to arrive in France.

Altogether, however, this is an admirable contribution to scholarly knowledge that will interest all who study sixteenth-century France. It should also attract the attention of the even wider audience of those interested in the history of xenophobia.

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JESSICA RISKIN. *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 338. \$25.00.

According to Jessica Riskin, a proper reading of the scientific Enlightenment must take into account a struggle between the taxonomies of system makers and the achievements that sentimental empiricists manufactured from an elixir of sensation and sentiment. In such a world, she argues, it was inevitable that moral issues would arise even among the practitioners of the air pump and the champions of the lightning rod. Riskin's book also struggles with system building, seeking out a broad and deep conflict between those who sought to catalogue nature and those whose experimental passions led them to new empirical discoveries that, nonetheless, were laden with teleology. No one familiar with the experimental obsessions of a Newtonian century could easily differ. While a Carl Linnaeus or an Antoine Lavoisier might construct a system or a nomenclature, Riskin argues that many disputes over the causes of gravity, magnetism, or electricity were inherently conflicts over purpose in the natural world. Her book is a brilliant effort to contextualize controversies over natural forces, of lightning, of animal magnetism and chemical affinities, in a century that clearly struggled over legitimacy, economic management, and the fear of the mob.

Mechanism and agency, Riskin suggests, were the foundation of the dispute between the experimentalist Abbé Nollet, who nonetheless did deny he was either a Cartesian or a Newtonian, and Benjamin Franklin over the lightning rod. Nollet was averse to attempts to ascribe agency, but Franklin had no such compunctions, regarding electricity as seeking out ground to reach for a balance of positive and negative forces. But

given that eighteenth-century electricians could not agree, conflicts over the construction of lightning rods evoked the fears of mobs and induced recourse to experts by lawyers and magistrates. In a superb treatment of the French conflicts over lightning rods, Riskin demonstrates how important this turned out to be for the early career and reputation of the provincial advocate, Maximilien Robespierre. It was Robespierre who turned on its head the call for magistrates' reliance on philosophical experts, stating that magistrates' jurisdiction to determine cases was based on common experience. Hence, those who relied on experts were akin to the system builders so detested by the Jacobins during the revolution that academies were abolished not merely for their royal privileges but also because of their claims to special knowledge.

System builders became anathema to those who believed that instrumental empiricism and carefully designed experiments were best suited to produce reliable knowledge and social cohesion. This was, Riskin argues, "a rivalry between two conceptions of language: a cultural conception, that of the sensiblists, and a competing social understanding of language in which the romanticism and sentimental empiricism of the sensiblists gave way to the idealism and instrumental empiricism of social engineers" (p. 229). Such an approach is convincing and suggests the foundation for many of the differences involving the debates of the Physiocrats like Jacques Turgot over the problem of rendering politically convincing solutions to the management of a crippled French economy. Likewise, Riskin's account of the remarkable difficulties faced by the philosophical community in attempting to deal with the popular and inexplicable phenomenon of Mesmerism and of Lavoisier's establishment of an experimental protocol to test it is especially insightful—much, in the end, resting in the creation of the utterly unsatisfactory and thoroughly problematic notion of the effect of imagination in medical cures whose ecstatic convulsions closely resembled the medical uses of the Leyden jar.

Choices involving the value of experiment, of Robespierre's "common sense and eyes," and a concept of "sensible fact" thus turn out to be critical choices of morality and teleology. This leads Riskin to a convincing interpretation of the historiography of the French Revolution that haunts us still. The version of the revolution set out by Hippolyte Taine and by Edmund Burke depended on a perception of system builders, social engineers, and experimentalists that was jumbled and confused, but no more so than these actors were themselves bewildered. Burke might rail in the House of Commons against those who could subject society to experiments with no more concern than for a mouse in an airpump. But his attack on the republican Joseph Priestley took no account of the differences between English phlogistonists and the French systematizers Burke also professed to revile. Riskin provides a carefully nuanced and provocative assessment of these debates, pointing out that much of what

Burke complained about in the revolution was repeated by Antoine Rivarol, just as the chemist Jean André De Luc castigated a "Jacobin Chemical Club" (p. 269). These disputes erupted even as Jean-Paul Marat and Robespierre set in motion a purge of the Girondins and of Lavoisier into the bargain and as Priestley later admonished the "nomenclators" to avoid the appellation of Robespierristes. This was a world of cross currents and confused sentiment that provided critics of the revolution with "a powerful story of what had gone wrong" (p. 272). In her fascinating book, Riskin seems to have much right.

LARRY STEWART

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L. W. B. BROCKLISS. *Calvet's Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 471.

This is an impressive, scrupulously researched study of a provincial doctor and scholar whose interests and intellectual contacts are taken to be typical of the Republic of Letters of his time, and so of the Enlightenment.

Esprit Calvet (1728–1810) was born and lived most of his life in Avignon. The only child of a comfortably retired apothecary, Calvet received his secondary education from the Jesuits, then studied medicine in Avignon and Paris. He returned to Avignon, where he was received into the corporation of doctors and taught in the Faculty of Medicine of the city for fifteen years. Having rejected the iatrochemistry prevalent when he was a student, his medical views were those of Hermann Boerhaave's iatromechanism, but he never accepted the vitalist theories that gained ground later in the century. Interestingly, Calvet, like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, came to doubt the efficacy of contemporary therapeutics and to believe that the best a doctor could do was not to interfere with the course of nature (p. 151). This did not prevent him from prescribing the kinds of cures and medicines his clients expected, and for which they paid handsomely (pp. 180–81). In addition to maintaining a lucrative practice, Calvet treated the poor in the *hôpital*, acted as a local agent for the Paris Royal Society of Medicine, of which he was a corresponding member, and did work for the local authorities on health questions.

Calvet never married and so had more time and resources to devote to his nonprofessional intellectual pursuits. He collected inscriptions and antiquities, for the most part Roman, and built a collection of 12,000 coins specialized in large bronze imperials (chapter four), put together a natural history collection with an emphasis on minerals, fossils, and corals (chapter five), and built a library of some 5,000 volumes on which he expended roughly 8,000 livres (chapter six). L. W. B. Brockliss has worked through Calvet's huge manuscript archive with care and presents much of the quantitative data in convenient graph and table form.

He has also read extensively in the relevant secondary materials and effectively contextualizes Calvet's activities.

The main focus of this study is less Calvet than his place in the Republic of Letters and the communications network of which he was the center. Calvet corresponded with roughly 350 people, just over thirty of them on a regular and extended basis. These latter form what Brockliss calls Calvet's "mini-Republic" of Letters. Geographically his correspondents were concentrated around Avignon and in the Rhone valley, although there were also a few in Paris, and socially they were members of legal and medical professions, nobles (many serving in the army), and clerics, who alone formed roughly half the circle (p. 83). What united them was a gentlemanly and scholarly interest in antiquities and natural history. Brockliss argues that while the web worked on a principle of mutual service, its ethic was one of Christian stoicism (pp. 104–05, 333–34, 349), and its code of behavior demanded mutual respect, restraint, and aid. The web was closely integrated into the structures of Old Regime society and functioned in terms of both patronage and meritocracy. Brockliss maintains that for all its adherence to the values and principles of the Old Regime, its functional meritocracy subverted traditional hierarchy (pp. 399–400).

Calvet's longevity allows Brockliss to trace his response to the French Revolution, which the doctor survived, although his cultural world did not (chapter seven). The localized, international, and largely independent world of the Old Regime Republic of Letters underwent processes of centralization, nationalization, and bureaucratization, which transformed it.

Brockliss's main thesis, which he touches on in the introduction and returns to in the conclusion, is that Peter Gay's interpretation of the Enlightenment, which privileges the philosophes, assumes their radicalism, and regards the Enlightenment as a "movement," is seriously flawed. According to Brockliss, the Enlightenment can better be seen as a "mood" (pp. 405–06) and its bearers the Republic of Letters, of which Calvet's circle was but a small but representative part. Despite the apparent differences between the philosophes and the learned members of the Republic of Letters, the author maintains that Calvet and his correspondents had internalized the discourse and key values of the philosophes, such as happiness and utility, and so themselves represented the Enlightenment, albeit in a more moderate form. Brockliss goes so far as to suggest that historians may be better off by giving up use of the term "Enlightenment" and focusing instead on the Republic of Letters (pp. 407–08).

To argue that the world of the "curious" and the "learned" of the Republic of Letters was significantly different from that of the salons of Paris is fair enough. It is questionable, however, whether it makes sense to make them polar opposites. Gay argued not that the philosophes were the whole Enlightenment but that they were its acknowledged leaders and foremost

spokesmen. A model of Enlightenment that is built on a notion of a broad enlightened community that includes philosophes, salons, Masonic lodges, academies, mini-republics such as Calvet's, and, beneath them, reading rooms, cafés, and the milieu of Grub Street would provide an alternate, graduated, and probably more viable notion of what the Enlightenment was and who participated in it.

This observation is not meant to detract from the sound scholarship of a study that presents the workings of a group of mostly provincial men of letters and their milieu in a richness of detail and scope hardly achieved previously. Brockliss has produced a book that will challenge and be of service for the foreseeable future.

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SARAH MAZA. *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary 1750–1850*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 255. \$39.95.

Sarah Maza has written what is sure to be a controversial book on the nature of the French bourgeoisie. Or rather, as she states bluntly, "The central thesis of this book is that the French bourgeoisie did not exist" (p. 5). Despite historians' claims that a self-conscious bourgeoisie developed a taste for power in the eighteenth century and became the key social, economic, and political actor in the nineteenth century, Maza asserts that "no group calling itself bourgeois ever emerged in France to make claims to cultural or political centrality and power: bourgeois was almost invariably what *someone else* was" (p. 5). The category of bourgeoisie functioned as an unsavory "other," a negative model that most French rejected, an "other" that, as she argues in her conclusion, bears a striking resemblance to the American and the Jew in French society, groups all marked by "unearned privilege and cultural deficiency" (p. 195). Thus, while historians of the French Revolution have long debated the existence of a revolutionary bourgeoisie, Maza's scope is more far reaching. She takes on not only the Marxian class analysis but also more diffuse cultural and political definitions. She sees these as definitions created to categorize a social group that the putative bourgeoisie itself would not have recognized. Her thesis of "bourgeois nonexistence" derives from her belief that class status is inseparable from class awareness and the ability to articulate a coherent identity (p. 6). The French bourgeoisie is for Maza a myth, and this book is also about "the ways in which the myth of the bourgeoisie functioned for the French in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: why such a group came to be perceived as central to society and systematically vilified, and how rejection of the category 'bourgeoisie' became such an important element in the construction of French national identity" (p. 12).

Maza is a superb writer, and with a sure hand she traces the elements of what she terms the "social imaginary" to provide a narrative of the emergence of

the idea of a bourgeoisie. She sees none in eighteenth-century France, except as a legal category and a "shadow aristocracy," infected by privilege (p. 23). The universalistic ideals of the revolutionary period, of citizen and nation, militated against the development of a bourgeois class ideology. Maza identifies a brief moment, early in the nineteenth century, when a positive bourgeois ideology was on the brink of emerging but failed to gel under the July Monarchy. "In the space of a single generation, *juste-milieu* politicians like Guizot managed to give birth rhetorically to the bourgeoisie, and then effectively to kill it off" (p. 166). Novelists like Honoré de Balzac finished off the job, holding crass representatives of the bourgeoisie up for ridicule.

Maza is correct that the category of bourgeoisie is a slippery one, accounting for its overabundance of meanings. Yet I was uncomfortable with her bald rejection of its usefulness as a concept. Maza herself modifies her confident assertion almost as soon as she makes it: "To argue that the French bourgeoisie did not exist is something of an exaggeration, but I offer it deliberately as such . . . the problem is that this whole question has long suffered from a surfeit of careful shading: the social contours of the bourgeoisie are so elastic and the term itself so pregnant with different and contradictory meanings that most attempts to generalize about it tend to get qualified into a state of chaos" (pp. 5–6). I am not as sure as Maza that this is a great problem. In fact, many terms are contextual; their exact sense varies depending on specific circumstances of usage. She is undoubtedly correct that the Marxian definition of "bourgeoisie" as owners of the means of production, the stewards of industrial capitalism, had little relevance for the eighteenth century. But a broader cultural and political definition, such as that proffered by William Sewall (cited by Maza, pp. 106–07), is more difficult to dismiss. In particular, the professionals espousing the "civic professionalism" identified by Colin Jones, who became the notables dominating the nineteenth-century French bureaucracy, provide the positive bourgeois values whose existence Maza denies. She argues that their civic consciousness was universalistic rather than an element of class consciousness; yet these values were associated with a group that looks very much like a middle-to-upper class, indeed a bourgeoisie.

Maza notes that a kind of circular reasoning mars most discussion of the bourgeoisie: "if one begins by redefining what one means by the labile term 'bourgeois' to fit one's object of study, one can later conclude that bourgeois ideology, interests, and politics have at last been pinned down" (p. 107). There is undoubtedly some truth to this assertion. Yet even Maza at times uses the label as convenient shorthand in the same manner as others she criticizes. And as an honest historian, Maza feels compelled to mention the exceptions that would seem to undermine her thesis; for example, the anonymous revolutionary author who lauded the good, hardworking bourgeoisie seeking

status in productive labor (p. 76). But as these exceptions pile up, they become a compelling counter-argument in themselves.

In the end, Maza's book is more suggestive—and provocative—than convincing. Still, she has boldly conceptualized a new way to think about the eternal problem of the French bourgeoisie.

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PAMELA PILBEAM. *Madame Tussaud and the History of Waxworks*. New York: Hambledon and London. 2003. Pp. xiv, 287. \$29.95.

Pamela Pilbeam's wonderful brief account of the Tussaud waxworks is a delight to read. This book tells the amazing story of how one business, founded by an extraordinary eighteenth-century woman, continues to prosper largely intact two centuries later as one of the most popular commercial tourist attractions in the world. Perhaps it is a misnomer to claim Madame Tussaud (1761–1850) as the founder. In fact, she learned the art of making wax models from Philippe Curtius (1737–1794), who had brought his own “wax salon” to Paris in the 1750s. Madame Tussaud—née Marie Rosholz, originally from Strasbourg and a German speaker, was the daughter of Curtius's housekeeper, and he treated the young Marie as a daughter, teaching her the secrets of his trade. By the 1780s, Curtius's wax salon, situated in the midst of the fashionable and busy Palais Royal, was an attractive stop for aristocrats and foreign tourists, who marveled at the real-life quality of royalty and celebrities sculpted in wax, including Louis XV, Madame du Berry, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Benjamin Franklin.

At first, the French Revolution brought a bonanza to Curtius's salon, as visitors paid to follow its progress by seeing images of their favorite revolutionary heroes. Although Curtius's model of Louis XVI was the most popular attraction, Marie's own tableau of the assassinated journalist-politician Jean-Paul Marat in his bathtub became a big hit. Marie later claimed that Jacques-Louis David took the idea for his famous painting from her model. But by then, the Terror had scared the crowds away; the models of prerevolutionary aristocrats and monarchs were too controversial, and the economy had suffered so much that the business was in trouble.

In 1802, following Curtius's death and her marriage to engineer François Tussaud, Marie moved the waxworks to England, where she became “one of the leading women entrepreneurs in nineteenth-century Britain” (p. 74). For over twenty-five years, Tussaud owned a touring company, taking her models throughout cities in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Not until 1834 did she settle down in London's Baker Street, where Madame Tussaud's “museum” became among the most important tourist sites in nineteenth-century London. At first, it was the models brought over from

France that appealed most to the public, since visitors had grown up hearing stories of French kings and hotheads like Marat. Madame Tussaud skillfully exploited the cult of Napoleon Bonaparte that was, oddly enough, very much alive in England. In addition to exquisite models of Napoleon and Josephine, she bought up and exhibited Napoleonic memorabilia, including his atlas and toothbrush. Of course, she soon added the pantheon of British leaders to the exhibit. When Queen Victoria married in 1840, Madame Tussaud secured her permission to have the same dressmaker weave a replica of her wedding gown for £1,000.

English and French history motifs remained central to Tussaud exhibits throughout its history, but even before its founder died in 1850, depictions of famous crime scenes had become equally fascinating to visitors. For example, in 1890 Tussaud's opened an exhibit that featured the famous murderer Eleanor Percy killing her lover's wife and baby. Some 75,000 visited the exhibition in its first three days alone.

During the 1880s, the family business was sold to a group of investors, and it would be sold two or three times again until its most recent purchase by the book and entertainment conglomerate Pearsons. Nonetheless, until the 1940s, much of the artistic direction remained within the hands of Marie's great-grandson, John Theodore Tussaud (1858–1943).

Pilbeam's scholarly approach is understated but evident. Using family archives and memoirs, including Tussaud's own autobiography, she is careful to dismiss erroneous claims of family members and to treat much of what the family said about its business as, well, showmanship. And yet, exposing such bravado makes us respect both Pilbeam's scholarly care and the Tussauds' self-promotion. Pilbeam's argument is also carefully crafted if somewhat underdeveloped: she argues that although wax models hold essentially the same fascination today that they had for viewers in 1750, Madame Tussaud's has had to shift its business practice from appealing to the daily promenades of the upper classes to the leisure interests of the working and middle classes. History pageantry is now out of style and criminals have been sanitized, while popular television, film, and music celebrities have become the new stars of the museum. Beginning at least with the Beatles, Madame Tussaud's has attracted a new generation whose members, despite access to other media and the endless spread of celebrity images electronically, appreciate these waxwork models every bit as much as did the eighteenth-century Parisian dandy.

GARY KATES

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WAYNE HANLEY. *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796 to 1799*. Electronic Book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Site Access \$190.00, individual price \$49.50.

Despite the enormous number of studies on every conceivable aspect of the life and impact of Napoleon

Bonaparte, new books and new editions of older works are continually being published. Some of these include a new edition of Geoffrey Ellis's *The Napoleonic Empire* (2003), which analyzes the impact of Napoleonic rule in Europe; J. David Markham's *Napoleon's Road to Glory: Triumphs, Defeats and Immortality* (2003); Philip J. Haythornthwaite's *In the Words of Napoleon: The Emperor Day by Day* (2003), a work based on Bonaparte's correspondence and speeches; and the book under review. What distinguishes Wayne Hanley's study from the others is that it is an electronic book, which means that it has its own unique set of advantages and disadvantages due to its format. It must be accessed on-line after keying in a username and password for which the reader pays a fee. On the positive side, the book has a search engine that allows the reader to look up concepts of interest and to email portions of text. A "links" function allows one to click into relevant French and English websites. The extensive use of on-line scanned images and contemporary texts is another positive feature. On the negative side, do people really want to read books from a computer screen?

Hanley's justification for yet another book on Bonaparte is that many aspects of the emperor's life remain a mystery to scholars. One of these is Napoleonic propaganda before 1799. As Hanley points out, Robert Holtman's classic *Napoleonic Propaganda* (1950) and other less specialized works do not deal with the earlier period. This book is based on the author's doctoral dissertation, which was a recipient of the AHA Gutenberg e-prize for theses on the subject of "Europe before 1800" in 2000. It is unclear what changes Hanley has made in transforming his thesis into an electronic book. He argues that Bonaparte learned to be a propagandist during his formative years, long before he became ruler of France. Using different types of media, from newspapers to bulletins, Hanley demonstrates that Bonaparte did not invent them, "but he did understand the potential these pre-existing forms of propaganda offered, manipulating each to promote the precise image he desired" (p. 1). Hanley concludes that Bonaparte had a deep understanding of the art of propaganda, especially the press, and that he was most successful in this endeavor. Not only did he author his own bulletins and proclamations, but he even wrote his own articles for the official press. Hanley successfully illuminates the factors and techniques that make a successful propagandist: vocabulary, style of writing, use of the first person singular, placing a positive spin on events. He also correctly states that Bonaparte was aided by the growth of the popular press after 1789, increased literacy rates among French males in particular, and the appeal of military victories to a French reading public.

The book consists of seven chapters, including an introduction and an afterword. The substantive chapters are entitled: "News from the Front," "Newspapers," "Art as Propaganda," "Medals," and "Passive

Propaganda." There is no real conclusion. The afterword retells the story of the Eighteenth Brumaire based primarily on accounts by experts such as Jean Tulard, Felix Markham, J. M. Thompson, and Martyn Lyons. It does not seem to fit well with the rest of the book. An appendix includes translated correspondence relevant to the subject at hand.

What is both interesting and revealing is Hanley's investigation into nonwritten forms of propaganda such as art and medals. In the chapter dealing with "Art as Propaganda," he examines Bonaparte's confiscation of Italian art and his treaties with Italians such as the duke of Parma. He examines Bonaparte's personal role in the selection of confiscated art and his skill in prolonging the media coverage of his military accomplishments and artistic levies. Hanley's discussion of Bonaparte's manipulation of medals is particularly illuminating. He correctly points out that Bonaparte's use of medals as propagandistic devices during the Italian campaign is not common knowledge.

The author could have more clearly explained what he means by "passive propaganda," which is defined as "secondary sources of media exposure initiated by others who sought to 'cash in' on Napoleon's growing popularity" (chapter six, par. 1). This definition, although interesting, does not appear to fit the argument put forth at the start of the book, which states that Bonaparte was the great manipulator and propagandist.

This book is a thoroughly researched, fully referenced, interesting, and informative study. It is generally well written and highly recommended for all interested in the subject matter, from undergraduates to researchers.

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CLAIRE LEMERCIER. *Un si discret pouvoir: Aux origines de la chambre de commerce de Paris 1803-1853.* (L'espace de l'histoire.) Paris: Éditions La Découverte. 2003. Pp. 408. €29.00.

The suppression of intermediary bodies, including corporations and chambers of commerce, in 1791, created considerable difficulties for French professional groups anxious to protect their vital interests. Together with the state's own need for information and advice, in 1802-1803 this led to the re-establishment of the chambers, in spite of continued suspicion of those who sought to represent particular rather than the general interest. In a carefully researched and extremely detailed study, Claire Lemerrier charts the process by which the Paris Chamber of Commerce developed as a consultative institution, gradually inserting itself into complex decision making networks. In this, the 1840s were a particularly significant turning point as, in search of useful interlocutors, the July Monarchy allowed the formation of professional *chambres syndicales* and tolerated the reconstitution of corporations of bakers and butchers as means of

regulating quality and labor relations, as well as new-fangled pressure groups like the Comité des forges and the protectionist Association pour la défense du travail national. In the absence of large-scale bureaucracy, it was hardly surprising that governments and parliamentary commissions looked toward leading Parisian businessmen for economic information and the practical advice that had already proved useful in the preparation of such legislation as the 1808 Code de Commerce. Furthermore, the absence of such information clearly stymied the debate on tariffs in 1829.

Members of the Paris chamber were to be selected, initially by the local prefect and subsequently through cooption, from among leading bankers and merchants. It was conceded increasingly, however, that the chamber was not sufficiently representative. In 1832, a restricted electorate was created, a decision confirmed in 1852 by legislation that overturned the substantial extension of the electorate to include retailers and artisans introduced in June 1848. The objective was to ensure that members remained notables, representatives of the business elite, with professional experience and also some awareness of the central questions of political economy. Why were leading businessmen anxious to become members of an institution that, with its "sections" and commissions, made substantial demands on their time and energy? Many doubtless served from a sense of *noblesse oblige*, as well as a desire to reinforce their personal status and influence through participation in debates of both local and national importance. Assiduous attendance was an effective means of networking, of accumulating social capital, and of gaining access to potentially valuable and often confidential commercial information by means both of informal personal contacts and of formal discussions with officials and politicians.

How useful were these exchanges of information in practical terms? Lemerrier makes it clear that businessmen were reluctant to part with accurate assessments of their activities and that the advice proffered was invariably partial. The claims to "scientific" precision and insistence upon objectivity that accompanied the growing accumulation of statistics should not be allowed to conceal this. Thus, during the consultation process, which preceded what proved to be largely ineffective legislation on child labor in 1841, members of the chamber approached friends and acquaintances and then, while suppressing information contrary to their overwhelming desire to oppose protective measures, insisted that their advice was based solely on factual evidence provided by "*hommes pratiques*." Furthermore, as Joan Scott has already pointed out, in relation to the unprecedented compilation of a *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris* in 1848, mounting concern about the "social question," reinforced by the particular circumstances of that revolutionary year, ensured that the results were shaped by a highly politicized discourse. The provision of information for the following inquiry in 1860 was influenced by the determina-

tion of businessmen to make a case either for or against free trade.

It is always difficult to assess accurately the influence of a particular institution. However, there can be little doubt that the Paris Chamber of Commerce was able to exercise a substantial influence on decision making due to the reputations of its members and the circles in which they mixed, their contacts with government and journalists, the information they provided, and the way in which it was presented. This, too, in a period when the communications revolution and the development of more competitive markets, technological innovation and industrialization, and mounting concern with social problems and their political implications was leading to the creation of a more interventionist state. In all these spheres, the myth at the core of liberalism was clearly exposed by the partial advice proffered and the supportive "evidence" manufactured by some of its most eminent proponents.

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SIRKKA AHONEN and JUKKA RANTALA, editors. *Nordic Lights: Education for Nation and Civic Society in the Nordic Countries, 1850–2000*. (Studia Fennica Historica, number 1.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 2001. Pp. 244.

This book, edited by Sirkka Ahonen and Jukka Rantala, is a multidisciplinary collection of essays covering a long period and discussing both historical and contemporary aspects of the social role of education and educational institutions. It deals with the heritage of the Enlightenment but also examines the impact of postmodernism and neo-liberalism on Nordic educational systems. The book seeks a new historical understanding of the common school and adult education.

The educational institutions in question are conceptualized in terms of *Bildung*, nation building, and social equality. The most accurate English translation for the German word *Bildung* is "liberal education," as Sten Högnäs suggests. Several essays scrutinize the role of liberal education in the Nordic institutions of adult education. Nation building is another central concept discussed by most of the authors. Social equality is important because, as the editors point out, "in the Nordic tradition, the pursuit of education, *Bildung*, was connected to the quest for equality" (p. 9).

The collection is divided into three sections. The first section, consisting of three essays, reflects on the nineteenth-century concept of *Bildung* and its application to education. Högnäs discusses ideas of popular education, illustrating similarities and differences between east and west in the Nordic countries. For historical reasons, Finland and Sweden resembled each other, while Norway and Denmark shared another cultural pattern. Norwegian and Danish institutions of popular education tended to challenge the

universities, but the Swedish and Finnish university teachers assumed an active role in popular education.

Ilkka Männikkö and Henrik Meinander offer case studies from Finland, the former analyzing popular adult education between 1905 and 1919 and the latter presenting two elementary school teachers as agents of translocal activities in their communities. Männikkö challenges the assumption that the Finnish movement for popular education carried on the same nationalistic program from the 1830s until World War II regardless of major political upheavals like the General Strike of 1905 or the Civil War in 1918. He shows the ways in which the major organization for popular education adapted to political changes and redirected its work. Meinander's essay gives two interesting examples of elementary school teachers in their communities. The female teacher began a popular festival—an "invented tradition"—in her village, whereas her male counterpart in another community was a prime mover in many aspects of civic society. Elementary school teachers formed a social layer between the elites and the common people; their evident task was to bring light to the latter.

The second section of the book problematizes the pursuit of national integrity. In addition to social progress, education also implied ethnic and political exclusion. In this section, Ola Svein Stugu associates the process of nation building in Norway with that of modernization. The Education Acts of 1889 introduced a common school for all Norwegian children, something that turned the school system into the most important nationally integrative institution. Stugu identifies four educational projects: the religious, the utilitarian, the national-democratic, and the classical, the last playing a minor role in the development of the public educational system of Norway. The religious project promoted by the church and revivalist movements, the utilitarian project supported by bureaucratic elites and the labor movement, and the national-democratic project supported by liberal educators and popular movements competed and interacted over a long historical period. Stugu's model, albeit based on specific Norwegian evidence, can serve as a fruitful frame for analyzing educational systems in other national contexts.

Karmen Trasberg presents an overview of the introduction of national education in Estonia. For a long time, the rank system favoring the Baltic-German elite tied Estonians to lower social positions in their country. The national awakening emphasized the importance of the mother tongue in the education and formation of citizens. While Estonians were an oppressed ethnic majority in Estonia, the Finns and the Saami people were ethnic minorities in Sweden and Norway. They are examined by Lars Elenius, who compares national assimilation policies in the context of education. In the nineteenth century, Norwegians chose a strict assimilation policy offering no tuition in minority languages. Sweden established tent schools for Saami children coming from reindeer herding

families, while other Saami children had to attend school in Swedish. However, the long historical presence of the Finnish population did not inhibit the state from introducing the Swedish language to schools in Finnish-speaking areas. At the beginning of the twentieth century, instruction in Finnish was eradicated; the only language to be spoken in schools was Swedish. Finnish nationalism represented a cultural threat, but an even bigger threat was seen in the Finnish-speaking Laestadian revivalist movement.

Teachers as "model citizens" in Finland are studied by Rantala. He examines the role of elementary school teachers during critical historical events such as the Civil War, right-wing extremism in the 1930s, and post-World War II left-wing pressure. Teachers proved to be loyal citizens; furthermore, teacher training institutions and the elementary school inspectors strengthened efforts to national unity.

In the last section, Ahonen and Theo Koritzinsky address the neo-liberal challenge to Finnish and Norwegian educational policies in the 1990s. Ahonen connects the profound changes in the Finnish educational system to other structures of the welfare state. She suggests that the reform of the 1990s can be interpreted as a break from the Enlightenment project and asks whether the new school reforms signify the end of the common school. Ahonen shows in detail the ways in which neo-liberalist principles were introduced in Finnish educational policies. New agents—such as industrialists—started to define the demands for education; education became a product or an investment, parents turned into customers and teachers into producers, and demands for cost efficiency were expressed. Ahonen concludes, however, that many vital elements of the principle of universal basic education were maintained. The Finnish parliament placed limits on the marketization of the school. In this respect, Koritzinsky's article offers an interesting point of comparison. Neo-liberalist and neo-conservative ideas have challenged, and partly changed, the Norwegian educational system as well; however, in Norway the ideals of a common school and educational equality seem to be relatively strong.

This is a highly relevant book for historians of the Nordic countries. Readers who do not know the region may find some essays rather indigestible. Some authors have chosen to be precise by using the Swedish/Finnish/Norwegian/German key concepts in their texts. Furthermore, readers are expected to know basic historical events and turning-points. Those scholars who would only like to gain comparative information on education will certainly be stretched in their efforts. However, the collection is worth those efforts.

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HELMUT PUFF, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600*. (Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 311. \$24.00.

Written by a literary scholar inspired by Michel Foucault, this is a book that will be of much wider interest than just to scholars of sexuality: an erudite and innovative work based on court cases deposited in more than a dozen Swiss and German archives and on literary, polemical, and theological writings. Helmut Puff offers original insights into the changing moral and sexual regimes of German-speaking Central Europe.

The book's eight chapters are divided into two equal parts. Part one, "Acts and Words," analyzes the politics of repression between the late thirteenth and the late sixteenth centuries. "Sodomy" itself, according to Puff, is a polyvalent word in late medieval theological discourse and refers to a spectrum of sexual transgressions ranging from masturbation, heterosexual anal intercourse, and bestiality to same-sex intercourse. It represented the inversion of nature, the abyss of perversity; and in the testimonies of theological experts of the late Middle Ages, the very ineffability of this sexual transgression threw a veil, so to speak, over the criminalized sexual practices that came to the attention of secular and ecclesiastical authorities. In the main, sodomy referred to male homosexual intercourse, a particularly repugnant practice in the German-language moral discourse of the period. In chapter two, "Cases, Conflicts, Contexts," Puff offers interesting case analyses. In contrast to Florence, which acquired ill fame in German eyes for its widespread homosexuality and its relatively lenient punishments (fines and banishments), German civic authorities tended to be much harsher with sodomites, generally meting out death sentences or exile. Among Puff's findings are the comparatively sterner punishments inflicted by secular, civic authorities and the tendency to cover up or dismiss sodomy charges within the church, especially when the accused were members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The specific class and political contexts of sodomy trials are also ably analyzed. Paradoxically, the effect of harsh Germanic repression led to relatively fewer cases of prosecution that came before the civic courts. Aware of the fatal consequences of denunciations, some people refrained from making the charge, and many sodomy investigations only came to light in the context of other conflicts. During the sixteenth century, the tendency was to silence this unspeakable crime, and sodomy became "acts without words, acts of silencing" in Swiss and German cities. Before the silence descended, however, the Reformation did produce a vehement discourse on sodomy, which is one of the leading themes in the second part of the book.

Part two, "Acting Words," consists of four chapters focusing on defamation, humanists and reformers, sodomy in antipapal pamphlets, and the relationship between matrimony and sodomy in the new Protestant moral discourse. In the century leading up to the Reformation, Puff detects a hardening rhetoric against sodomy, first in the "Vienna Circle" around Heinrich von Langenstein, theologian at the University of Vi-

enna, and then in German humanist diatribes against Italy. Humanists such as Conrad Celtis, Ulrich von Hutten, Johannes Crotus Rubeanus, and Jakob Wimpfeling delighted in calling into question the manhood of Italians, who were for them synonymous with sodomites. The circumlocution in Latin yielded to a large vocabulary of vulgar German words to denote Italian sexual depravity, epitomized by the commonly used verb in early modern high German, "florenzen" ("to florence"), signifying male homosexual anal intercourse.

The notion of German sexual innocence, therefore, played well into the Reformation discourse of Roman corruption and German virtue. Just as the pope was the Anti-Christ, so the inversion of nature, sodomy, or unnatural sex, was the preferred lust of the Roman curia, as Martin Luther charged in his 1545 treatise, *Against the Roman Papacy, an Institution of the Devil*, a work that spared no sexual or anatomical details. The accusation of Roman sodomy cropped up in other antipapal propaganda, from *Julius Exclusus* to writings by Philip Melancthon, Karlstadt, Eberlin von Günzburg, and anonymous pamphlets. Two Florentine popes, Leo X and Clement VII, became in particular the focus of Protestant satire. Catholic responses stood out for their restraint in equating Protestant heresy with sodomy, in contrast to medieval rhetoric that had equated *Ketzer* ("heretic") with sodomites. Identified with Protestant anti-Catholic polemic, the rhetoric against sodomy crossed literary genres from Reformation pamphlet to humanist *facetiae* and obscene Latin poetry. The playful verses of a young Giovanni Della Casa, celebrated Italian writer and bishop, and author of an Index of Prohibited Books in Venice (1549), were used by the Italian dissenter Pietro Paolo Vergerio to defame the bishop for defending sodomy, a charge repeated by Protestant publicists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Inversion and pairing operate similarly in the Protestant discourse promoting marriage as the only licit and worthy channel for sexual desire. Turning clerical celibacy on its head, Protestant reformers advocated marital heterosexuality for all and subsumed sodomy under other illicit sexual acts. Having served its function in demonizing the papacy, anti-sodomy rhetoric yielded to the encomium of marriage, the ideal moral and social cornerstone of the new Protestant polity.

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HELMUT WALSER SMITH. *The Butcher's Tale: Murder and Anti-Semitism in a German Town*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2002. Pp. 270. \$25.95.

How shall a historian understand a ritual blood murder accusation at the beginning of the twentieth century that brought about an extended public frenzy, not in tsarist Russia but in Wilhelmine Germany? Helmut Walser Smith's historiographic strategy in seeking answers to this question is unorthodox: he does not

begin with medieval antecedents and gradually lead up to the murder in the West Prussian town of Konitz on March 11, 1900, but instead interweaves a detailed plotting of the events with chapters and sections that throw them into various explanatory contexts, gradually creating layers of interpretation. Two competent articles on the Konitz affair, based on archival evidence, have appeared in the last five years, by Christoph Nonn and Bernhard Vogt (both listed in Smith's annotated bibliography), but they lack the depth, detail, attractive style, and multifaceted framework of Smith's book.

In a town of about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom about 300 were Jewish, an eighteen-year-old gymnasium student, known for his sexual exploits, was brutally murdered, his clothes and body parts, severed cleanly as if by a professional butcher, gradually appearing in the town's vicinity. The principal suspect was the Christian butcher who, with the assistance of an antisemitic journalist, manufactured a statement exculpating himself and casting the accusation of ritual murder upon the "practiced kosher butcher," whose shop lay opposite his, and who was presumed to be acting on behalf of a Jewish cabal. This became what Smith calls "the butcher's tale," which was broadly believed by the Christian populace, both Protestant and Catholic. In succeeding weeks, the Jews became victims of recurrent violence so widespread and serious that the Prussian militia had to be called in on two occasions. Although an experienced, impartial investigator was also sent from Berlin to locate the true culprit, the murder was not solved. After months of tumult, during which the synagogue was broken into and its furnishings smashed, matters gradually returned more or less to the *modus vivendi* that had existed before March 1900, except that the Jewish population of the town, which had already been decreasing as Jews drifted to the larger cities, continued to decline.

Smith's analysis begins with the events themselves. It is his persuasive assumption that the transformation of a large segment of a Christian population that was living peacefully with its Jewish neighbors into an actively antisemitic mob has to be understood, first, with the tools of the microhistorian, who examines not only origins and outcomes but, perhaps most especially, the dynamics of the transformation itself, what Smith calls the "process." Local enmities flared into violently expressed hatred, latent anti-Judaism turned into the renewed conviction that Jews require the blood of Christians to bake unleavened bread for the Passover holiday. Motivated in no small measure by a reward for information leading to the murderer but also by genuine conviction, literally hundreds of Konitz's inhabitants fabricated stories that they presented to the authorities and even testified to in court. The town became divided between the believers in the blood murder accusation, for whom it had become "an article of faith," and the relatively small number who resisted it. Smith's narrative, based on extensive archi-

val research, provides the most complete account of the events: the various accusations, the investigations, the legal procedures, the exploitation by antisemitic journalists and parties, and the waves of violence.

From the events in Konitz, Smith moves outward to describe recent antisemitic incidents elsewhere: the broad impact of the Dreyfus Affair six years earlier in France and the more immediately relevant blood murder conviction less than a year earlier in the Bohemian town of Polna. The next move is backward in time to a history of the blood murder accusation from its origins in the thirteenth century. Although this itemization, which takes up an entire chapter, might have been abbreviated, the recurring frequency of such accusations, with seventy-nine occurring in Europe between 1891 and 1900, does materially assist in understanding why it caught on so readily in Konitz. Another dimension of explanation, presented by Smith without giving it dominance, is the economic one: the accusers tended to come from humble backgrounds, the Jews were relatively better off. The author is also drawn to the recent trend to explain violence by boundary violation, although it seems less relevant here than in other instances where the boundary crossed was sexual. It is also possible to question whether the accusations against the Jews can, by reversal, be described as the real ritual murder. More persuasive in this book of multiplying, largely original, and enlightening interpretations is the presence of peer pressure on individuals by a community whose identity had become rooted in its adherence to the truthfulness of "the butcher's tale," the falsity of the Jewish countercharges, and the wrongheadedness of the Prussian authorities who here, unlike forty years later and for their own reasons of maintaining order and obedience, came to the Jews' defense.

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PAUL LERNER. *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930*. (Cornell Studies in the History of Psychiatry.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 326. \$39.95.

In the summer of 1914, as the German army swept through Belgium and into France, its commanders were shocked when what Paul Lerner calls an "epidemic" of "shakes, stutters, tics and tremors" (p. 1) and a host of other disabling behaviors swept through the ranks. Fortunately for the army, Germany's psychiatrists galloped to the rescue, and what they did and what it meant is the story of this finely written and rigorously researched book.

A contribution to the Cornell Studies in the History of Psychiatry, Lerner's study is structured chronologically into eight large chapters. The story begins with heated debates about who should and should not be eligible for workers' compensation payments under the terms of Otto von Bismarck's social welfare legislation;

it then focuses on traumatized and hysterical soldiers and their treatment during World War I; and it concludes with an examination of the continuing argument over psychiatric disability diagnoses during the Weimar Republic.

Although necessarily technical in places, Lerner's story is far from dry. The debate over psychiatrically disabled soldiers was one cockpit for a host of angry and sometimes frantic debates about modernization and masculinity, the relationship between doctors and patients, the rationalization, professionalization, and bureaucratization of medicine, the nature of war, the structure of the psyche, and Germany's unique (or not so unique) experience in modern history. All of these issues have been thoroughly treated elsewhere, and Lerner makes good use of the immense literature. His book brings all these disparate issues into an original, fresh, precise, and compelling focus.

The central conflict in Lerner's story is between two quite different diagnoses of the shell-shocked soldiers. The contenders (to vastly simplify Lerner's complex account) were "trauma" and "hysteria." Some psychiatrists, notably Hermann Oppenheim, argued that the causes of the soldiers' dysfunctional behavior were external: the shock and terror of battle. Oppenheim and the defenders of the "trauma" diagnosis argued that some external events might be so dreadful that they could effect not only psychological disruption but even permanent neurological damage among otherwise "normal" people. Other psychiatrists, including Karl Bonhoeffer (the father of the famous theologian) and some Freudians, argued to the contrary that the cause of the soldiers' dysfunctional behavior was internal. Some soldiers, these psychiatrists thought, had a predisposition to psychological injuries. Some soldiers were more fragile than others, and therefore it was the patient's character and psyche that were responsible for what occurred, not primarily the experience of battle itself. Such soldiers exhibited behaviors long associated with psychologically disturbed, "hysterical" women; the proper diagnosis was "hysteria," not "trauma."

This was no mere abstract debate. Some advocates of the "hysteria" diagnosis, for instance, were deeply concerned with modernization's assault on "masculinity"; they worried that a "lack of will" led to cowardice and fakery among the psychiatrically disabled. Not only did they downplay the significance of battlefield shock; at the farthest extremes of the "hysteria" camp were some who saw battle as positive because it fostered "manliness," courage, and "will." The psychiatrists' debate had immense medical, economic, and cultural implications not only for soldiers and veterans but also for Germany as whole, implications that Lerner clearly examines.

Any good book generates more questions than it answers, and this is a very good book indeed. There is, by now, a rich literature on the human cost of the Great War, and particularly the psychological mayhem it caused. One thinks, for instance, of Peter Leese's

recent book, *Shell Shock, Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War* (2002), which Lerner cites in his work, and longs for a comparative study of the psychiatry of the Great War. Lerner's book focuses on the German psychiatrists and their debates; an examination of the same materials primarily from the patients' perspective (as hard as that would be to reconstruct) would be equally useful.

Another mark of good history is that it contributes to a variety of subfields. Lerner's study contributes importantly to the history of psychiatry and medicine and to the histories of Germany, modern Europe, and the Great War; it examines issues important to social policy and gender studies. By this standard, too, it is very well done. The topic is large, complex, and important, and Lerner handles it with rigor, skill, and clarity. This is a very good and very important book.

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DOUGLAS C. PEIFER. *The Three German Navies: Disolution, Transition, and New Beginnings, 1945–1960*. (New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. xx, 250. \$55.00.

Did Nazi Germany's catastrophic military defeat in 1945 finally sever the threads of continuity that had shaped the behavior of its military establishment despite radical political and governmental alterations in the first half of the century? In his examination of the two post-World War II German navies that eventually replaced the Third Reich's Kriegsmarine, Douglas C. Peifer demonstrates that Kriegsmarine legacies lingered in both navies. In the process, he easily disproves East Germany's claim of expunging its Nazi past. Although the Bundesmarine exhibited far more continuities than the East German Volksmarine, both navies in their infancy depended on personnel, equipment, and some traditions inherited from their World War II predecessor. Indeed, the massive clean-up effort required at war's end persuaded the victor powers that German navy personnel and equipment should be utilized extensively in minesweeping, harbor clearing, and salvage efforts. Their employment partially helped keep intact the unit cohesion and comradeship that enabled some legacies and traditions to survive defeat. Moreover, the onset of the Cold War persuaded British and American intelligence agencies to hire the expertise of some former Kriegsmarine officers to spy on the Soviets and ultimately provided opportunities for the employees to lobby for a reconstituted West German navy on terms favorable to themselves, thus perpetuating some of the traditions associated with their service.

This monograph is an expansion of the author's dissertation. Not surprisingly, therefore, the archival research upon which it rests is impressive. Indeed, the research base, especially from former East German archives, is a major strength, as is the study's chrono-

logical focus. Naval developments in the 1945–1960 era have not received extensive coverage in English-language works. Peifer initially devotes considerable attention to the Kriegsmarine's dissolution. How this unfolded clarifies the maritime evolutions that followed. His comparative analysis of those evolutions represents another plus. The comparison between the two navies often reveals no surprises. East Germany placed a greater premium on political affiliation and ideological fervor and deliberately recruited personnel with working-class or small farm backgrounds, while West Germany opted for professional competency over political reliability and selected officers whose class origins were similar to Weimar's Reichsmarine or the Kriegsmarine. However, there are some overlooked similarities as well as differences.

For example, unlike their West German counterparts, there was no ongoing agitation among East German veterans for the release of Grand Admirals Erich Raeder and Karl Doenitz following their convictions for war crimes at Nuremberg. The honor and integrity issues so important to former high-ranking veterans in the Federal Republic were absent in the East. For obvious reasons, there were also no overt expressions of resentment at prisoner-of-war treatment in the Soviet zone. Both navies depended on their occupying patrons for facilities, equipment, and training, yet both proved as opportunistic as their manipulative patrons in seeking organizational or individual advantages. Finally, both navies evolved firmly under civilian control, a decisive break with Germany's military past. Political reliability was always important in East Germany, but the selection process for Bundesmarine acceptance required candidates to support parliamentary democracy and to accept civilian supremacy.

Peifer's principal concern is the interaction between victors and vanquished. The bulk of the Kriegsmarine's officer corps fell into American and British hands at war's end. Of the relatively small number of German admirals held by the Soviets, the majority died while in captivity, thus helping to explain in part why the Soviets failed to attract many naval veterans to their initial maritime forces. However, Peifer stresses that the Soviets, unlike the Americans or British, were not interested in senior officers as resources or leaders for their emerging maritime forces. This affected adversely the emerging navy's professional competence.

In the West, naval veterans viewed the Royal Navy as aloof, distant, and determined to remind Germans who had won the war. Conversely, the veterans believed that Americans appreciated their skills and professionalism. Accordingly, German admirals, when they sensed the Cold War gave them the opportunity, lobbied the Americans for reestablishing a navy led by those reared in past traditions but who, they claimed, were untainted by Nazism. Peifer admirably traces their determined quest for rebirth. His analysis of their eventual success explains the divergence in the threads of continuity between the two navies.

This monograph brings a useful comparative analysis to an important postwar military topic. It is a worthy addition to the University Press of Florida's "New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology" series.

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VALERIA FINUCCI. *The Manly Masquerade: Masculinity, Paternity, and Castration in the Italian Renaissance*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 316. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$24.95.

It is by now a commonplace among historians of gender that masculinity, like femininity, is variable and culturally defined, slippery and unstable. Valeria Finucci's intriguing contribution to masculinity studies argues that it was paternity, not sexual potency, that came to be the most essential quality in the performance of Renaissance masculinity in sixteenth-century Italy. By 1600, Finucci maintains, to be securely male demanded secure fathering, and men who faltered or failed in that task found their masculinity under question. Grounded in the contextualizing techniques of New Historicism, Finucci's linking of literary texts to medical discourses of conception and generation and legal principles of inheritance will be of interest to historians concerned with the construction and destabilization of masculinity, not only in the Italian Renaissance but cross culturally.

Finucci's first chapter studies medical and legal texts of late fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy, foregrounding their concerns about paternity and legitimacy, which she sees as sites of increasing worry over the entire period, not merely the mid to late seventeenth century, as some have argued. Medical texts on monstrous births and spontaneous generation displayed a fear of conception without paternity. (The virgin birth of Jesus Christ—the ultimate fatherless conception—is a startling omission.) Furthermore, she argues, changes in inheritance systems ratcheted up concern about the possible erasure of the father as primogeniture spread throughout the period, imputing more importance to the paternity of the single inheriting son. In response to these growing anxieties about paternal irrelevancy or uncertainty, a profusion of literary texts "centered on the male fear of cuckoldry" (p. 29) emerged.

Four central chapters each focus tightly on a major literary work to illustrate sixteenth-century Italian anxieties about fatherhood and masculinity. Niccolò Machiavelli's comic play *La mandragola* (1518) offers fertile material for a discussion of cuckoldry and surrogate parenthood. The episode of the monstrous mother Clorinda in Torquato Tasso's epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581) serves as a window onto fears that a mother's powerful imagination may undermine or even erase her offspring's father, creating a child who fails to "resemble" him. In a subplot of Ludovico Ariosto's romance *Orlando furioso* (1516),

Astolfo and Jocondo attempt to take revenge on their cheating wives by setting out to have sex with as many women as possible, but the two Don Juans find themselves spent and de-sexed, able to regain potency only when they return home to wives and children, however dubiously theirs. And Bernardo Bibbiena's comedy *La calandria* (1513) poses questions about cross-dressing and hermaphroditism as a pair of opposite-sex twins trade, construct, and deconstruct their sexual organs and other body parts. One might question, of course, whether cuckolded husbands and inexplicable births are new fascinations in the Renaissance, but Finucci does make a compelling case for linking these literary themes to medical and legal discourses of the period.

The book concludes with an extraordinary if somewhat loosely argued final chapter on the ultimate male anxiety, castration. The castrati, male sopranos whose testicles were mutilated (although not removed) before puberty to maintain their ethereally high voices, became one of Italy's most famous exports. Although they first sang in church, chapel, and court settings of the late sixteenth century, castrati reached the height of their fame on the operatic stage in the seventeenth century. Why, Finucci asks, did Italians "promote abroad the idea that their most successful men were not-men with feminine voices and freakish bodies?" (p. 228). The castrato could be attractive to both men and women, ambiguous in his sexual preferences (and in his potency or sexual interest) and gender identity. Finucci pulls together much fascinating disparate material in a chapter she herself characterizes as "free-wheeling" (p. 30).

However, the evidence presented here does not compellingly support Finucci's case that the castrato's infertility was what "unmanned" him. Many castrati sought church permission to marry, giving rise to a discussion among canon lawyers as to what sexual or reproductive capacity, exactly, was required of a prospective husband. Finucci makes much of Pope Sixtus V's 1587 bull *Cum frequenter*, which she interprets as declaring that only "procreative" men could marry, regardless of a man's ability to maintain an erection, have intercourse, or emit some kind of fluid at orgasm. But a careful examination of the bull (cited in the original) reveals its ambiguity: Sixtus forbade marriage only to "frigid" and "impotent" men, without explicit mention of procreation; it was later commentators who added the focus on paternity. As her own evidence shows, some castrati were known to be capable of intercourse although not of procreation; Sixtus's bull would seem to permit such men to marry. Finucci's claim that Sixtus "reinforced the view that masculinity needed to be associated with fertility as a foundational myth of Christian discourse" (p. 264) thus seems somewhat forced.

This is a bold and captivating book. To build her argument about the role of fatherhood in masculinity, Finucci deftly reaches across several different registers of cultural expression: medicine, law, comedy, poetry, and opera. In calling our attention to the growing

importance, and instability, of fatherhood in the later Renaissance, she usefully complicates our understanding of masculinity and patriarchy.

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CAROLE COLLIER FRICK. *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 20th Series, number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 347. \$45.00.

Carole Collier Frick offers a refreshing new perspective on the much visited terrain of Renaissance Florence. Here clothing, and its makers and wearers, occupy center stage. While Florence's international economy flourished on the production of fine cloth, Frick's study focuses on local consumption and use of that material—draped, fitted, slashed, ornamented, and displayed publicly on the bodies of the republic's leading citizens, male and female.

Frick organizes her book topically in three sections. The first looks at tailors and other clothing workers. Since early guild records yield only a sketchy picture of craft activities, the author forages in tax and debtor lists, family registers, letters, and contracts to trace the practices of these trades. She shows that, while many of these artisans toiled obscurely for modest livelihoods, the emergent demand for luxury in clothing as in other goods allowed some, notably tailors, to achieve affluence and renown. Although cutting and sewing cost only a small fraction of the total bill for a garment, fittings demanded an ambiguous physical intimacy between patrons, including women, and tailors that conveyed a measure of prestige.

Part two examines elite wardrobes deployed competitively for family honor. For several prominent families, Frick tracks spending patterns and attitudes about clothing for assorted public and private settings. She then highlights weddings and the bride as the prime locus for familial vestimentary self-declaration. The book's last section links clothing with the concerns of the commune. While Frick acknowledges that sumptuary law struggled to keep up with fashion, she reads the evolving statutes and the chameleon magistracies charged with enforcing them as serious contenders in the dialectics of Florentine apparel. The last chapter examines two fresco cycles by Domenico Ghirlandaio, commissioned for prominent churches by rival patrons, for their public statements on how clothes make not just the man, but also the woman and, by extension, the family.

Drawing together these loosely braided themes, Frick concludes that, in the Quattrocento politics of display, clothing demanded a hefty investment of time and money from elite patriarchs. This assessment fits well with recent scholarship on male dominance and "aristocratization" in Florence. Although she does not fully develop the ideas, Frick points to interesting

tensions in the competition through clothes. While high consumption served mercantile interests, the communal aesthetic of dignified sobriety contrasted with the expensive, even wasteful gimmickry of slashed sleeves and precious metallic baubles. Why did the commune resort repeatedly to sumptuary regulation to tame the extravagance of its very members? Frick proposes a gendered division of symbolic labor. At least in paintings, men stood robed in republican virtue and matrons cloaked themselves in modest piety, while brides and young wives strode flamboyantly mantled in the family honor. Frick emphasizes the young women's high visibility, despite religious injunctions against female vanity and honor's imperative to keep women out of sight, but she does not untangle these contradictions.

Frick undertakes to study the clothes of Florentines of all classes and ages, but her arguments follow only the rich and powerful. In scattered paragraphs she describes as best she can how ordinary urban men and women dressed and how they contributed to the garment trade. Her treatment of the social mobility of successful tailors suggests that prestige mattered not only to the elite but to those below as well. Yet the centrality of such concerns for artisans and the close ties they, too, recognized between clothing and reputation—seen, for example, in the work of James Farr for Dijon—here gets short shrift. The reason lies in part in Frick's somewhat static notion of vestimentary honor. For common people, honor resided not only in how clothes looked or what they cost but also in what a person did with them.

This book reflects the patience and ingenuity that research on material culture and everyday life demands. Leaving aside any physical remains of textiles and garments, Frick relies predominantly on verbal texts. There, elusive meanings of words present challenges. A useful glossary lists terms for workers in the numerous specialty trades, and the chapters define many terms for colors, fabrics, and items of apparel. This technical information will serve scholars with a variety of interests. Nonetheless, it is wise to heed the author's lesson drawn from sumptuary law: nomenclature was protean. Frick also uses paintings both for analysis and for illustration. The pictures are usefully placed to accompany the relevant discussion, although in the black and white reproductions, sometimes fuzzy and oddly cropped, the cited details can be hard to see. Nonetheless, as a whole this study nicely opens up a little-studied domain of Renaissance culture and shows the way to linking mundane craft with the dearest social aspirations of the Florentine elite.

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JONATHAN GLIXON. *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 372.

Visitors long flocked to the republic of Venice for its music. Many types of organizations maintained and supported regular musical performances, including the ducal chapel of San Marco and the city's numerous early modern theaters. Prominent, too, were its confraternities, known in Venice as *scuole*, although their musical lives have been less well known to modern scholars. From the later Middle Ages onward, Venice was home to six *scuole grandi* and a vast and less stable collection of *scuole piccole* that numbered into the hundreds. None survived the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797 and its aftermath. Jonathan Glixon's study, the result of many years of archival research, locates Venetian musical culture in this institutional context.

Glixon surveys the Venetian *scuole* and their roles in the city over this long span of time and then turns his focus particularly to the place of music in their activities. His study consists of two parts, one on the *scuole grandi* and the other on the *scuole piccole*. He follows a strongly documentary approach; indeed, as he notes in his preface, he had planned initially simply to publish the documentary evidence itself, a project now intended for online access. Like a number of music historians engaged in recent years in studies of music's social and political contexts, Glixon has chosen to present foundational work that is heavily descriptive as an aid to future research. Nonetheless, he permits himself a number of important observations about trends and transitions, so that his study contributes significantly to our understanding not only of the urban contexts of musical performances but of confraternities as well as urban and religious history more generally.

Scuole were developed for devotion and charity, as social organizations that promoted civil cooperation over disunity and strife. Also central to their missions, as described in their constitutions, was the rendering of honor to God and to their city. Glixon argues that this goal, too often undervalued in modern scholarship, helps to account for their investments of time, energy, and money in music as integral to their celebrations of religious and civic holidays, in addition to their well-known expenditures on visual arts. A *scuola* maintained a contractual relationship with a particular church but was regulated by the Venetian government, answering to the Council of Ten rather than to Rome. A ban on regular membership by patricians, Venice's political class, kept these groups from becoming politically threatening, although in fact some patricians were able to become special members. *Scuole* assessed and managed their funds based on member fees; particularly during Venice's early modern decline, the city government imposed burdensome taxes on this revenue. Poorer members performed additional tasks in lieu of full payment. Some of those tasks were musical: for example, singing chants at the burials and memorials of members.

A *scuola grande* held an annual festival in honor of its patron saint, participated in major civic processions,

and held a number of smaller processions regularly, often together with other *scuole*. It also mourned and commemorated departed members. The earliest major musical expenditures for these groups, noted from the fourteenth century onward, were for organs and organists. The mid-fifteenth century marked a noted change when the city granted permission, upon petition, for the confraternities to hire professional singers and train them in that institution's particular musical traditions. The *scuole* also began to admit more members on the basis of their singing abilities. Later in the century, they began to hire instrumentalists, wind and string players. Professional singers performed especially in the numerous processions. They raised the technical level of performance over time; they also brought a host of managerial complications, as when they absented themselves from performances or demanded higher pay, and the *scuole* adopted a range of strategies for maintaining their presence and their loyalty. Economic difficulties in the 1630s and 1640s led to problems in staffing with both singers and instrumentalists from which most *scuole grandi* never entirely recovered. Nonetheless, San Rocco seemed able to muster impressive groups until the very end, and the *scuole piccole* also fared well in their later years.

Glixon's abundance of data includes appendixes of procession days and other religious occasions and listings of musicians hired for the feast of San Rocco over a forty-year period for which complete records are available. He observes that a fuller picture of institutional musical life in Venice challenges a number of assumptions. First, it shows that its early modern citizens heard a great deal of public music; the city's very full calendar of events totaled some three hundred days a year. This music was available in every part of the city, often in multiple venues on a given day. Further, the balance favored chant over the polyphony that has received far more attention from modern musicologists. The better-studied musical life of the ducal chapel needs to be understood in this broader context. These abundant opportunities for work helped support the large population of musicians for which Venice was so well known; so, too, composers found reasons to remain in residence thanks to the demand for new works required to honor properly the city and its devotion. Glixon's careful work contributes significantly to our understanding of the roles of musical performance in the urban life of early modern Europe, and it should prove a valuable basis for further research.

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DAVID LAVEN. *Venice and Venetia Under the Habsburgs, 1815–1835*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 256.

The image of Habsburgs as "cruel and tyrannical masters" has long dominated most accounts of Resto-

ration Italy, informing general histories as recently as the 1990s. Yet as David Laven rightly observes in his revisionist study of Venice and Venetia in the two decades after 1835, this image has largely reflected political considerations and teleological assumptions. Both liberal and nationalist accounts of the nineteenth century depict the governments of the Restoration as reactionary foreign occupiers who relied on brutal repression to contain popular patriotic resistance. The Revolutions of 1848 reinforced this negative "myth" by encouraging historians to treat the period as a mere prelude to revolution. As a result, there has been a tendency in the scholarship to exaggerate negative aspects of Austrian administration and to inflate the level of popular and elite opposition.

Laven's deeply researched and carefully argued study of Emperor Francis I's rule in Venetia challenges this conventional view. In his interpretation, simple repression cannot explain the absence of political unrest in the region after 1815. He argues that stability in this period resulted from the moderation and effectiveness of Habsburg policies, which were less exploitative than those of their Napoleonic predecessors. Austrian administrators restored peace and order to the war-torn region and advanced a conservative and Catholic program that conformed to the ideological loyalties of the majority of Venetians. Arguing that foreign rule, per se, did not seem to trouble the people, he plays down the importance of nationalism in Venetia.

The principal villain in Laven's study is Napoleon Bonaparte, whose arrogance and self-aggrandizing policies ultimately spelled ruin for Venice. In sharp contrast to an older school of interpretation, he asserts that "the death of the Venetian Republic was not a slow suicide by decadence, but a swift and brutal blow delivered by a future tyrant" (p. 39). The French emperor's wars, continental blockades, and fiscal exploitation destroyed the once proud and thriving republic. Decades of Napoleonic misrule confronted the victorious Austrians in 1814 with the difficult challenges of improving a disastrous economic situation and incorporating Venetia into the Habsburg domains.

In Laven's account, broader considerations of imperial security on the Italian peninsula played a critical part in shaping the policies of Francis I toward Venetia. Above all, the region served as a defensive bastion in a larger imperial strategy to contain French expansionism rather than to repress nationalism. Laven is careful to not gloss over the shortcomings of the resulting administration, but he insists that it attempted to be as fair and efficient as possible and marked a decided improvement over the harshly exploitative Napoleonic regime. While Francis I's obsession with detail precluded dynamic leadership, it did make him well informed and sympathetic to the concerns of his Venetian subjects.

Laven attributes the success of the Habsburgs in restoring order and stability after the wars and popular uprisings of the Napoleonic era to a combination of

factors: the effectiveness of the police and army, censorship, education, and the sympathetic treatment of the church and Catholicism. Together these factors created a culture of loyalty and obedience in Venetia. In particular, he argues that the much-maligned Austrian police operated with "restraint and good judgment" (p. 194). They played a dual role in his account, fighting crime and guaranteeing good government through their surveillance of civil servants and other government officials.

Laven addresses the issue of the Revolution of 1848 in his concluding chapter. Although he recognizes the limitations of Francis I's rule, he attributes the revolution largely to the deteriorating quality of Austrian administration after the emperor's death in 1835. The incompetence of his son and successor, Ferdinand I, created a power vacuum at the top of the highly centralized government that aggravated long-term financial weaknesses and limited its capacity to respond to exceptional challenges. When a major crisis struck in the mid-1840s with a series of crop failures, the Austrian administration responded much too slowly. At the same time, changes in the Venetian political culture led to demands by local patriots and priests for more progressive policies and greater autonomy from Vienna. Ferdinand's mishandling of the growing crisis culminated in an open and sustained revolt that involved both Venice and the surrounding countryside in March 1848.

Although the tone of Laven's rhetoric reflects a decided hostility to Napoleon and corresponding sympathy toward Francis I, he has presented a compelling case for reconsidering the nature of Habsburg rule in Venetia after 1815. More important, his conclusions clearly bolster a body of new scholarship that has provided, in the past fifteen years, a more complex and subtle understanding of politics and society in Restoration Italy.

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MARY GIBSON. *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology*. (Italian and Italian American Studies.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. xii, 272. \$66.95.

In 1902, Cesare Lombroso published "The Last Brigand" in a widely read Italian magazine, *La Nuova Antologia*. The piece dealt with the recently arrested Calabrian outlaw, Musolino. In Musolino's physiognomy, Lombroso found the tell-tale signs of degeneration: a receding forehead, protruding eyebrows, and an asymmetrical face. The villain appeared to feel no remorse, compared himself to the count of Montecristo, and predicted that he would be elected to Parliament. His uncle and three cousins were criminals, another cousin and three sisters were epileptic, his grandfather and uncle "apoplectic," and his father suffered that "dizziness" that constitutes the embryonic form of epilepsy. Lombroso acknowledged, none-

theless, Musolino's exceptional talent: the brigand was said to have extraordinary intelligence, he composed verse, and he had a genius for evading the authorities. He was not a simple "born criminal" but fell halfway between that category and the more nervy creative world of the "criminaloids." Lombroso also noted that Musolino exemplified a certain hot-blooded "Southern type" that had emerged from complex racial crossbreeding over many centuries.

This criminal anthropologist was himself a more complex and less entirely ludicrous "type" than legend has had it. If he had a knack for headline-grabbing pronouncements and grandstanding, he also struggled with the enigmas and primitive propensities of human behavior, reaching various different conclusions in his prolific writings and sometimes no conclusions at all. The message for which he became notorious concerned "atavism" (the word was derived from *atavus*; the criminal was an evolutionary "throwback" to less civilized ancestors). From these rude beginnings, and in the face of a fierce struggle for survival in the jungle of criminological theories, Lombrosian man and woman evolved, gradually refined into more complex forms.

As Mary Gibson shows in this richly researched study, Lombroso's impact was anything but trivial: he inspired many followers, some of whom went on to set up an elaborate, state-supported apparatus for studying law breaking and for policing the criminal. Gibson deftly shows the evolution of his approach across and beyond the five editions of *Criminal Man*. In addition to its bold claims about born criminals, the text was swelled by hundreds of pages discussing how best to punish the law breaker. Initially opposed to the death penalty, Lombroso later changed his mind, concluding that for some offenses in which the criminal threatened the security of the state it was a necessary measure. He sought to provide suitable advice on the options at the disposal of the Italian government, including house arrest, surveillance, community service, and fines: suspended sentences and parole (modern alternatives to prison, pioneered in France and the United States) also had some appeal.

Lombroso was a controversialist who inspired devotion and dismay in equal measure. Sometimes his recommendations were blocked or ignored, but his broad approach certainly affected the lives of thousands of inmates in Italian penitentiaries. (Gibson confines herself by and large to tracing the formation and dissemination of his ideas in the Italian system, although toward the end of the book she makes some suggestive remarks about his influence overseas as well.) His propositions about the illusions of free will were rejected by most jurists and theologians, but Lombroso's inquiries helped redefine the kinds of questions it was fashionable to ask about crime. It was the criminal, in his or her biological and psychological particularity, that became the supreme point of interest, not abstract "classical" codes for matching crimes to punishments. Gibson offers many telling examples

of the difference this approach made in theory and in practice.

Not all of the developments in twentieth-century forensic science that Gibson explores were derived exclusively from Lombroso himself. Pierre Bertillon in France, Francis Galton in England, and a host of other commentators were also influential pioneers of the new "scientific" approach to the deviant. Lombroso drew inspiration from many sources, conflating material from phrenologists, racial anthropologists, degenerationists, Lamarckians, Darwinians, and assorted medical materialists. His approach marked a dramatic rejection of the Enlightenment insistence, immortalized by Cesare Beccaria, that the outward action, not the inward nature (let alone the rank) of the offender was what really ought to count.

By the 1880s, Lombroso found himself feted by an enthusiastic circle of Italian coworkers, although mutterings of dissent and criticism, from home and abroad, also reached him. Gibson provides illuminating passages on the difference in political style and medico-legal approach taken by various important followers such as Enrico Ferri, a lawyer who was to become a leading socialist politician. Some of Lombroso's work was coauthored, such as *The Female Offender* (*La Donna Delinquente*), produced in collaboration with Guglielmo Ferrero. Other monographs set out a positivist approach to insanity, race, political crime, and legal medicine. Lombroso's daughters, Paola and Gina, as well as their husbands, also played a part in the dissemination of his basic ideas. Among Gibson's extensive cast list, Ottolenghi emerges as a significant transitional figure. He developed Lombroso's ideas in a form that liberal and later fascist governments found highly serviceable. Lombroso died long before fascist fellow traveling was an option, but Gibson describes the political contortions and, in some cases, spiritedly maintained antifascist stances of several second-generation followers. Enrico Ferri abandoned socialism for fascism, but other members of his circle, including Lombroso's sons-in-law, risked opprobrium by refusing to sanction Benito Mussolini's policies.

Gibson convincingly shows that the failure of Lombroso and his followers to shape to their satisfaction the criminal code of 1889 (known as the Zanardelli Code) has led historians to underestimate their long-term impact. It is true that the law remained largely wedded to the doctrine of free will, but the fascist Criminal Code of 1930 was informed by positivism. Article 226, for instance, made special provision for "minors who are habitual criminals, professional criminals, or criminals by tendency." The law required these youths to be incarcerated in a special reformatory for at least three years. Gibson's cool and informative appraisal of the origins of criminology and the adaptation of forensic science in the age of Mussolini is a significant contribution to the field. A sequel is now required to trace the ebb and flow of "biological

criminology" in the second half of the twentieth century.

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KARIN J. MACHARDY. *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria: The Social and Cultural Dimensions of Political Interaction, 1521–1622*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xiii, 331. \$72.00.

Karin J. MacHardy has published several extensive articles in German as well as English dealing with the nobility in early modern Austria, especially in the territory of Lower Austria. Based on her extensive research, she now proposes in this volume two important, wide-ranging theses. First, she joins the related debates over the term "absolutism" and over the rise of the state in early modern Europe. Here she rejects the term for the Habsburg monarchy in Central Europe before the eighteenth century and, more important, she puts forward an alternative term, "the coordinating state" (p. 6), in its place. Second, MacHardy argues that the confessionalization of patronage at the Habsburg court in Vienna was the principal reason why, at the start of the Thirty Years' War, the majority of Protestant nobles in the estates of Lower Austria refused to acknowledge the newly elected Emperor Ferdinand II as their ruler and joined with the estates of Bohemia and other Habsburg territories in rebellion.

Crucial for MacHardy's coordinating state is the distinction she draws between autocratic power and infrastructural power. The former enables the ruler or ruling elite to have "full autonomy . . . without having to negotiate, over civil society" (p. 23). Most historians would now agree that this was rarely if ever realized in early modern Europe. Infrastructural power denotes structures that reached down into society: for example, the administration of justice, the collection of taxes, military recruitment, or the management of crown lands. Control of these structures was shared and bargained over between the ruler and, in the case of the Habsburg states, the nobility organized in the estates. The growth of the state, then, between the medieval and early modern period, was characterized rather by the development of infrastructural than autocratic power. Indeed, this bargaining continued in the Habsburg lands after the war despite the defeat of the estates and only ended with the growth of a bureaucracy in the eighteenth century.

What happened then in 1620 when nearly three-quarters of the Protestant nobles in the Lower Austrian estates denied homage to Ferdinand II? This was not the result in the first instance, according to MacHardy, of a long-simmering constitutional crisis that was brought to a boil by the conflict between the Catholic ruler and the largely Protestant estates, as most historians have assumed. MacHardy, not surprisingly, dismisses the terms "absolutist" and "constitu-

tionalist" in this context. Rather it was the reaction of the estates to a policy of Counter Reformation adopted by the rulers of the Habsburg lands in a conference in Munich in 1579 with the duke of Bavaria that was implemented, occasionally fitfully, in the period up to 1620. This policy called for the gradual exclusion of Protestants from office either at the imperial court or in government. Bargaining broke down. Coming at a time of demographic growth in Lower Austria when the nobility were becoming increasingly dependent on court patronage, this strategy hit the Protestant nobility hard. Competition for office became intense. Only in association with the court could many nobles find new or maintain old sources of revenue through offices and perhaps more importantly secure access to status and to clientage networks and the marriage market. This was especially painful to many Protestants inasmuch as they, too, had invested increasingly in the education, including the cavalier's tour, that was now expected of a noble office holder at court. Ultimately, exclusion from court patronage drove the majority of the Protestant nobility to side with the Bohemian rebels. From another perspective, the Habsburgs confessionalized their recruitment for office too rapidly, drawing in and promoting Catholic newcomers at the imperial court to the distress of older Protestant families. So MacHardy redirects our attention to the social, economic, and cultural causes of the war without denying the concurrent religious and political ones.

MacHardy supports her theses with twenty tables describing the social, economic, and religious composition of the Lower Austrian estates and the distribution of offices, and she shows a thorough familiarity with the literature on the growth of the state. Whether a similar analysis would lead to similar results for the other territories of the Habsburg monarchy remains a question for further research. One speculates that it would. MacHardy's further argument that one cannot speak of absolutism in the Habsburg lands before the eighteenth century corresponds to the position of two recent surveys: Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815* (1994), and Jean Berenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1273–1700* (1994).

This book deserves the attention not only of Habsburg historians but of all those interested in the history of the state. The density of the author's style makes it less attractive for undergraduates.

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GUNNAR S. PAULSSON. *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, 1940–1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 298. \$29.95.

Roman Polanski's Oscar-winning film, *The Pianist* (2002), viewed by millions, brought to public attention the fact that the survival of a single Jew in Nazi-occupied Warsaw depended on the good will of numerous Poles. Gunnar S. Paulsson's book tells, in a

detailed, scholarly and at times tedious and overmeticulous manner, the story of the hidden Jews of Warsaw and of those who made their survival possible. It is a welcome and significant contribution to the ongoing debate on Polish-Jewish relations during the Holocaust, stirred recently by Jan T. Gross's *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (2001). The core of Paulsson's study consists of demographic and statistical calculations and estimates of the number of survivors and of those who helped them survive within the largest Polish and Jewish community of wartime Poland. Aryan Warsaw consisted of approximately one million people. About 490,000 Jews, both local and non-natives, passed through the Warsaw ghetto. Some 28,000 were hiding on the Polish side of the city at one time or another. 11,500 survived. Between 70,000–90,000 Poles, seven to nine percent of the city's population, made their survival possible. About 70,000 Poles and a parallel number of Jews who maintained contacts made up a 140,000-strong community of Warsaw's "secret city."

The author argues that the quantitative aspects of flight, assistance and survival in this particular case, as well as Jewish "evasion," as he calls it, have been ignored by the historians, and scholarly treatments of the subject have been based mostly on anecdotal evidence. This, in turn, according to Paulsson, invited broad generalizations influenced by personal attitudes and preconceptions toward an extremely sensitive and loaded subject. Not unlike Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, who criticized generations of historians for not asking crucial questions in respect to the antisemitic nature of the Germans, Paulsson argues that he is the first one to examine in depth "the 'missing topic' of evasion" (p. 13). He also maintains that the Holocaust historians' debate has centered mostly around the compliance-resistance poles of Jewish behavior. To the best of my knowledge, the subject of Jewish flight, hiding, and survival has been dealt with in numerous studies. One of the earliest proponents of the principle of "survival" (*iberlebn* in Yiddish), some forty years ago, was the late Shaul Esh.

Paulsson succeeds in using diversified sources and convincing methods to solve the quantitative questions. The most important body of evidence comes from autobiographical accounts and memoirs located mainly in the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and in the Yad Vashem Archive in Jerusalem. They are supplemented and corroborated by surviving records of organizations that provided material assistance to Jews in hiding, such as Żegota (the Polish Council to Aid Jews), the Bund and ŻKN (The Jewish National Committee).

One of Paulsson's achievements is his new conceptualization of phenomena discussed in Holocaust-related research. When dealing with the chances for contacts, hiding on the Aryan side, and survival, he rightfully differentiates among the various cultural/social subgroups within Warsaw's Jewish population, such as the unacculturated, the acculturated, the as-

simulated, and the converts. A most interesting and quite novel approach to the issue of rescue is Paulsson's gradation of direct helpers, secondary helpers, and those who were passively protective. Assisting Jews meant many things, from helping repeatedly or over a long period (which entitles a person to become a "Righteous Gentile") to offering a meal, a lift, giving directions, and saying a few encouraging words. This in turn may lead to the reopening of a wider question concerning attitudes and actions of "bystanders."

Paulsson's remarks on the "amnesia of help" sound plausible. At least some survivors have for years suppressed their memories of those who helped them. The enormous Jewish loss, the pain, the trauma, and the prevailing negative stereotype of the Poles prevented a detached discussion of the issue. The Poles, too, due to national, religious, and political reasons for years evaded an open and honest discussion of the question. Numerous potential witnesses on both sides are no more. Another argument often repeated in the book is that the "activists"—persons who were active in public Jewish affairs under German rule and in the Warsaw Jewish uprising—exerted a disproportional impact on historiography. Paulsson uses "ordinary" witnesses and quantitative estimates to balance the view.

Paulsson's story of the hidden Jews of Warsaw is a most significant addition to the immense Holocaust literature, both as a specific case study of a single community and as the initiation of a debate concerning some of the most crucial aspects in Polish-Jewish relations under German occupation. Whereas Gross forced the Poles into a more critical self-examination with respect to their behavior toward their Jewish neighbors, Paulsson's book may prompt at least some Jews to reexamine their attitudes toward Poles.

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NORMAN M. NAIMARK and HOLLY CASE, editors. *Yugoslavia and Its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 275. \$55.00.

The Yugoslavia story of the 1990s was told largely by journalists and political analysts. While much of their contribution was solid, some was overly simplistic or sensationalized. The theme of "ancient ethnic hatreds," for example, was greatly overblown and widely accepted without proper scrutiny. Historians of Yugoslavia, particularly those who were horrified by the country's bloody disintegration, remained essentially silent at the time, contributing only marginally to the explanation of Yugoslavia's volatile developments. This collection of eleven essays, edited by Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case, is the outgrowth of a Stanford University symposium in 2000 that attempts to rectify the omission. The book, however, has its deficiencies.

The volume's title and subtitle are far off the mark.

The first five chapters, gathered under the subheading "Images of the Past," have little to do with understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s. Barisa Krekic's study of mercantile life in fifteenth-century Dubrovnik extols that city's work ethic and civic pride. The only connection it has with the 1990s is that Krekic, in concluding paragraphs, laments that Yugoslavia's political leaders of the 1990s did not choose Dubrovnik as their paradigm, and he adds a gratuitous swipe at Western leaders for their shortcomings as well. Wendy Bracewell's piece on Balkan bandit-heroes is more relevant, given that *hajduk* mythology, which the author shows to be "shot through with contradiction" and manipulated for political purposes, permeated the actions and the press accounts of the 1990s. Relevant, too, is Larry Wolff's essay on the changing concept of "Morlacchismo," the South Slavic national identity created in the late eighteenth century by outsiders who first applied it to the natives of Dalmatia. Both Bracewell and Wolff remind the reader that history is not simple, that tracing the development of concepts like group identity (*hajduk* or national) can be intriguing exercises, and both entice the reader with their erudition and splendid writing. Still, this is not about the Balkan wars of the 1990s. Neither is Dusan Djordjevic's historiographical contribution, "Clio in the Ruins." His essay is competent, although incomplete, bringing the survey of history writing of the area only up to the end of World War II. The final essay in the initial group of five is by Wayne Vucinich (to whom the book is dedicated). Entitled "Tranhumance," it offers the author's youthful remembrances of 1924, when he accompanied family members and their animal herds to summer pastures in the Zelengora mountains.

The remaining six essays, by distinguished scholars in the field, finally get down to business, but only the last two by John Fine and Gale Stokes address the 1990s principally. These two essays could not be more different. Fine, the leading expert on the Bosnian church in the Middle Ages, charges in with "heretical thoughts." His essay is an angry rant, first against Croats and Slovenes for their impatience with Belgrade in 1991, their selfish drive for instant gratification, and for characterizing of what was, after all, "only gridlock," as irreversible deadlock. Fine then takes on the Western powers for irresponsibly encouraging Bosnian independence in 1992, only to abandon the new state to Slobodan Milosevic's free hand. He is angry, too, with the United States for rushing the Dayton Agreement (a three-week deadline) so that it would not interfere with the Thanksgiving holiday. He condemns the West for denouncing Serbian violence in Kosovo, then illogically insisting that the province remain a part of Serbia. The "statelets" that were once a part of Yugoslavia, he contends, are now back where they started before World War I, economically and politically vulnerable and dependent on indifferent Great Powers. Fine concludes with a paean to Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia, the "beautiful society," a state

that had been created "voluntarily" by the South Slavs themselves.

Stokes's tack on the breakup of Yugoslavia is by contrast detached and philosophical. He views the emergence of national states in the area as consistent with 150 years of European history, a period during which "the national" (i.e. "we-ness") came to prevail over "the individual." The creation of national communities in Europe, he points out, usually involved violence; what happened to Yugoslavia was just a continuation of an old story. The international community had best accept this as fact, and it should desist from imposing its multiethnic, democratic values on the area. For Stokes, the ultimate solution is clear: complete the establishment of homogeneous national states by assisting with the redrawing of boundaries. The process is inevitable; it is not a question of whether national states should exist where there was once a Yugoslavia, but of how to expedite that goal.

The remaining essays are all examples of solid scholarship and deal primarily with aspects of twentieth-century development but generally do not reach into the 1990s. Yet all offer valuable insights into the complexity of the larger story. Andrew Rossos's excellent survey examines the Macedonian question from two perspectives: as a continuing problem with an international diplomatic focus, and as an identity problem for the Macedonians themselves. Rossos demonstrates how becoming part of Tito's Yugoslavia, with a separate republic, brought national identity into focus for the Macedonians; this in turn enabled a logical transition to independence a half century later. In his essay, "Yugoslavism versus Serbian, Croatian and Slovene Nationalism," Arnold Suppan reminds us that Yugoslavia had a troubled history from its very beginning in 1918 and highlights the political, cultural, and ideological factors that disrupted it for the rest of its existence. He stresses in particular that both Croats and Slovenes had serious ongoing reservations about living in a Serb-dominated state. Charles Jelavich offers an explanation for why the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were not sufficiently Yugoslav-minded. They were not taught to be Yugoslavs or to respect each other's culture and history. Yugoslav awareness was greatest among the Slovenes, because, after 1869, Austria, where they then lived, required schools to teach about the cultures of all nationalities of the empire. The least "Yugoslav" were the Serbs, who before 1914 focused on unifying Serbian lands. Croats and Muslims were simply regarded as Serbs of a different religious persuasion. In interwar Yugoslavia, the situation hardly improved. Education was not a high priority. Illiteracy levels among the Serbs and the Croats remained at about fifty percent, and only half of those eligible completed four years of elementary schooling. Even if schools and textbooks had emphasized "Yugoslav" unity, which they did not, students were not in school enough to absorb the concept. Finally, Serbia's identity crisis is the topic of Thomas Emmert's excellent historiographical essay, which of-

fers an interesting look at how Serbia has been viewed over the years by Western scholars and writers. Then Emmert tackles the Serbians writing about themselves. The resulting picture is of a nation that is easily manipulated by authoritarian ideologies and still resisting political and economic modernization, something that Nikola Pasic, the Serbian prime minister who engineered the creation of a Serb-dominated Yugoslav Kingdom in 1918, admonished Serbs about. Without modernization, Serbia would be doomed to remain on the fringes of Europe.

CAROLE ROGEL

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STEPHEN LOVELL. *Summerfolk: A History of the Dacha, 1710–2000*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 260. \$29.95.

Stephen Lovell's history of the dacha, is, remarkably, the first book of its kind. So established and familiar a part of the Russian experience is the summer home that even the word "dacha" long ago found its way into standard English. Until now, however, the uniquely Russian place and way of life embodied by the term had never been explored in a full-length work in any language, including Russian. Those who considered taking on the topic might have been daunted by its size and complexity, but I suspect its neglect has had more to do with the dacha's apparent marginality. The dacha is, after all, a world apart, and dacha-going is a form of escape. Fortunately, the first chronicler of the dacha's history possesses the range of talents and broad erudition to do justice to his subject. This outstanding cultural history follows the dacha through a surprisingly large number of shifts in usage and meaning, while demonstrating its importance as a cultural institution in both imperial and Soviet history. As Lovell makes clear, the dacha was, and is, far from a marginal phenomenon.

Those who have lived in Russia for any length of time are familiar with dacha-going from personal experience, but this study should complicate and extend the impressions they have acquired and surprise many who have pondered the significance of the dacha in Russian culture. Something resembling the contemporary dacha dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, but Lovell identifies several intervening shifts in its use and in the interpretations that have accrued around it in accordance with the changing circumstances of urban Russia. Because of the dacha's complex history, the book relies on sources including architectural records, literary evocations, memoirs, advertisements, feuilletons, party archives, and personal interviews with dacha owners. Through this wide variety of sources, Lovell manages to approach the dacha as a subject not only of leisure and popular culture, but also of social history, political debate, and even at times national, generational, class and gender anxieties. The story told here opens up an impressive amount of new territory, often taking the reader in

many directions at once. It raises, among other issues, the problems of Russian suburbanization, the socioeconomic role of vegetable gardening, changes in recreational patterns, the development of an aesthetic of rusticity, Russian versions of status competition, and the ambiguities of Soviet property law. Readers of this involved narrative will benefit from two maps, a useful glossary of Russian terminology, and almost forty illustrations.

Wide use of source material notwithstanding, the breadth of this study is felt more in the lengthy trajectory it traces from the origins of an "exurban" Russia in the early eighteenth century right up to the garish "New Russian" retreats at the end of the twentieth century. New incarnations of dacha life appear at several different points, but the critical moments occur in late imperial Russia and the postwar Soviet Union. Lovell uses the dacha experience in these eras to raise two key questions: the uncertain character of Russia's middle classes, and the existence, or lack thereof, of a continuity between imperial and Soviet Russia. This account does much to problematize simple answers to these notoriously difficult topics, but it certainly does not resolve them. At those moments when the book seeks to compact the history of the dacha into a form usable for such argumentation, it seems to reach for something beyond its grasp. As the study makes abundantly clear throughout, the dacha is a protean phenomenon, capable of shifting over and over again as external demands require. In order to make such arguments stick, Lovell would have to sacrifice his portrait of the dacha as a multivalent institution and restrict the study to a limited period and set of concerns.

But the book owes its strength and importance to the refusal to set such limitations. It is a remarkably wide-ranging tour of the multiple contributions the dacha has made to Russian culture, and readers should come away convinced it is time for an in-depth exploration of the dacha phenomenon and its implications for some of the central questions of Russian historiography. It would be difficult to disagree with Lovell's conclusion that the time has come to place the dacha next to the country estate as one of a few key loci of modern Russian cultural history.

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ELISE KIMERLING WIRTSCHAFTER. *The Play of Ideas in Russian Enlightenment Theater*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 296. \$40.00.

In this elegantly written and informative study, Elise Kimerling Wirschafter has turned from social and legal structures, which had been the focus of her previous three books, to a close analysis of eighteenth-century Russian plays, texts in which "Russians self-consciously reflected on their own social experience" (p. ix). To accomplish this, she has carefully examined the plots, themes, and word play in 260 original

Russian dramas written between 1740 and 1790, and seventy-eight authors for whom she has definite attributions. For those without access to Russian-language reference materials, the book includes a very helpful appendix of brief biographies of the playwrights as well as a checklist of the texts cited.

The Russians in question were the educated service gentry, the group that, as Wirschafter observes, constituted the primary audience for Russian theater of the day, and whose thoughts on social relationships she endeavors to elucidate. Highly skeptical of recent efforts to fit Russia into models of civil society and public sphere, she proposes as an alternative the concept of "civic society," by which she means the assemblage of participatory activities, including both sociability and administration, without imagining any structural mediation of state authority. Theater, she maintains, fell within civic society, as a "tool for moral instruction" (p. 26), and social integration. "When read as a body of self-conscious literary expression, eighteenth-century plays actually reveal less about the emergence of political opposition and more about how educated Russians, imbued with Enlightenment ideas, avoided rebellion by reconciling idea with reality" (p. 29).

The larger subject of the search for identity among the eighteenth-century service nobility has piqued the interest of numerous scholars, from Marc Raeff's classic study of memoirs to more recent investigations including Elena Marasinaova on epistolary records, Thomas Newlin on Andrei Bolotov, Irina Reyfman on duels, and Priscilla Roosevelt's pictorial history of noble estates. Like these predecessors, Wirschafter emphasizes the primacy of personal fulfillment, honor, love (both romantic and patriotic), goodness, respect for authority, morality in power, and individual virtue. If not exactly discontented and alienated, as some previous studies suggested, members of the service nobility nevertheless expressed insecurity about their status and individuality.

Although the first chapter, "Theater and Society," provides an excellent overview of the early history of Russian theaters in the capitals and provinces, Wirschafter treats plays largely as written texts rather than as staged performances or speech acts. Given the small number of theaters, she maintains, the gentry were more likely to read plays than to see them. Thus, there is almost no mention of the stage, direction, actors, or live audiences. In large measure the relative paucity of sources makes this absence understandable, but it does raise a lingering question of genre. What differentiated plays from other texts? What defined them as a discrete source for reflective prose, separate from journals, family albums, novels, poetry, or philosophical tracts?

These questions of context, format and reception loom large in recent scholarship on print culture, as Adrian Johns and Roger Chartier, among others, insist on seeing specific audiences as active subjects in endowing texts and spoken language with meanings.

Could not these same inquiries apply to eighteenth-century Russia? Was the Russian audience truly so uniform, were all service nobles so utterly imbued by a common set of Enlightenment values that they read these texts through a single lens? Or were multiple and even unexpected readings possible, and might these have been affected by the settings in which the plays were produced or published? What about the ambiguities of intertextuality: that is, not only the counterpoints among the living within the written discourse of plays but also the dialogues between the living and the dead or across the multiple genres that were available to a common audience? In discussing word play, to take a small example, Wirtschafter mentions B. E. El'chaninov's *The Giddygate Punished*, and she observes that the given name of the frivolous and flirtatious widow, Pul'kheria, plays on the Latin word for beautiful. Most lay readers of the day knew rather little Latin, however. An alternative referent would have been Saint Pulcheria, the fifth-century Byzantine empress, a favorite in masquerades and a prominent embodiment of politically dangerous femininity in Russian panegyrics and sermons. Readers who made this connection might have given the play a very different reading, or at least a more multidimensional one, than is presented here.

To be fair, no one has made much progress in sorting out such complicated interpretive issues. And while I would have liked to see Wirtschafter explore them some more, these comments place her in very heady company, a measure of how fundamental her scholarship is to Russian studies.

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BERNICE GLATZER ROSENTHAL. *New Myth, New World: From Nietzsche to Stalinism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 464. \$45.00.

Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal traces the genealogy of the Stalinist project of the 1930s and 1940s to its roots in turn-of-the-century modernist culture, and to the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche in particular. Nietzsche, she proposes, was absorbed into Russian intellectual life and culture by the writers and philosophers of the Silver Age (1890–1917). Their readings of the German philosopher amounted to a sort of ideological “package,” which subsequently experienced a series of adaptations and transformations during various phases of the Soviet regime—the Civil War, New Economic Policy (NEP), and the Stalinist period proper. The content of this package, which Rosenthal calls the Nietzschean agenda, included a new transfigurative myth, a belief in the capacity of the “new word” to change the world, the creation of new art forms, the crafting of a new man and woman, a new morality, a new politics, and a new science. Symbolists, religious philosophers, Marxists, and Futurists assimilated Nietzsche so intensively that, by 1920, reference to the

original source was no longer necessary: his ideas had completely penetrated thought patterns, and permitted apparently unlikely combinations such as Nietzschean Marxism and Nietzschean Christianity. The “Nietzschean agenda” subsequently made its appearance in V. I. Lenin’s will to power, Nikolai Bukharin’s indictment of the “imperialist predator-state,” Leon Trotsky’s defense of terror as well as, later, in the iconoclasm of the Cultural Revolution (1928–1931) and in Socialist Realism’s project to construct a new socialist universe to be inhabited by a new socialist man.

The paradox, of course, is that Nietzsche was officially persona non grata throughout the Soviet period. Practically the only example of traditional reception of ideas in the entire book after part one, and a fascinating one, is Moris Gavrilovich Leiteizen’s *Nietzsche and Finance Capital* (1928). Rosenthal reads Leiteizen’s text, which was endorsed by a preface by Anatoly Lunacharsky, as an indictment of fascism and, at the same time, an admonition that “if the Communists want to accomplish their goals, they must do what fascists are doing, even if such practices contradict Marxist ideals” (p. 262). The reading of Leiteizen points to two central premises of Rosenthal’s book. First, she perceives two diametrically opposed interpretations of Nietzsche emerging over the course of the twentieth century. Before World War I, Nietzsche was seen by radicals, including poets, painters, and philosophers, as a liberator; after the war, he was appropriated by the radical right and was used to justify oppressive and controlling regimes (p. 4). Second, if Adolf Hitler’s Germany explicitly exalted aspects of Nietzsche’s philosophy, it was in fact the Soviet Union, which officially rejected him, that actually realized the most brutal of his ideas, while hiding “behind a veil of socialist-humanist rhetoric” (p. 352). Thus, Nazism and Stalinism alike subverted the project of early twentieth-century liberal thinkers by taking literally “brutal and authoritarian statements that exponents of a ‘gentle,’ or a liberationist, Nietzsche perceive as symbolic or metaphoric” (p. 353). Stalinism represented the lie triumphant: the language of Marxism concealed the “hard” politics of Nietzsche while, like Nazism, disregarding “Nietzsche’s championing of personal integrity, generosity (the ‘bestowing virtue’), fidelity to one’s own values, magnanimity, truthfulness, a gracious ruling class, and his antimilitarist, anti-German and pro-Jewish statements” (p. 353).

Rosenthal’s opus follows two decades of immersion in Nietzsche’s reception in Russia (*Nietzsche in Russia* [1986]; *Nietzsche and Soviet Culture: Ally and Adversary* [1994]) and, before that, her pioneering work on the Russian Silver Age (*Dmitri Merezhkovsky and the Silver Age* [1975]). This new book is a significant work of intellectual history; it presents Russian art, poetry, philosophy, and politics through the prism of an original organizing idea. The caveats are obvious: certainly one should avoid reducing the “swirling cauldron of ideas” that was the Silver Age to the

thought of any single individual. The singular mixture of paganism and Christianity, to adduce just one example, owes at least as much to Sergei Trubetskoi (*Uchenie o Logose*) as to Nietzsche. The relevance of Nietzsche to Socialist Realism and the Stalin cult might appear stretched. Recent scholarship has tended to bring out the organic, rather than "hard" or mechanical aspects of Stalinism. Because of the difficulties associated with pronouncing Nietzsche's name in the USSR, Rosenthal often must rely on indirect evidence: how a given individual might have read Nietzsche, or how that individual absorbed ideas that s/he clearly did not read.

Yet, by the same token, Rosenthal is successful in persuading the as yet unconvinced that Soviet Communism cannot be reduced to Karl Marx. As Boris Groys, Richard Stites, Katerina Clark, Irina Gutkin and others have shown, a variety of ideas that include Russian populism, European decadence, and Christian motifs fed into Soviet ideology and practice. One is also well advised to avoid a teleological succession from modernism to Stalinism: the Silver Age pointed in a variety of directions, and the embodiment of some of its ideas in the Soviet regime was not the only possible outcome. In the meantime, Rosenthal's juxtaposition of the Nazi and Soviet regimes raises key questions that are all too often swept under the carpet. The book is not easy reading, but the author is constantly conscious of the need to be clear and comprehensible to readers outside the field of Russian history, and to contextualize her observations in a broader narrative.

CATHERINE EVTUHOV
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ERIC LOHR. *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I*. (Russian Research Center Studies, number 94.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 237. \$45.00.

Although the social, cultural, and political history of World War I has been widely studied by historians of Western Europe, it has only recently become a distinct area of research for historians of Russia and Eastern Europe. With the end of the Soviet Union, the Great War began to emerge from the shadow of the revolutions of 1917. Instead of analyzing it as a mere precursor to and trigger of revolutionary events, historians started to study the war in its own right, investigating topics such as violence, mobilization, refugees, memory, or nationalism. Eric Lohr's book is a welcome and thought-provoking contribution to this nascent field of historiography.

Based on extensive archival studies, Lohr argues that one type of Russian nationalism—the economic and demographic nationalization of the Russian Empire—was much stronger developed than historians have so far noticed. He reaches this conclusion by focusing on nationalizing practices as they were devel-

oped during the war. These practices were reflected in the campaign against enemy aliens, which was organized by Russian state officials, by the army, and by self-declared nationalists in editorial offices and newly formed organizations such as the Committee for the Fight against German Dominance. Unlike other countries, enemy subjects and naturalized immigrants of enemy nationality played a disproportionately prominent role in the economy, state administration, and the military of the Russian Empire. Germans in particular had settled in Russia in large numbers since the eighteenth century as peasant colonists, merchants, craftsmen, entrepreneurs, and technicians. Many of them, particularly from the Baltic provinces, had also entered Russian state service. Having lived in Russia for generations, these people tended to be politically conservative and loyal to the tsar. With the beginning of hostilities in 1914, however, they were increasingly seen as an "internal German threat."

The campaign against enemy aliens was conducted in several ways. It included popular violence against real or perceived "foreigners" (e.g. the Moscow riots of May 1915), the officially sanctioned expropriation of landholdings and businesses, the liquidation of foreign shareholdings, deportation, and forced migration. Initially, such measures were directed only against people holding passports of enemy countries, but soon they included naturalized immigrants, most ethnic minorities, especially Jews, and even Russians with foreign-sounding names. In order to prevent such confusion and uncontrollable outbursts of violence, the authorities tried to sort and categorize the population according to their status of citizenship. This proved to be an almost impossible task for local administrations. In January and December 1915, special laws were passed about the nationalization of enemy alien businesses. Foreign owners lost their companies and shares without or with only nominal compensation; foreign employees had to be fired. In February 1915, decrees regulated the expropriation of land belonging to enemy subjects and to Russian-subject German settlers. This process affected many areas, especially in the agriculturally rich western and southern borderlands. The expropriated land was to be given to deserving war veterans or landless Russian peasants.

Although the expropriation of businesses and land delighted Russian nationalists and entrepreneurs, who thus got rid of some of their strongest competitors, it also caused havoc in the economy and even led to diplomatic irritations. Several of the enemy subject companies were actually defense related, and their products were desperately needed by the military. Through their intensive and innovative farming methods, German colonists produced on average much higher yields than Russian peasants. When they heard about expropriations, they started to sell off their farms and stopped planting new crops. This contributed significantly to the grain shortages of 1916, which eventually led to the bread lines and revolutionary outbursts in February 1917. The campaign against

enemy aliens at times also hit foreigners from allied or neutral countries. The Singer Sewing and Manufacturing Company was one such example. When rumors spread that it was actually a German company and that its sophisticated system of market research, by which the main office gathered information about regional economic conditions from its local branches, was actually an espionage operation, more than 500 branches were searched and many of them closed down.

According to Lohr, the campaign against enemy aliens was the "most popular manifestation of Russian nationalism in the late imperial period" (p. 171). Considering that it was mostly conducted by army and state officials, this statement needs to be qualified somewhat. Outbursts of violence against foreigners during the war hardly reflected nationalist ideas but rather popular xenophobia. Both the official campaign and the popular response, however, did undermine social order and exacerbate ethnic conflicts. In that respect, Lohr has given us significant new insights into the end of the Russian Empire.

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DONALD J. RALEIGH. *Experiencing Russia's Civil War: Politics, Society, and Revolutionary Culture in Saratov, 1917–1922*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 438. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

The present volume is a follow-up to Donald J. Raleigh's *Revolution on the Volga: 1917 in Saratov* (1986). For Russian historiography, the years since its publication have witnessed a sea change; heretofore inaccessible Russian archives (as well as closed cities like Saratov) have been opened to foreigners for the first time, and no Western specialist has made better or more extensive use of the unprecedented opportunity than Raleigh.

Consistent with his earlier work, Raleigh's approach continues to emphasize local history and the experience "from below": that is, the lives of ordinary people in the provinces rather than the traditional focus on practitioners of high politics at the center. No other Western historian of Russia has developed a comparable degree of grounding and familiarity with a locality as Raleigh has done in Saratov. It shows in his subtle and comprehensive use of sources, from important new information about the decisive role of the populist Revolutionary Communist Party in the Bolshevik victory to unpublished eye-witness accounts of the Civil War experience as seen from a variety of local vantage points.

Raleigh is admirably candid about changes in his own views, notably regarding the supposedly more benign policies and practices of Leninist Bolshevism. He shows the full cost of the Communists' victory in Saratov Province during 1917–1922—for their ideals and for their workers' and peasants' constituency as well as for the new state order they were creating.

Already in 1918, with spontaneous uprisings against Soviet power occurring in Saratov, as elsewhere, local Bolshevik leaders were replaced by direct appointees from Moscow who quickly reestablished order and then continued coercive procedures to subordinate regional interests and needs to those of the center. The clear pattern of Bolshevik preoccupation with power and control at any cost leads the author to conclude that there was considerable continuity between tsarist and Communist political cultures—indeed, the latter was "more centralized, authoritarian, and bureaucratic" (p. 148).

Raleigh concedes that the first part of his book is a testament to the centrality of politics for the Civil War years in Saratov, but he insists that the second part is more about the "processes that invest social life with meaning" (p. 10). Following the examples of Mikhail Epstein and James C. Scott, he shows how workers and peasants devised many ways of resisting Soviet authority and draws useful distinctions between Bolshevik external versus internal language. The former was essentially propaganda intended for public consumption; it presented a sanitized vision of the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class besieged by an amorphous counterrevolutionary conspiracy. By contrast, the latter was relatively forthcoming in recognizing the fragility of local Soviet authority, and on occasion it went so far as to identify specific failures of Saratov's Bolsheviks, but never of the party line itself. Raleigh's explication of this internal language is one of the great strengths of his study.

Despite all the interesting and revealing details the author provides about life in Saratov under the exigencies of Bolshevik Civil War policies, how much does all his painstaking research change the conventional (that is, *political*) wisdom about what happened? The answer appears to me to be less than he claims. This is indeed a book for which the archives really matter, but more because it fleshes out with compelling detail the catastrophic consequences of Bolshevik Civil War policies in the provinces than because it changes our basic understanding. To be sure, it corrects major lacunae in the publications of such respected specialists as Orlando Figes, who altogether missed the presence of the Revolutionary Communists (RC). But Raleigh admits that the RC's naïve loyalty to Soviet power, while saving the day in 1919, earned them no exemption; as soon as the external peril passed, they were quickly decimated and absorbed by the hard-nosed Leninists, leaving virtually no trace of their influence. Vladimir Brovkin describes a similar trajectory for the left Mensheviks who were also "tolerated when necessary, and repressed when the Bolsheviks . . . had the upper hand" (p. 172).

Raleigh's overall conclusion is remarkably similar to the earlier political histories he excoriates: that the Bolsheviks made a workers' revolution not only in the absence of significant participation of workers but also without their support; indeed Communists treated the Russian provinces like "a *conquered country*" (p. 330).

This is a far cry from the more benevolent depiction of the social historians; indeed it comes perilously close to the views of Martin Malia and Richard Pipes. Even more damning, Raleigh also concludes that the "Soviet 1920s contained no real alternatives to a Stalinist-like system" (p. 409).

In sum, this book makes an outstanding contribution to scholarship through its exhaustive and shrewd examination of new archival materials. It also makes imaginative and original use of language and ideology as tools of historical interpretation. But I remain less convinced than Raleigh that there is a conflict between "top-down" and "bottom-up" history. It seems to me they are two equally valid and related ways of getting at the same truth.

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PAULA A. MICHAELS. *Curative Powers: Medicine and Empire in Stalin's Central Asia*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 239. \$34.95.

The Soviet government took great pride in bringing Western science and medicine to the "backward" peoples of the USSR, from Russian peasants to Arctic hunters. If primitive cultural customs were destroyed in the process of building communism, that was progress, not loss. As Paula A. Michaels argues, however, the Soviet destruction of traditional Kazakh customs and social structures through the discourse of scientific medicine had as much political as medical purpose. Convincing Kazakhs to abandon shamans, mullahs, and midwives in favor of Soviet-trained doctors meant the transfer of allegiance from old authorities to new. Michaels makes a good case that the political results of building a scientific medical system in Kazakhstan were more important to Moscow authorities than were the public health results.

Michaels is one of the first American historians to gain access to Kazakh archives and to study materials in Kazakh. She also interviewed a group of elderly Kazakhs in 1995. Unfortunately, despite an impressive bibliography, the book is much stronger on the discourse and politics of Soviet medicine from 1917 to the early 1950s than on the actual experiences of doctors and patients in the field. There is a hole where the center of the book should be.

Some of the gap is due to a frustrating lack of archival documentation. In the 1920s, the Soviets brought Western medicine to nomadic Kazakhs via "Red yurts," traveling felt structures housing medical staff and equipment. Among many other duties, the staff interviewed each patient about her or his health history. The records of these interviews could have been immensely valuable, but few have been preserved. Because most medical personnel were Slavs who spoke no Kazakh, and because they were perpetually over extended, systematic surveys of public

health in Kazakhstan were never done. The lack of reliable data makes it difficult for Michaels to do more than make general speculations about the long-term impact of Soviet medicine in Kazakhstan.

That said, there are many instances where the author has stories or information that could bring to life the human struggles at the core of a mass campaign such as this, but the information is relegated to endnotes or mentioned only in passing. For example Kazakhstan, especially outside the capital city Almaty, was not an appealing posting for most doctors. On occasion the Communist Party sent politically suspect doctors to Kazakhstan as punishment, a guarantee of poor morale. Some of these doctors treated their patients negligently, or committed malpractice because they were poorly trained or drunk on duty. Cases of malpractice could potentially have shed light on many aspects of ordinary medical practice in Kazakhstan, but Michaels packs them into one brief endnote with minimal comment.

Michaels chose to organize her book thematically rather than chronologically, which makes it difficult for the reader to get a good sense of the development of the system over time. The same key periods—the late 1920s, late 1930s, and late 1940s—are revisited under the topics of training Kazakh medical cadres, medical outreach to women, and biomedical propaganda. Aside from some inevitable repetition, this organization also makes it hard to see clearly how these subcomponents of the medical campaign intertwined at particular points in time.

The drawbacks of this thematic organization become glaring with Michaels's treatment of the devastating famine caused by Joseph Stalin's collectivization and sedentarization campaigns of 1932–1933. Kazakhs slaughtered their herds rather than turn them over to the state, spring sowing was massively disrupted, and officials in some areas withheld grain from starving peasants to save for seed, all at a cost of some 1.5 million Kazakh lives. Michaels refers to the disaster in most of her chapters but does not get around to discussing it in detail until the final chapter, which will confuse readers who are new to the topic. More puzzlingly, while mass starvation and accompanying disease was surely a public health crisis of huge proportions, Michaels does not discuss the famine as a public health crisis. If medical personnel in understaffed Red yurts struggled to help the victims, or saw their good work undone as collectivization destroyed Kazakhs' trust in the state, we do not read about it here. Michaels's scattered discussion of the famine does not add substantially to our knowledge of the crisis.

In general, the book shows signs of hasty preparation and a lack of attention to recent secondary literature, which is a pity.

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NIKOLAI V. SSORIN-CHAIKOV. *The Social Life of the State in Subarctic Siberia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 261. \$55.00.

To judge by its title, one might expect this book to deal with a broader topic than it actually does. This is no general study but instead a reworking of anthropologist Nikolai V. Ssorin-Chaikov's doctoral thesis, focused narrowly on the fieldwork that he conducted among the Evenki (Tungus) of the Podkamennaia Tunguska, a tributary of the Yenisei River. The resulting book is a useful contribution to the subfields of Siberian studies and anthropological research on the former Soviet Union. It loses much of its potential value, however, to the disproportionate emphasis that Ssorin-Chaikov places on the first half of his title.

As a graduate student in the former Soviet Union, Ssorin-Chaikov began with an interest in the question of which aspects of the native Siberians' traditional lifestyle had survived decades of modernization and Sovietization. As time passed, and as he immersed himself in Western scholarship and social-science theory, Ssorin-Chaikov shifted his attention to the more abstract question of "exactly how strong was Soviet-style statehood?" (p. 201)—a question that has intrigued many anthropologists working in contemporary Eastern Europe.

To study the relationship between Russia and Siberia has long been a useful means of examining how Russian and Soviet statehood functioned. For centuries, native Siberians have served as "arctic mirrors" (to use the title of Yuri Slezkine's 1994 monograph) in which Russians have perceived and defined themselves. In a process analogous to that outlined by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978), modern Russians constructed a powerful cultural dichotomy that opposed the native Siberian, a wild and stateless "other," to the "civilized," "sophisticated," and "advanced" Russian. Indeed, native Siberians have traditionally been considered by Russians to be the quintessence of primitiveness. Imposing statehood on Siberia, then, was commonly seen as the ultimate challenge to Russian/Soviet state efficacy.

Ssorin-Chaikov is concerned above all with how Russia and the USSR faced this challenge. He concludes that, paradoxically, it was the very weakness of Russian/Soviet institutions in peripheral regions like Siberia—where a "condition of perpetual disorder both defie[d] and invite[d] state intervention" (pp. 6–7)—that allowed the regime to assert itself. Ssorin-Chaikov also points out that the relationship between native Siberians and the Russian/Soviet state was more complex than is typically thought. The native Siberians were not two-dimensional victims, nor did they uniformly reject or resist everything Russian or Soviet. Ssorin-Chaikov's findings "illustrate the operation of 'the state' and 'the indigenous' not as fixed cultural domains but as relational identities whose boundaries are drawn differently in different social contexts" (p. 18).

Ssorin-Chaikov's conclusions are judicious and insightful. To his credit, he does not overstate their novelty. The main difficulty with the book is twofold. First, whereas his thoughts on the "social life of the state" could have been stated succinctly, Ssorin-Chaikov visits and revisits them from the perspective of almost every theoretical approach imaginable. Even by the standards of anthropological scholarship, Ssorin-Chaikov's reliance on theory is especially heavy, and his prose is more than unusually jargon laden. Whether all this helps Ssorin-Chaikov advance his arguments or simply serves as a ritual display of academic plumage is for the reader to decide.

Second, Ssorin-Chaikov's theoretical digressions, whatever their worth, cause him to deal less with Siberia and his own fieldwork on the Evenki. In his eagerness to display how skillfully he can juggle Antonio Gramsci, Mikhail Bakhtin, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, et al., Ssorin-Chaikov writes about key figures and events in elliptical fashion—forgetting, it seems, that not all his readers will be fully aware of their importance. To take one example: if one did not already know about the immense trauma caused to native Siberians by the Stalinist collectivization of reindeer, one would learn little about from Ssorin-Chaikov, who takes little trouble to contextualize it. The bibliography omits much recent scholarship on Siberia and the regions adjacent to it. Worst of all, the Evenki, crowded out by Ssorin-Chaikov's abstract concerns about statehood, are less present than this reader, at least, would have liked.

In short, this book contains a good deal of interesting scholarship. But it is packaged in less than ideal fashion, and its appeal is likely to be limited to Russian studies specialists and scholars interested in theories about statehood and the formation of social identities.

JOHN MCCANNON

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

KHALED ABOU EL FADL. *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law*. Reprint. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 391. \$70.00.

The starting point of this study of rebellion and violence in Islamic law is a statement of the commonly held belief that Islamic jurists were quietists, who upheld the rights even of unjust rulers against rebellion. The book does not entirely overturn this view. Indeed, the willingness of many jurists to accept that the basis of any ruler's authority is, ultimately, effective power makes the position difficult to refute entirely. What Khaled Abou El Fadl does is rather to analyze nuances in the discourse within each legal school to show how opinion was, in fact, more varied than it often appears to be on the surface, and that views could change with time and circumstances.

Abou El Fadl finds the material for his argument in the chapters on "rebels" (*bughah*) in legal manuals and

shows how jurists early on distinguished "rebellion" from simple violence. To qualify as rebels rather than as mere brigands, a group had, among other less important qualifications, to have a *ta'wil*. This is literally an "interpretation," meaning in general a "cause" but more precisely a plausible interpretation of Islamic religious texts. Such a group, in the doctrines of all the schools, qualified for milder treatment than brigands. In a series of opinions attributed to al-Shafi'i (d. 819), for example, it is forbidden to kill a rebel who has surrendered; and a loyalist who kills a fugitive rebel becomes liable for his blood. Nor is it permissible to take property found in the rebel camp as booty, and weapons captured from rebels may not be used against them. The precise rules on the treatment of rebels vary from school to school and from jurist to jurist, but the general rule is that "*baghy* ('rebellion') is not a term that connotes blame" (p. 242). Nonetheless, the general stance of the jurists before about the twelfth century was anti-rebel. This stance derived not so much from their support of authority per se as from the jurists' view of themselves as upholders of the legal order. From about the twelfth century, however, the author observes a tendency of jurists to rework classical concepts and vocabulary in order to legitimize rebellion against unjust rulers. This was especially pronounced in the Zaydi legal school. The "Zaydi jurists start out with the general principle that if the ruler is unjust rebellion is not only permissible but obligatory" (p. 305). Even here, however, the jurists qualify their position by proscribing rebellion when the chaos it causes outweighs the benefits.

The author takes a fairly conservative view of how the law on rebellion developed, finding its origins in the Qur'an, the Hadith, and in the troubled history of the early Islamic community. He emphatically rejects Norman Calder's revisionist views on textual development and the creation of tradition. I personally find the revisionist approach more convincing and consider it very likely that the "history" of early Islam developed largely from a need to provide justification for legal (and other) doctrines, rather than the other way round. This is, in the end, a matter of opinion. In some areas of established historical fact, however, the author makes a few slips. The Ottomans replaced the Mamluks in Egypt in 1517, not the Fatimids (p. 294). Sultan Abdülhamid II was not overthrown in 1876; 1876 was the year of his accession.

Beyond the immediate scope of his book, the author makes an important contribution to the current debate on whether Islamic law, after its formative period has been conservative or dynamic. Wael B. Hallaq and others have performed a service in dethroning the earlier orthodoxy that Islamic law after the ninth century was "sclerotic." In my view, however, the revisionists went too far in characterizing Islamic law as consistently innovative and dynamic. This book emphasizes the conservatism of the law and the strength of legal orthodoxy while showing that, within the constraints of their legal inheritance, jurists were

able to introduce at least nuances in doctrine, and very occasionally even to make radical changes. Abou El Fadl's book is not an easy read, but it is one that amply rewards the reader's effort.

COLIN IMBER

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WENDY M. K. SHAW. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 269. \$60.00.

The main purpose of Wendy M. K. Shaw's book is to follow the developmental trajectory of the museum as a part of the state institutional apparatus in the late Ottoman Empire, from its limited opening to public access in 1846, offering a limited display of armaments and antiquities, to its self-conscious renaming as "the Imperial Museum" in 1869, through its rapid expansion during the tenure of its first native-born director Osman Hamdi Bey in the years between 1881 and 1910 under the oversight of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). Two final chapters (pp. 184–216) treat developments in Ottoman museumship in its post-Abdülhamidian context to round out the coverage of one the book's principal themes, which relates to the purported connection between dominant trends in state ideology and the state's use of the museum institution to communicate and project its ruling priorities. Because of the separation and closure of that part of the museum which housed military artifacts by Abdülhamid in 1877 (which lasted until its reopening in its original location in 1910) Shaw is deprived of the opportunity to examine in a continuous time frame the part of the collection that holds greatest intrinsic interest for the investigation of the connection and relationship she has highlighted. By default, the book's coverage focuses primarily on the activities and priorities of the archaeological and, to a lesser extent, the Islamic arts sections of the museum. Although a state directive of 1889 detailing the institutional remit of the museum identified the Islamic arts section as one of its six principal organizational units (p. 172), it is perhaps indicative of the lack of connection between stated ideological purposes and the way the museum operated in practice that, regardless of Abdülhamid's association with pan-Islamist sympathizers, this part of the museum's collections only gained prominence after its removal to the Tiled Pavilion in 1908, at the very end of his sultanate (p. 210).

The main thrust of Shaw's argument is formulated in relation to Osman Hamdi Bey's directorship of the Imperial Museum, spanning three decades when, she asserts, "the growth of the imperial museum [can serve] as a barometer of Ottoman cultural self-perception and projection" (p. 97). She concludes that "with Osman Hamdi at the helm, the Imperial Museum developed from an almost arbitrarily assembled collec-

tion of antiquities into an institution capable of representing developing state ideologies" (p. 105).

Although it is certainly true that the Ottomans wished to take full credit for the preservation of cultural capital bequeathed to them from ancient Near Eastern and classical antiquity and to use it as a bargaining tool in its relations with foreign, especially aspiring neocolonial powers, the inferences Shaw draws about the use of the museum as a means for mobilizing, manipulating, and controlling domestic public opinion remain, at least for the Abdülhamidian period, somewhat doubtful. There are some telling indications, amply documented in the book, that for most of the period up to the *coup d'état* of 1908 antiquities continued to be viewed within a depoliticized (although not necessarily nonideological) framework reflecting the traditional governing values of the Ottoman state. In this unchanging context, the ruler had the undisputed right to possess or divest himself of all property (including cultural property) as he saw fit. Disposal of property or transfer of ownership was his exclusive prerogative, which he exercised to show his possession of an even more valuable asset than control over material property: the royal virtue of magnanimity. Indications that these traditions had a long afterlife that defied the logic of efficient deployment of antiquities to achieve the purposes of a "developing state ideology" are provided in examples supplied by Shaw that show considerable continuity of practice with essential disregard for either political change or the increasingly vociferous debate over ideological priorities that ensued during the post-1839 Tanzimat reform period. The first example of royal largesse relates to the 1838 gift by Sultan Mahmud II to the French king of some reliefs from Assos as "a gesture of friendship" (p. 72). Later we are told of Abdülhamid's use of antiquities as "items of barter" (p. 119) and his willingness in 1896 to grant exemptions to the existing export restrictions on antiquities "as a mark of friendship between the sultan and the Austrian monarch" (p. 180). Similarly, in 1898 on the occasion of the state visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II to Istanbul and in connection with high-level negotiations connected with the Baghdad railway project, the sultan demonstrated his willingness to "dispose of the material remains of ancient cultures in exchange for modern European technologies" (p. 133). What these examples show is that, so far as Ottoman attitudes in the mid to late nineteenth century were concerned, proprietary rights over cultural assets were transferable without doing any irreparable damage to the sultan's or the proto-national construct's sovereign dignity and that little symbolic, emotive, or ideological significance was in fact attached.

In its closing chapters focused on the period after 1908, the book does indicate a noticeable shift toward the conscious use of museum displays and pseudo-historical reenactment as propaganda tools whose utility as a means to stimulate mass mobilization and rally support for its war effort on multiple fronts the

government recognized. As a general thesis applied to the broader period beginning from 1846 and associated with a consistently orchestrated Ottoman effort to present and control, via the museum institution, the presentation and valuation of its own particular vision of the past grounded in ideological principles, the argument works less well. As Shaw herself points out, the museum catalogers studiously avoided any classificatory system for the antiquities collections that would imply a hierarchical value or progressive evolutionary significance to artistic remains linked with ancient cultures and civilizations. The attribution of value to cultural development associated with the pre-Islamic past of Anatolia was a uniquely post-Ottoman project connected with the ideological program of the empire's successor regime in republican Turkey after 1923.

In sum, one may say that Shaw's hypothesis is interesting, and the extent of her research and accumulation of data are impressive, but this book's periodization, analytical framework, and above all its historical contextualization are too static and simplistic to win the reader to wholehearted acceptance of its conclusions. One is left with the final impression that, despite having started from a perfectly reasonable premise, her tendency to overinterpret the evidence has led Shaw seriously to overstate her case concerning the ideological motives and underpinnings of Abdülhamid's cultural policies.

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SARAH SHIELDS. *Mosul Before Iraq: Like Bees Making Five-Sided Cells*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 278. \$22.95.

When the British government assumed administrative control of Iraq after the Great War, this was its appointed high commissioner's impression of the situation: "The population of Iraq exhibits widely divergent stages of evolution; it comprises different races and creeds . . . Its future prosperity depends on the ability of its leading men to encourage fusion and the capacity of its peoples to see advantage in the abandonment of ancient separatist prejudices, that there may arise out of the strong existing sense of local patriotism and local piety, a wider loyalty . . . prepared to subordinate the welfare of the group to the interests of the community as a whole." Almost prophetic, these words written more than eighty years ago can sum up the society that the United States has inherited on the cusp of Saddam Hussein's arrest. While Iraq dominates the daily news, most readers would be hard pressed to locate a spate of historical literature on the evolution of this pivotal Arab country. Despite its rich cultural heritage and geopolitical significance, Iraqi historiography on the Ottoman period remains almost

as barren as the desert terrain west of the Euphrates River. Sarah D. Shields's study of nineteenth-century Mosul, a province of the Ottoman Empire, begins to cultivate this space.

Focusing on trade and economic patterns, Shields considers the movement of goods and people, as well as the development of agriculture, in the nineteenth century. She argues that although Europe influenced trade patterns in Middle Eastern cities like Mosul, there was more to the story. She shows, through a reading of European texts and selected Ottoman documents, that regional trade was no less critical in providing goods and sustenance to the local community. Although Europe's economic influence was evidenced in the increased import of yarn, dye and tea, Mosul's relationship with Istanbul—for instance, changes in taxation and new centralization efforts—affected local economic trends more deeply.

Shields traces the economic policies of the Ottoman government as they influenced life in Mosul. By closing in on life in a particular province, Shields argues that "new policies were often not simply enforced and accepted, but instead were contested and adapted in Mosul" (p. 15). The sultan's decrees were not easily implemented in Mosul, as governors changed with some frequency. The population was at times less under threat from wars and political crises, and instead more susceptible to famines and scarcity of raw materials, on which peasants depended. The city embraced the comforts of modernity in fits and starts. "As late as the start of this century, donkeys carried water from the Tigris in animal skins" (pp. 71–72). Mosulis depended largely on wheat and meat in their diet, and women remained integral to the textile industry, particularly in the production of yarn. Shields contends that the local government did not fully enforce the Commercial Convention of 1838, and that "the growth of foreign trade did not devastate local manufacturing" (p. 122).

This book succeeds in revealing the complexity of economic forces and the collective will of the people shaping nineteenth-century Mosul. Yet the strengths of Shields's work also expose some of its weaknesses. One is left with the sense that her analysis has only begun to scratch the surface of life in that society. Although Shields uses some Ottoman sources, which no doubt enhance her analysis and display her breadth as a historian, the bulk of her study is still drawn largely from European material. Perhaps this dependence is to some extent inevitable, for, as Shields notes, the Ottomans did not always maintain their records with the same scrupulousness that contemporaneous European governments did. But one longs to hear more audibly the voices of local merchants and inhabitants, particularly since Shields has taken such pains to document their collective involvement in building Mosul's regional economy.

The discussion of economic life seems to occur in a political and cultural vacuum, the exception being her mention of the Tanzimat reforms. It is unclear from

her narrative how centralization began to take root in Mosul and how Mosulis tackled questions of identity. Moreover, despite the fact that the Ottomans spent much of the nineteenth century squabbling with Iran over the delineation of boundaries, Shields virtually ignores discussion of this turbulent frontier society in her analysis. This criticism, however, should not be directed at Shields alone, for Ottoman historiography in general has yet to consider seriously frontier politics with Iran.

Nonetheless, Shields offers a fresh glimpse of as well as a much-needed perspective on an Ottoman society in flux. Her scholarship expands our historical knowledge of a country that struggles to confront its past and to define itself in the present. In the end, though, one still hopes to understand how the Mosulis came "to subordinate the welfare of the group to the interests of the community as a whole."

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R. STEPHEN HUMPHREYS. *Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age*. Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xxii, 297. \$17.95.

Understanding modern Middle Eastern history depends on being able to perceive it as a new phase in the history of Islamic civilization, albeit a phase of intensified interaction with the outside world. Neither apocalyptic pronouncements about "clashing civilizations" nor analyses of contemporary issues in terms of exogenous problematics can substitute for critical, empathetic study of present reality as rooted in the Islamic past. This engaging book by a distinguished historian of early Islam widely experienced in teaching and publishing on all periods provides an invaluable guide to such understanding.

Challenging his readers, R. Stephen Humphreys reminds them that "they know a lot of things that aren't so" (p. 46). He critiques many false verities: that the Arab-Israeli conflict is "an age-old struggle" (p. 46); that Middle Eastern leaders are "madmen" (pp. 113–14); that *jihad* means "unending and unlimited Holy War against the infidel" (p. 174); that sharia law was "laid down in the Qur'an and in the authoritative teachings of Muhammad," changeless "from all eternity" (p. 230); that "Islamic feminism" is a contradiction in terms (p. 223). Anyone who teaches Middle Eastern history knows how hard it is to disabuse even young Americans of such prejudices. Humphreys offers help to readers still able to absorb new ideas.

He begins with hard conjunctural realities of the modern period: the impact of imperialism and the Arab-Israeli conflict; runaway demographic growth; the developmental consequences of dependence on commodity exports or protectionist import substitution; most regimes' authoritarianism, their autonomy in relation to society, and their shortfalls in policy implementation. Chapters three through five address

political issues. Humphreys analyzes the frustrations of pan-Arabism. Humphreys demolishes the “myth of the Middle East madman” (p. 83) through studies of how Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and Saddam Hussein managed particular crises. Particularly benefiting from Humphreys’s expertise in early Islamic history, his account of military dictatorship illuminates the modern character of recent military governments.

Islamic issues fill the second half of the book. Chapter six addresses religion and politics. While “no cliché is more deeply imbedded in Western thought” than that Islam makes “no distinction between religion and politics” (p. 131), variable divisions of labor have historically prevailed between custodians of religious truth and wielders of state power. Three “paradigms of political action” (p. 138) have resulted: mutual indifference, state efforts to control religion, or religious bids to control the state, bids whose success—as in Iran—recreates the second alternative (p. 142). Whether by carrot or stick, government control of religion has been more common than is often supposed. Still, the dependence of political legitimation on fulfillment of prevailing values makes Islamic prescriptions for government dangerous to ignore. Chapter seven accordingly addresses “Islam as a Political System.” The Qur’an contains almost no “explicit instructions” on how to organize a government (p. 149); yet a “distinctively Islamic system of politics” emerged “out of concrete historical experience” (p. 161). Central to modern political thought have been efforts to replace Islamically dubious monarchies with constitutional governments adapted to sharia norms.

The last three chapters address key questions for any Islamic construction of modernity. Chapter eight examines *jihad*, emphasizing its range of meanings and its coexistence with Qur’anic injunctions that made pious quietism the historical norm. The sense of Islam beset by enemies—not only the “United States in league with Zionism to humiliate . . . the Muslims,” but most dangerously “the corrupt tyrants at home” (p. 200)—motivates militants and commands wide assent. However, the militants’ skill in “seizing the podium” only obscures the question of “what the Islamic movement means to the bulk of its adherents” (p. 203). Approaching women’s issues through biographical examples, chapter nine examines the coexistence of patriarchal sharia norms and “spiritual equality” (p. 213); here more might be said about the range of Muslim women’s activism, from secularist reformism to efforts to establish Islamist women’s authority in religio-legal scholarship. Chapter ten addresses Islam and human rights, emphasizing the “exotic” nature of the “sovereignty of the individual” and the need to ask “whether there are other grounds for human rights” (p. 227) and then discussing Fazlur Rahman’s thought as one way to reconcile God’s sovereignty with democracy (pp. 253–58).

In the Middle East, imperialism, decolonization, and globalization produced sociodemographic, economic,

and cultural complications resembling those noted elsewhere in the developing world, only aggravated by the Arab-Israeli conflict. To understand how the region’s history conditions its response to these modern complexities, no one book excels this one.

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JEAN-CHRISTOPHE ATTIAS and ESTHER BENBASSA. *Israel, the Impossible Land*. Translated by SUSAN EMANUEL. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 294. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.95.

National movements arising out of colonial settlements are not unprecedented phenomena. Zionism, however, was unique in basing its colonial project on powerful collective memories of a land from which its national community had been exiled. The enterprise of reconstituting the far-flung Jewish people in their ancient home involved at once the construction of a nation and the transformation of the historical memory of the land into reality.

Jean-Christophe Attias and Esther Benbassa have written an elegant and erudite book demonstrating the complex relationship to the land of Israel throughout Jewish history. Ably translated from the French by Susan Emanuel, this work definitively replaces all previous histories of its sort. The authors start on a personal note: one has come to the subject via the Jewish textual tradition, the other via direct personal contact with the land. Their biographies capture the major theme of the book: the tension between realms of the imagination and of reality. The authors are keenly aware of the fact that Jewish collective memory stems from a library of texts, but they are committed to not confusing these texts—written typically by a male literary elite—with lived experience. Thus, the longing for the land expressed in medieval Spanish Jewish poetry, for example, remained largely literary, since few Jews actually undertook to emigrate there. Indeed, more typical than emigration was identification of one’s own land with the Holy Land: geographical names from the Bible were transplanted to Europe, and many communities spoke of their major cities as, for example, “the Jerusalem of Lithuania.” This appropriation of names involved an exquisite paradox: the more one thought of the land, the more one actually forgot it.

Indeed, this study is characterized through and through by an attention to paradox and ambiguity. In the Bible itself one finds contradictory attitudes toward the land. The ancient Israelites always come from elsewhere, whether Mesopotamia or Egypt. They are strangers in the land promised to them and they must acquire the land, either by force or by purchase. The moment Abraham arrives, he leaves for Egypt. Exile is always bound up with the land, either as a reality or as a threat. The people’s history is of nomadism, but they are not essentially nomads. So, too, their religion has a

nomadic character, for their god can be worshipped anywhere, but this god also demands a home in the form of a temple in Jerusalem. Finally, the land itself has no fixed borders; their very fluidity is a biblical legacy that continues to trouble the world today.

Although Christianity was to designate the land of Israel as the Holy Land, the Bible itself scarcely uses such terminology. No doubt, the land has sanctity, but it is a conditional sanctity that depends on the behavior of its inhabitants. The ancient Canaanites—and it is their name that designates the land in the Bible—lose the land because of their sins, but also as a warning to Israel of the same fate. Here is another paradox: God's promise of the land is eternal, but also conditional.

Attias and Benbassa trace similar ambiguities from the postbiblical period into the Middle Ages and modernity. With the destruction of the Second Temple, the rabbis substituted prayer for sacrifice, thus reviving the portability of the religion. But the prayers themselves contained the hope for the restoration of sacrifice, and, thus, of the land itself. Zionism made real the imagined land, but instead of erasing the old tensions between exile and return, it transplanted them into a modern nation state. The contemporary issues facing the state of Israel—contested possession, ambiguous borders, and the persistent threat of exile—are uncannily similar to those of the Bible. The conflict with the Palestinians is not only political but also religious, historical, and, above all, imaginary. The authors conclude with an appeal to the real: "The sacred cannot be divided. The land can."

Attias and Benbassa are acutely aware of the way their subject has been mobilized for political purposes, especially by Zionist historians, and they generally avoid taking sides by describing, rather than endorsing, the different uses of historiography. Occasionally, though, in their desire to debunk such myths, they advance questionable opposing conclusions. Thus, David Ben Gurion's ideological claim that most of the ancient tribes of Israel never went down to Egypt prefigures what has become a consensus among biblical scholars. Similarly, Ben Zion Dinur's argument—also ideological—that only the Muslim conquest of the land in the seventh century effectively banished the Jewish population is probably correct (the pseudepigraphic seventh-century apocalypse, *Sefer Zerubavel*, suggests that there was a significant Jewish population in Palestine on the eve of the Muslim conquest).

Such debatable propositions do not subtract from the authors' considerable achievement. Although they correctly say that all of Jewish history can scarcely be reduced to the question of the relationship of the Jews to their ancient land, one could do worse than start with this book as an excellent introduction to that larger subject.

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HEATHER J. SHARKEY. *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. (Colonialisms, number 3.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 232. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

This book focuses on a group of northern Sudanese men who were educated in an elite colonial institution, Gordon College, between 1902 and 1929. Recruited into the colonial administration, these graduates, Heather J. Sharkey argues, both made colonial administration practically possible and, as a result of their educational and work experiences, became the Sudan's first nationalists: that is to say, the first to articulate the belief that "colonial borders enclosed a community of people who shared a heritage and a political destiny" (p. 3).

Sharkey's study analyzes the formation, nature, and writings of this colonial elite. Chapter three describes the British public school ethos inculcated in the students of Gordon College through discipline, hygiene, sports (soccer), public debate, and civic engagement. Chapter four periodizes the process by which Gordon College graduates, between 1914 and 1956, rose to the top of the administrative hierarchy as they profited, apart from the colonial administration's preference for less expensive employees, from British fears of nationalist agitation by expatriate Egyptian officials and, after 1940, from the circumstances of war and the process of decolonization.

If Sharkey ever accomplishes her goal of presenting colonialism "as a practice of everyday life," it is in chapter five. Using the personnel files and Arabic writings of this elite, she sketches them as a convivial, witty, intellectual, and politically engaged group whose members deeply resented the curtailment of their professional and political ambitions by the colonial presence. Chapter six analyzes the nationalist content of their ideas and actions: how they used their positions in the administration to produce and disseminate nationalist pamphlets, eavesdrop on British officials, and connect with each other and with Egyptian nationalists. In their writings, they articulated a national communal identity conceptualized in the—given the diversity of Sudan's peoples—narrow and exclusive terms of Arab descent and Islamic heritage.

The problems of this book lie in the ways Sharkey framed it. At one level, she broadens her canvas unnecessarily to include a wider, comparative colonial perspective that does not elucidate the Sudanese case (or vice versa). By creating the impression that her book is a broad study of Sudanese nationalism, Sharkey both misleads her reader and leaves large holes in her argument. For a study of Sudanese nationalism, Sharkey's canvas is unforgivably narrow. If colonial rule, with its new political boundaries, frames of reference, and technologies, was such a formative influence on Sudanese nationalism, why do the sixty-five years of Turco-Egyptian colonial rule remain unanalyzed? And what was the impact on Sudanese

nationalism of the Mahdist state, which resulted from an anticolonial *jihād* and, in its attempts to unify large regions in the north and south into one state administration, built on the Turco-Egyptian legacy? Moreover, if Sharkey's insight that the British did not create the northern, "Arab," and Muslim middle class from which they recruited their elite collaborators is correct, then the historical emergence of this class (as analyzed, for example, by Jay Spaulding in *The Heroic Age of Sinnar* (1985) and Anders J. Bjorkelo in *Prelude to the Mahdiyya: Peasants and Traders in the Shendi Region, 1821–1881* [1989]) is essential to an understanding of the form Sudanese nationalism took. Sharkey's failure to ground her study in the historiography of the Sudan is a serious flaw.

Even within the time frame of the study, the subject matter is inadequately contextualized. Sharkey presents Sudan's early nationalists as synonymous with the Gordon College graduates. Sudan's early nationalists, however, also included educated Sudanese who were schooled in the Islamic tradition or trained in the south, as well as graduates from other elite and nonelite colonial institutions such as the Khartoum Military School (which incidentally produced the leader of the nationalist uprising of 1924). And what about Sudanese military personnel, urban artisans, and workers who were involved in this uprising? Does the fact that the Gordon College graduates were the first to articulate their concepts of nationalism in print mean that they were the only early nationalists and that their ideas were representative of all conceptualizations of the nation in this period? Had Sharkey resisted the temptation to present her story of the graduates as a history of early nationalism broadly construed, and had she related her study more explicitly to the existing historiography on that topic, she might have been able to see and interpret the gaps between the graduates' articulation of nationalism and wider nationalist thought and feeling. Nevertheless, this book tells the important story of the graduates well.

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BAHRU ZEWDE. *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*. (Eastern African Studies.) London: James Currey; Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press; and Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 228 \$49.95.

In this book, Bahru Zewde masterfully displays his skills as an intellectual historian. Rather than concentrate on the biographies of individuals, Zewde accepts the challenge of telling the stories of two whole sets of Ethiopian intellectuals in the first four decades of the twentieth century. He is concerned not only with examining the public careers of his subjects but also with gaining insight into their ideas and their political and social impact as a group.

Zewde identifies two generations of Ethiopian intellectuals. The first generation was characterized by their early education in Coptic Christian traditional schools, their later acquisition of facility in one or another European language, and an understanding of particular European cultures. They came from well-to-do or noble families, were the protégés of Emperor Menelik or Ras Makonnen, were the graduates of the first modern school (Menilik II School), or were self-educated. By far, the last was the largest group among them.

The Tafari Makonnen School was an alternative to the Coptic-dominated Menilik II School. Ras Tafari Makonnen established this school. Zewde argues that Tafari was determined to outdo his predecessor, and to push the modernization process much further and faster than Menilik had ever envisioned. At the same time, like Menilik, Tafari was uncomfortable with Ethiopian intellectuals who were not steeped in traditional values and practices. He preferred to seek the advice of intellectuals who openly demonstrated their loyalty and deference to him. Tafari Makonnen School became the alma mater of some members of the second generation. There was also a systematic attempt on the part of Emperor Haile Sellassie to send students abroad for higher education. Initially the preferred destination was France, but later Britain and the United States came into the picture. However, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that Ethiopian students were sent in numbers to the United States. This wave of students comprised the Muskingum group (those educated at a Presbyterian college in Ohio) and students enrolled at various colleges on the east coast.

While Zewde's profiles of the two generations of Ethiopian intellectuals are interesting and important, they are also somewhat uneven. Some individuals are accorded several pages and others only a short paragraph. The most interesting parts of the book are chapters five to seven. These are organized around themes, and the author discusses the intellectuals introduced in previous chapters in a more comparative and analytical way. Zewde does a remarkable job of analyzing the rich literary material produced by his subjects, some in the form of books and other creative works and others in the pages of the *Berhanena Salam* weekly. The portrait presented is that of a group of modernizing intellectuals who attempted, directly and indirectly, to prod the aristocracy to modernize Ethiopia. This contrasts sharply with the radical intellectual critique that emerged in the 1960s. Zewde notes that when the Italian fascists occupied Ethiopia in 1936, many of the first generation intellectuals went into exile, and many of the second generation joined the Black Lion resistance group. Following an attempted assassination of the Italian General Graziani, almost the entire second generation was wiped out in retribution. This created a gap that was never quite filled again by politically articulate and goal-oriented intellectuals loyal to the crown and the country. Fol-

lowing 1941, Ethiopian intellectuals, until the early 1960s, instead turned their attention to broadening and deepening the arts and culture of Ethiopia.

In the end, Zewde laments that he is not able to show a clear connection between the ideas and careers of the intellectuals and their social and political impact. Perhaps this is due to the constraints of operating within a modernizing bureaucratic empire that preserves important residues of traditional values and practices. Nevertheless, this splendid history is well worth attention of serious students of Ethiopian and African intellectual history.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

PAUL S. LANDAU and DEBORAH D. KASPIN, editors. *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 380. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

In her contribution to this important collection of essays, anthropologist Hudita Nura Mustafa explores the practice of popular photography in Dakar, the capital of Senegal. Struck by the ubiquity of stylized portrait photographs and elegant photograph albums in residences in Dakar, Mustafa set out to recover the history of this phenomenon. During the first decades of the twentieth century, European photographers, based in the key towns, produced a huge archive of images that, typical of imperial genres, conveyed the "progress" of colonial rule in scenes of public works and categorized and romanticized African peoples through pictures of exoticized African—especially female—"types." But from the 1920s, independent African photographers pioneered a profession and a business that persists to the present day in the face of extreme economic hardship. Although a great deal has been written about the ways in which Europeans constructed African peoples and cultures through text and imagery, there is little research on local portrait photography, notwithstanding its enormous popularity not only in Senegal but across Africa. Perhaps that lack of attention reflects, as Mustafa suggests, a tendency to regard these formal and posed images of stiff and elegantly dressed women and men as artifacts of colonial and postcolonial domination. But as her essay demonstrates, these portraits represent self-conscious and "deliberate performance of the self" (p. 188) that collectively comprise crucial personal or family cultural capital. Whether photos and albums sadly document a lost period of family affluence or celebrate sophistication and style, they reflect a distinctive perspective (even as they may incorporate local readings of international film or television styles).

Just such a focus on the active qualities of images in African societies is what sets this collection of essays

apart. Whether posed photographs, Hollywood films, or locally produced works of art, Africans inscribe and reinscribe meanings and characteristics to these images in a continuing process that is quite at odds with the "objective" Western gaze. Editors Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin have brought together twelve essays by scholars from various disciplines, linked by their interest in the intersection of visual representation, anthropology, and history. The topics range from Congolese comics and editorial cartoons to the reception of popular film; from the imagery of the Mami Wata (mother of waters) spirits to imperial exhibitions and other forms of colonial representation; and from the production of local art to the examination of grave sites and burial practices in South Africa. Each of the essays makes an important contribution, even if several seem somewhat removed from the critical themes articulated by the editors. Nevertheless, if a number of the contributors do little more than traverse the relatively familiar territory of the colonial (mis)representation of African cultures and societies, most see that banal reality as merely a starting point to understanding the complex and contentious processes through which images were produced and invested and reinvested with meanings—and how those active meanings operate in the lives of individuals and communities.

What ultimately makes this book such an important resource for debates around the interplay between colonialism/postcolonialism and imagery, however, is the remarkable work done by the two editors in identifying and developing some of the key issues related to visuality in Africa and linking these issues to the critical descriptive and theoretical scholarship on these and related questions. In a remarkably wide-ranging, if occasionally challenging, forty-page introduction, Landau makes an important theoretical contribution to the field. His introduction, together with the briefer conclusion by Kaspin, begins not with the specific contents of the collection but with the topic: the problem of visuality in colonial and postcolonial societies. In these two essays, Landau and Kaspin display an impressive grasp of the sprawling scholarship related to the subject (including incisive references to the chapters in this book) as they develop an original and stimulating interpretive perspective. The collection originated in a conference that the editors organized at Yale University in early 1997, but there is no sense that the work is stale. On the contrary, the time that elapsed is reflected in the density of the arguments developed by the editors and their deep reading in the field (the citations to Landau's essay alone make it enormously valuable).

Landau and Kaspin began with a shared premise that colonial discourse studies did not account sufficiently for the roles that Africans played in shaping their own histories. Landau builds his arguments around the idea that "people use images to draw together previously inchoate social meanings from their *own* societies, and then . . . use them to 'recog-

nize' people from *other* societies" (p. 2). Resisting simple dualities between colonizer and colonized, he explores the "amazing distance" that often exists between those who generate images and those who consume them. In doing so, Landau invokes both the enormous distances and complex routes of transmission involved and the capacity of images to amaze—to have powerful properties. Kaspin pursues the contradictory imperial premises that Africans were at once intoxicated by images and incapable of interpreting them correctly, an issue examined by Timothy Burke in his chapter on the production and reception of film and print imagery in Zimbabwe. As Burke points out, it is too easy (as many scholars have done) to dismiss tales of African misinterpretation of media images as comical products of European racial assumptions. Landau's "amazing distance" does in fact produce diverse constructions of image meanings that in turn reinvest images with new meanings or result in the production of new images. This critical point is elaborated by Kaspin who, referring to the work of anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, draws attention to the close interrelationship between reproduction and transformation in the transmission and reception of images.

Visuality represents a powerful and increasingly important subject area for historians, particularly historians of Africa. This fascinating and insightful book is bound to stimulate both theoretical debate and research, but those scholars who pursue the subject will find it no easy task to match the breadth and sophistication that Landau and Kaspin have brought to their work.

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OSAAK A. OLUMWULLAH. *Dis-Ease in the Colonial State: Medicine, Society, and Social Change among the AbaNyole of Western Kenya*. (Contributions in Medical Studies, number 47.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. x, 323. \$64.95.

In this book, Osaak A. Olumwullah investigates the linkages among disease, medicine, and the building of colonial state institutions. For the colonizers, Africans became "the diseased awaiting their cure" by Europeans, who had to pacify them in order to cure them. After World War II, the object was no longer to cure Africans but to intervene through public health to prevent disease. Africans responded to biomedical interventions by resisting, accommodating, participating, and appropriating them. Biomedicine was a fundamental part of the colonial project that challenged and undermined African attitudes toward disease, health, and medicine. Rather than ask why the AbaNyole suffered from certain diseases, Olumwullah asks how they came to terms with the diseases and the meaning of health, life, and death in the context of the newly introduced biomedicine, hospitals, Western education, and Christianity. To the AbaNyole, diseases

were more than a source of contagion, decimation of the workforce, or an impetus for social reform. Diseases were an important part of the constitution of the colonial order. Olumwullah then shows how the 'Nyole produced their own medical knowledge, how imperialism in turn constituted "Africa as patient," and how 'Nyole healing practices evolved in response to the colonial intervention. The 'Nyole came to view disease as a disruption of the social order that necessitated social action to restore the proper balance. 'Nyole views clashed with Christian ideas of healing and medicine and the colonial state's biomedical, medical, and public health policies.

Through the "word of God" and biomedicine, Christian missionaries attempted to heal souls and bodies at once. The missionaries argued that the church and biomedicine alone could save the 'Nyole from the famines and epidemics that followed the dislocations of World War I and could prevent such ills in the future. The 'Nyole responded by reworking myths and rumors to undermine the imagined superior powers of the missionaries and the biomedical practitioners. Rumors grew into narratives that anticipated and explained what the colonial state was about and that revealed anxiety about the contradictory forms of medical therapy within 'Nyole society. The colonial state attempted to create counternarratives that defined diseases according to their differential incidence in whites and Africans, with Africans being "patients" and Africa being "nature" awaiting biomedical intervention.

Olumwullah argues that the introduction of biomedicine in the context of colonial social relations exacerbated existing tensions in gender roles. For 'Nyole men, 'Nyole women were the source of misfortune. In the first years of colonial rule, the authorities ruled through "chiefs" and relied on them to give legitimacy to the new colonial government. The chiefs mediated in matters of personal status: marriage, divorce, child custody, and inheritance. Later, when colonial medical authorities ruled more directly, they focused on the home and taught women kitchen gardening, knitting, nutrition, hygiene, and child-raising skills. In focusing on women's roles in homemaking, they perhaps intentionally bestowed status on women and undermined men's paternal authority. For 'Nyole men, women and the home were now under the jurisdiction of the colonial authorities rather than themselves.

Olumwullah worked in the Kenya National Archives and the Western Kenya Regional Archives, and between September 1992 and February 1993 he interviewed persons who had experienced epidemic and endemic diseases or who were conversant with the 'Nyole, missionaries, or colonial responses to them. His research assistants, AbaNyole graduates of Moi University, conducted the interviews in Olunyole or Kiswahili. English was occasionally but rarely used, which I take to be a plus. He also gained information on conflicting ideas of disease classification and causation and attitudes toward healing from the life

histories of African therapeutic and biomedical practitioners and their patients.

This book is richly textured, full of fascinating insights and detail, and is well organized, with each chapter containing a brief concluding statement. There is no overall conclusion, but the epilogue restates the major themes of the book. The author concludes that the importance of biomedicine in the fight against disease and in the colonial political structure lay partly in its use of African bodies as vehicles for defining and understanding the colonized "other" and partly in its use as a cultural tool for colonial domination. Efficacy does not come into the story very much, although at times the reader may wonder if certain medical interventions worked better than others. Despite the use of personal histories, individual African, missionary, and colonial medical practitioners do not come to life to illustrate the anxieties, uncertainties, and tensions in the rapidly changing social order. But this does not detract from the overall importance of Olumwullah's impressive book. It is pioneering in its use of AbaNyole oral testimonies, local archival sources, primary and secondary historical studies, and postcolonial theory; there is nothing quite like it.

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THADDEUS SUNSERI. *Vilimani: Labor Migration and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania*. (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2002. Pp. xxxvi, 223. \$24.00.

No period in African history is more worthy of intense review and deeper research than the years from 1900 to 1914, the time span covered by Thaddeus Sunseri's book. It was an era during which the colonial situation crystallized through the construction of major transport facilities, implementation of colonial policies aimed at enlarging colonial export economies, and diverse measures to harness scarce labor on commercial plantations, colonial settler estates, and in peasant production. Cotton production for metropolitan textile factories often dominated the metropolitan rhetoric and galvanized investment in captive territories. German East Africa was no exception. The book's title suggests the perspective of Africans on the labor history in this era that Sunseri seeks to employ. *Vilimani* is a Kiswahili word of location, indicating either a place in the hills, implicitly remote, perhaps newly pioneered, or at the coast, the destination of migrant labor. As its subtitle indicates, the book examines the consequences of a twofold movement, dispersal of homesteads away from concentrated settlements and the exodus of male labor to join the wage labor force. Portions of the work will be familiar to specialists who know Sunseri's admirable articles and chapters in essay collections.

Contrary to many newer treatments of the early colonial period that amalgamate oral and documentary

materials, this book is based almost exclusively on written records of official and missionary provenance. Sunseri draws as well on the abundant German-language publications from the period. Certainly his bibliography is impressive, indicating the many repositories in Germany where colonial archives and publications are lodged. Of crucial importance for his view were the Moravian archives at Herrnhut for Unyamwezi in western Tanzania, the most famous source area of mobile workers, and the Berlin Mission records for Dar es Salaam and Uzaramo. The German records in the Tanzania National Archives were also used. Yet the author's diligence with regard to German-language materials is not, alas, matched by historiographical thoroughness, leading Sunseri to exaggerate the neglect of his chosen period and processes. In overlooking the holdings of the East Africana collections of the University of Dar es Salaam, he missed a number of relevant works, theses and publications that reflect postindependence research and analyses of the German period in Tanzania.

The two historians whose works receive attention (rightly so, given that they, too, are deeply invested in the period between 1900 and 1914) are John Iliffe and Juhani Koponen. Sunseri faults Iliffe's certitude that the German administration, under its last governor, Heinrich Schnee (1911–1914), was yielding to white settler political control. The German administration was above all a bureaucratic regime with a longstanding and never effectively challenged sense of its own power. Sunseri criticizes Koponen's treatment of German development policy as too deterministic in privileging technical applications. He concludes that peasants' aspirations and effective strategies ran counter to colonial designs. Comparison would help here, as elsewhere. Future historians would do well to reflect on the contradictions laid out by John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman for neighboring Kenya.

Sunseri's interpretation of labor history in Tanzania before World War I stresses gender, especially foregrounding women's capacity to protest and resist the exactions of African chiefs and other local authorities who combined self-interest with the necessity of mediating colonial demands. He recounts one vociferous demonstration by Zaramo women who, forced to assume normatively male burdens, dressed as men. Women in various guises danced their discontents in this period, and we must appreciate these additions to the catalog. More evidence and careful conceptualization of changing gender relations will be required, however, if we are to grasp the moral economies, domestic orders, and patriarchal authorities in this time of dispersal and withdrawal of males seeking wage labor.

German cotton colonialism looms large in this volume. As Sunseri affirms, the German regime turned to peasant producers rather than lending support to the struggling commercial cotton plantations, and stepped back from the forced village production and levies of cotton or other produce that had contributed to the

outbreak of the Maji Maji War in 1905. There are illuminating discussions of specific cotton plantations. Of the two focal areas of labor supply, Unyamwezi fades away, while rural Uzaramo and the Rufiji District sustain the narrative. Here, relatively near the capital, the departure point of the cross-colony railway line whose construction began in 1905, is a significant urban and agrarian complex inviting further attention. With Sunseri's command of the sources and strong commitment, he is just the historian to deliver it.

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TONY CHAFER. *The End of Empire in French West Africa: France's Successful Decolonization?* New York: Berg. 2002. Pp. xviii, 264. Cloth \$68.00, paper \$22.50.

In sweeping surveys of the history of decolonization, the situation in former French West Africa is generally lightly treated. Unlike the brutal disengagement from empire in Indochina and Algeria, the French withdrawal from West Africa seems to have been largely friendly, well prepared, and executed with the warm acquiescence of the French. Tony Chafer has written this book to prove otherwise, and he succeeds.

Chafer offers the reader a detailed account of the divergent interests and complicated policies that led to the emergence of eight nation states from a loosely bundled French West African Federation. After a brief effort at the end of World War II to redefine the colonial relationship between metropole in Europe and federation in West Africa, within the context of the new and short-lived French Union, there appeared what Chafer calls "assimilationist nationalism," decolonization that was intended to take place within the framework of the French Union.

Decolonization, often simply defined as the process by which national independence was achieved, is in "assimilationist nationalism" seen as an internal development in which African critics insisted that the advantages enjoyed by the French should be granted to the indigenous population as well. In simple terms, equity was desired and was to be achieved through educational reform, implementation of comparable wage and salary compensation, and democratically based political representation.

With a wary eye on both French domestic politics and an international climate quite disadvantageous to France, Chafer pays special attention to the particular difficulties of the devolution of French authority through the federal government in Dakar and to the

territorial governments, these latter competing for further concessions and seeking to bypass the federal authority. In the competition, a push-pull between political centers, personalities were generally more significant than principle; it was more compelling to negotiate directly with Paris than to do so indirectly through Dakar. The territories, not the federal government, thus became the primary agencies through which change took place. Chafer acknowledges the irony of the move of the Grand Council of the French West African Federation into its new assembly hall in Dakar just as the federation lost all meaning, in 1957. As the new president of the Fifth Republic, Charles de Gaulle recognized necessity and gave territories the choice between autonomy in what was now called the Community or independence. They chose the later.

Chapter four is the best of the book, weaving into an easily appreciated pattern the role of the trade unions and student and youth organizations in the building of nationalist movements. These developments, neither ignored nor emphasized by other writers, are here shown in their significance and stand as proof that the imagined genial relationship between the French and the Africans was often otherwise.

Chafer's success is less the result of his use of archival evidence recently made available than of the synthesis and refinement of interpretations found in a long list of studies on French colonial devolution. In his brisk and effective conclusion—one that surely will be anthologized—the author warns against considering decolonization as a process, as the logical conclusion (*aboutissement*, in de Gaulle's term) of policy agreed upon.

This book, carefully constructed on assertions well supported, merited closer editing in order to avoid the often bumpy narrative. Some chapters end with a section subtitled "Conclusion"; others do not. The trinominality of causes or effects, joined by the age-worn "on the one hand/on the other hand," appears too frequently and with no positive effect. Dangling modifiers add to the problem. I mention these infelicities as an expression of regret that a good book could have been made even better with a little effort.

Nonetheless, Chafer provides us with a carefully argued, corrective account of the factors leading to the decolonization of a major chunk of France's colonial empire.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

CHRISTIAN HESSE *et al.*, editors. *Personen der Geschichte, Geschichte der Personen: Studien zur Kreuzzugs-, Sozial- und Bildungsgeschichte; Festschrift für Rainer Christoph Schwinges zum 60. Geburtstag*. Basel: Schwabe & Co. 2003. Pp. xvi, 500. €40.50.

ROLAND GERBER, Das Ringen um die Macht: Die Berner Ratsgeschlechter am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts. HANS BRAUN, Heimliche Pensionen und verbotener Reiselauf: Die Prozesse vom Sommer 1513 im Spiegel von Verhörprotokollen aus dem Berner Staatsarchiv. GUY P. MARCHAL, Hetzels Marter und Tod: Frühe Texte der Empathie. BARBARA STUDER, Die Augustinerinnen von Interlaken: Ein vergessenes Frauenkloster im Berner Oberland. WERNER MEYER, Wetterzauber gegen Bern: Bemerkungen zu einer Textstelle in Conrad Justingers Berner Chronik. OLIVER LANDOLT, *Wider christenlich ordnung und kriegsbruch*: Kriegsverbrechen in der spätmittelalterlichen Eidgenossenschaft. ARNOLD and DORIS ESCH, Schweizer in Rom 1820–1870 im Spiegel des Kirchenbuchs der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde. KRISTINA ISACSON and BRUNO KOCH, Losziehen und Los ziehen: Ein Vergleich zwischen Migration und Mobilität im spätmittelalterlichen Zürich anhand von Bürgerbuch und Glückshafenrodel. PETER BLICKLE, "Pfarrkirchenbürger"? HANS-JÖRG GILOMEN, Städtische Anleihen im Spätmittelalter: Leibrenten und Wiederkaufsrenten. BÉLA MARANI-MORAVOVÁ, Die Stadtschreiber von Königgrätz, 1580–1620. URS MARTIN ZAHND, *Min allerliebster unn früntlicher, erlicher unn frommer gemachel*: Ehegatten in spätmittelalterlichen Selbstzeugnissen. CARL PFAFF, Bild und Exempel: Die observante Dominikanerin in der Sicht des Johannes Meyer O.P. PETER MORAW, Deutsche und europäische Gelehrte im lateinischen Mittelalter: Ein Entwurf. LUDWIG SCHMUGGE, Über die Pönitentiarie zur Universität. CHRISTIAN HESSE, Die Universität Erfurt und die Verwaltung der Landgrafschaft Hessen im Spätmittelalter. BEAT IMMENHAUSER, St. Gallen und der Universitätsbesuch um 1500. JÜRIG SCHMUTZ, Juristen in der Praxis: Ein Plädoyer für interdisziplinäre Grundlagenarbeit. RAINER A. MÜLLER, Von der "Juristendominanz" zur "Medizinerschwemme": Zum Promotionswesen an deutschen Universitäten der Frühmoderne. WALTER RÜEGG, Die deutschen Wegbereiter der modernen Forschungsuniversität. HANS-DETRICH KAHL, Die Karolingerpfalz Karnburg. HEINZ E. HER-

ZIG, Ciceros Konzept des *bellum iustum* und Augustins Überlieferung. PEDRO ZWAHLEN, *Secundum legem omnium hominum*: Zum völkerrechtlichen Vertrag zwischen Christen und Muslimen im 12. Jahrhundert. HANS-JOACHIM SCHMIDT, Bildungsreform als Kriegsvorbereitung: Die Vorschläge von Pierre Dubois zur Wiedergewinnung des Heiligen Landes. ANDREAS MEYER, *Exeamus ad Iesum*—Lucca und die Finanzierung der Kreuzzüge. KATHARINA SIMON-MUSCHEID, Montségur: Mythos und Geschichte.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

EMILY O. GOLDMAN and LESLIE C. ELIASON, editors. *The Diffusion of Military Technology and Ideas*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 415. \$75.00.

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DONALD J. STOKER, JR., and JONATHAN A. GRANT, editors. *Girding for Battle: The Arms Trade in a Global Perspective, 1815–1940*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xvii, 236. \$64.95.

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SON GRIFFITHS, *Media Technology and Museum Display: A Century of Accommodation and Conflict.*

HENRY JENKINS and DAVID THORBURN, editors. *Democracy and New Media.* (Media in Transition.) Associate editor BRAD SEAWELL. Cambridge: MIT Press. 2003. Pp. x, 385. \$39.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

Even though I am not a specialist on medieval history, I do enjoy reading on this subject because I teach survey courses on Central European and Slovak history. That is why I eagerly read Daniel Hobbins's excellent article "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract" (*AHR* 108 [December 2003]: 1308–37). As I read the article, I was reminded of another "public intellectual" who was a contemporary of Jean Gerson and who also wrote in the vernacular for lay audiences and reached a wide public. I am referring to Jan Hus, who was rector of Charles University in Prague. Because he shared so many similarities with Gerson, I kept looking for some mention of him, especially since Gerson participated in the Council of Constance, which found Hus guilty of heresy and sentenced him to death. Alas, I could not find a single mention of Hus, not even in a footnote.

I suppose that we should not blame Daniel Hobbins for this oversight. After all, he was educated in the United States, which has always shown an inordinate interest in the history of England and France but very little in Central and Eastern Europe. I guess that American intellectuals agree with Voltaire that the further east one goes in Europe, the more barbaric it becomes. How, then, do American intellectuals explain

the most important invention of the past millennium—the printing press—in Central Europe? Isn't it high time that we all broadened our horizons?

M. MARK STOLARIK
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DANIEL HOBBS REPLIES:

While the text of my article on Jean Gerson does not mention Jan Hus, the table that forms an appendix to the article (pp. 1336–37) includes Hus and many lesser-known contemporaries from Central and Eastern Europe. (One of my closest colleagues recently completed a dissertation on fourteenth-century Prague, and I am well aware of events there and of the scholarship surrounding Gerson, Hus, and the Council of Constance.) I welcome Stolarik's comparison of Hus to Gerson and generally encourage the application of this model of "public intellectual" to Gerson's contemporaries. I do not consider Gerson to be exclusive in this regard, but representative.

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ERRATUM

Harvard University Press is the publisher of Ira Berlin's *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves*, not Yale, as given in the February 2004 issue, p. 183.

LINKS

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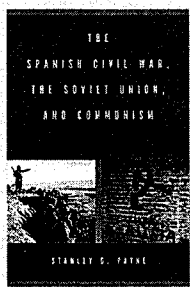
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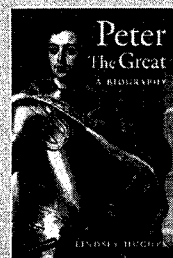
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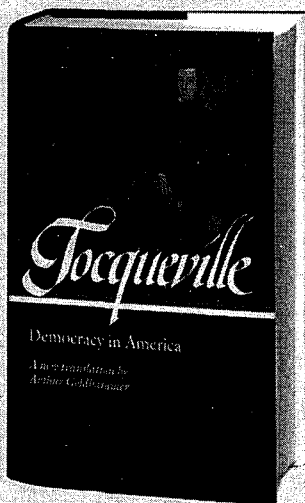
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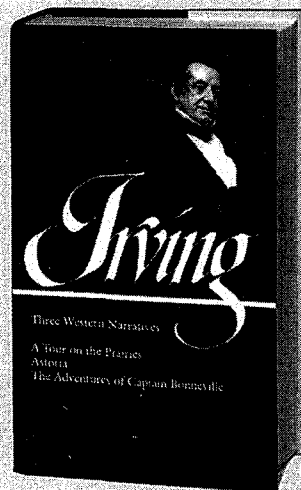
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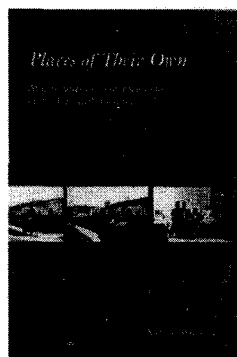
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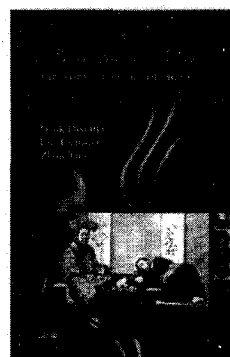
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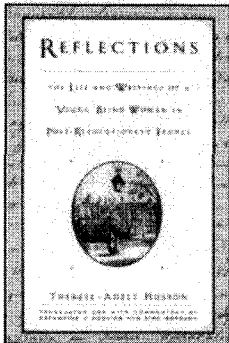
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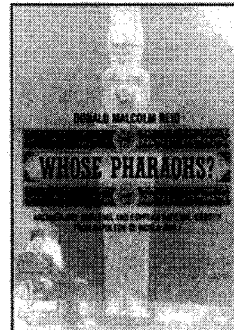
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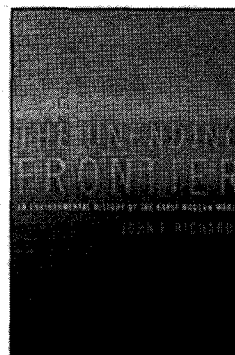
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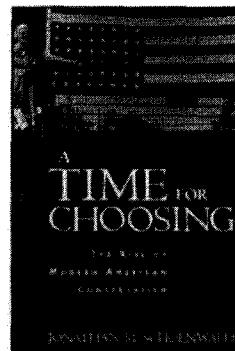
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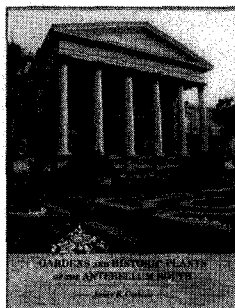
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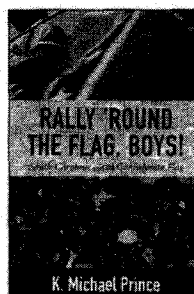
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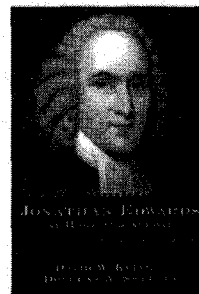
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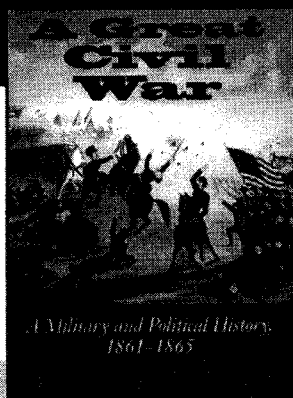
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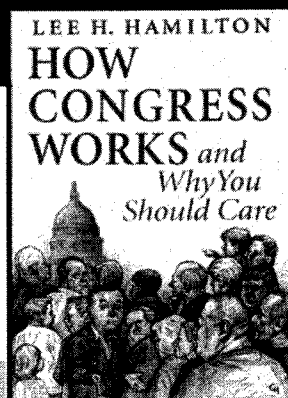
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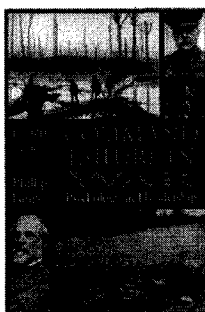


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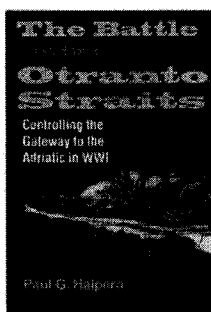


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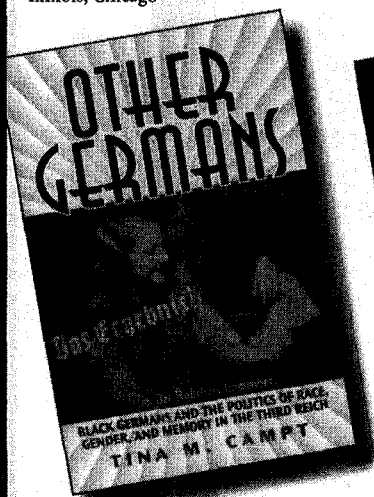
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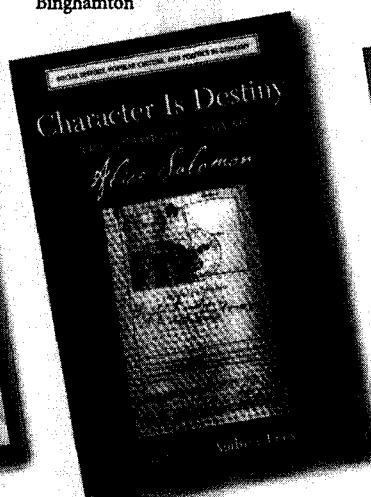
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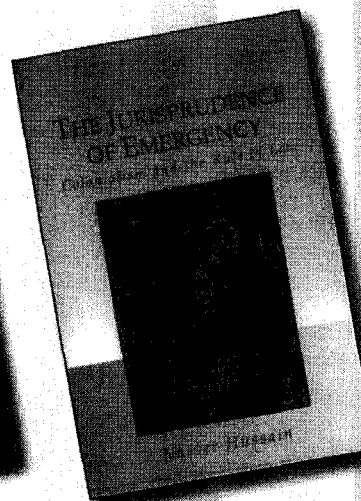
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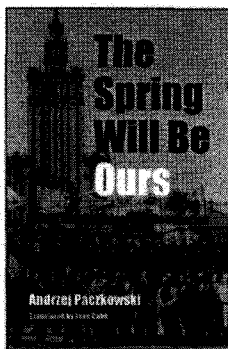
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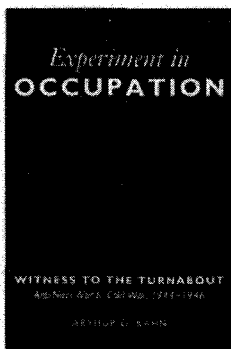
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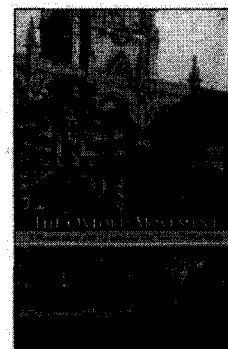
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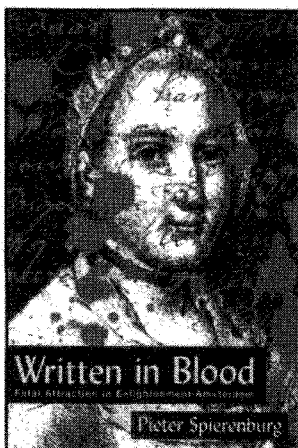
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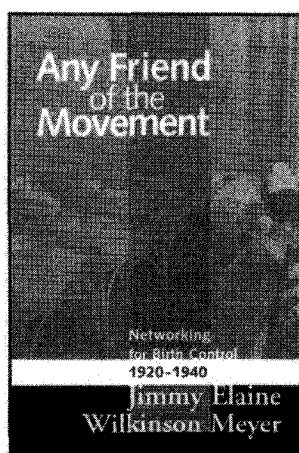
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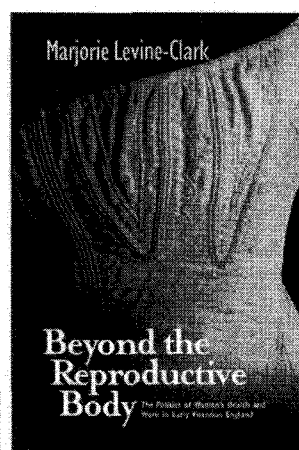
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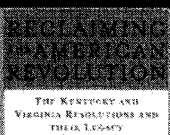
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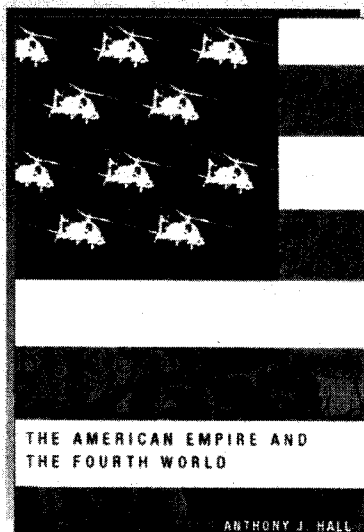
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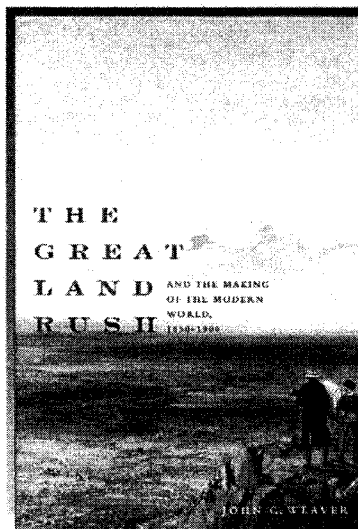
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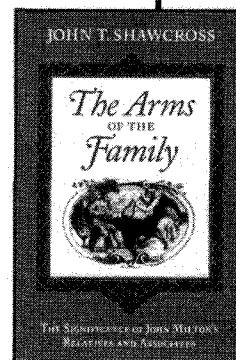
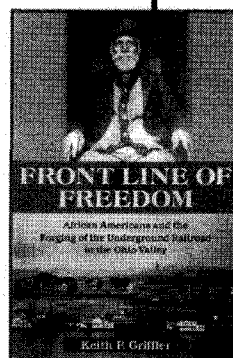
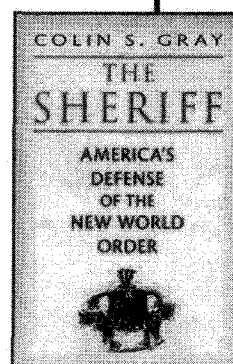
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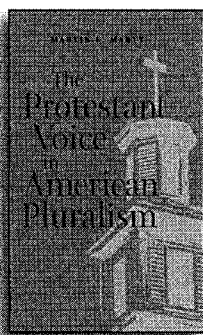
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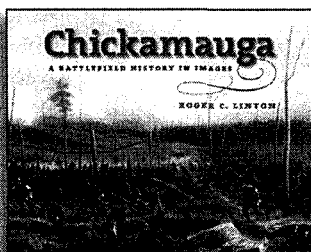
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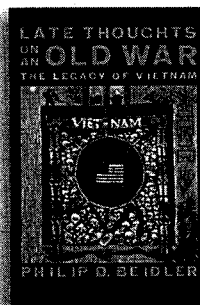
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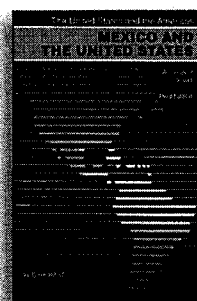
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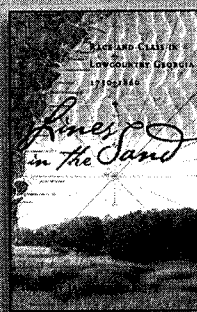
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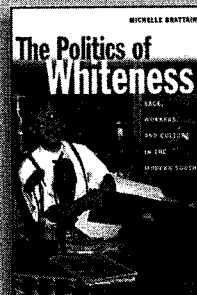
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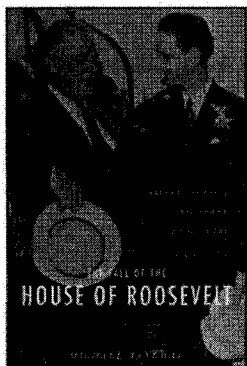
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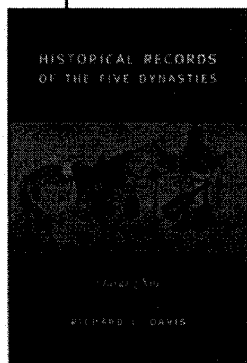
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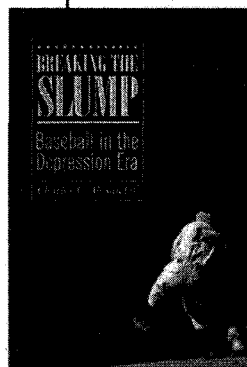

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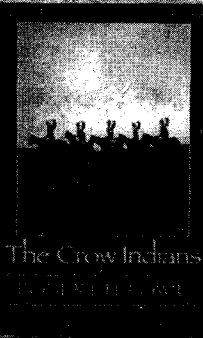
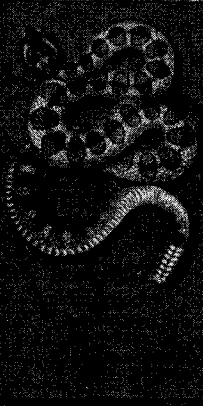
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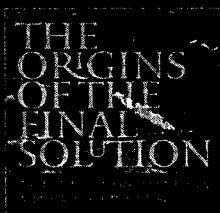
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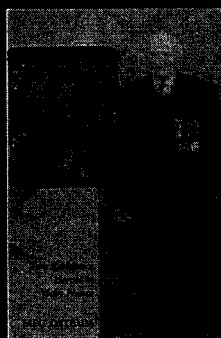
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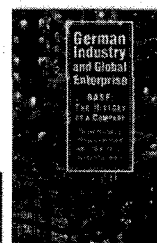
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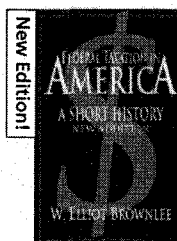
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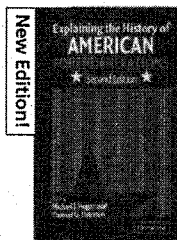
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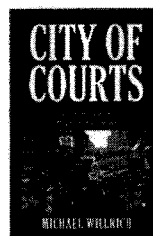
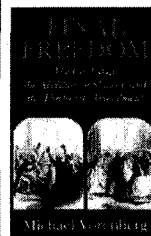
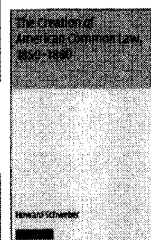
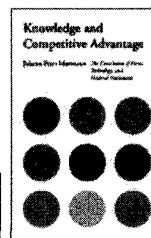
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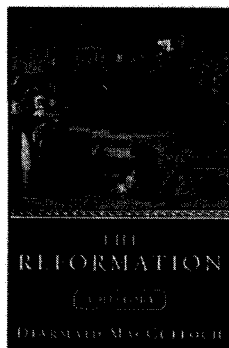
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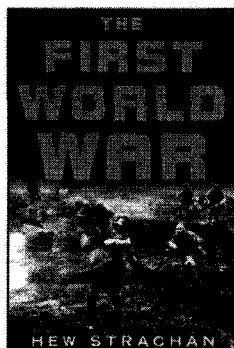
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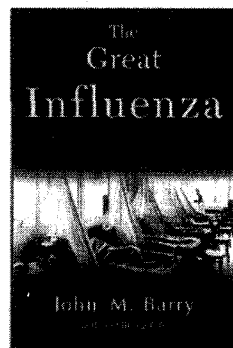
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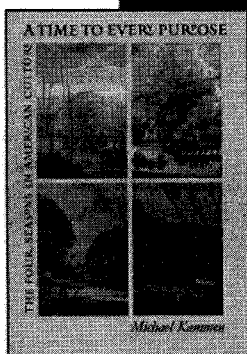
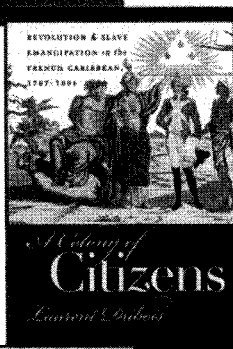
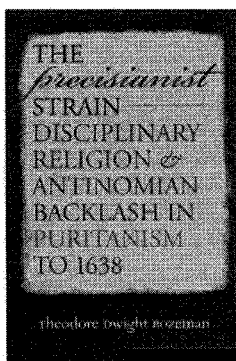
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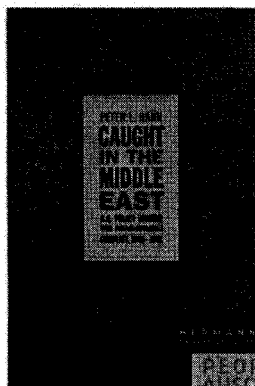
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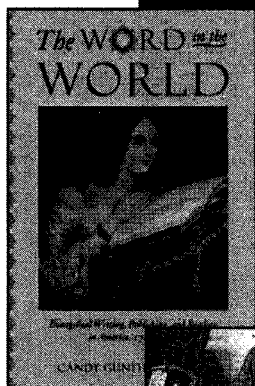
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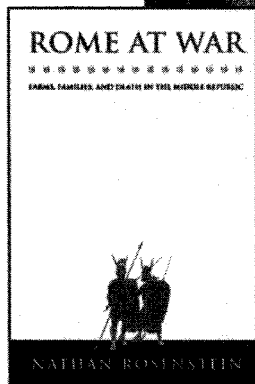
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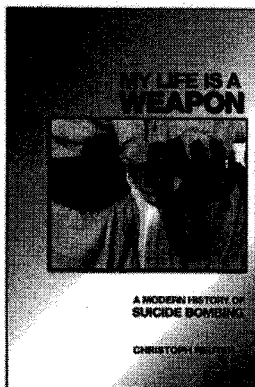
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What kind of people are suicide bombers? To answer this question, Christoph Reuter spent eight years interviewing would-be "martyrs," their trainers, friends, and relatives. In this riveting and eye-opening book, he reveals what he learned.

Reuter argues that most of the stereo-

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A Critical Anthology

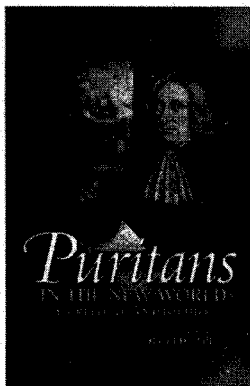
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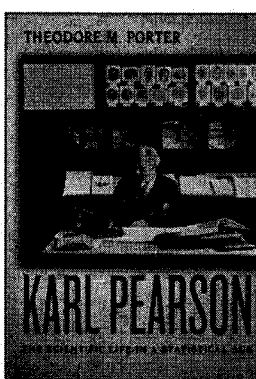
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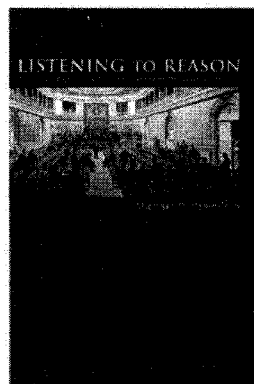
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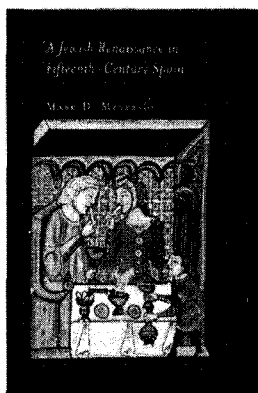
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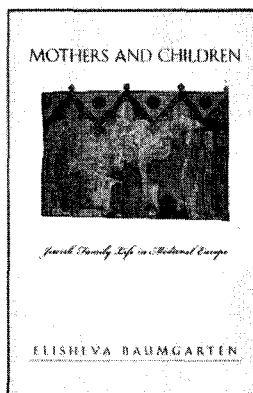
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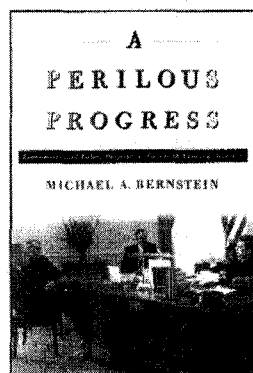
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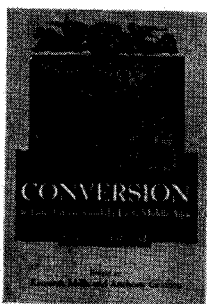
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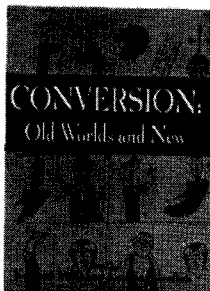


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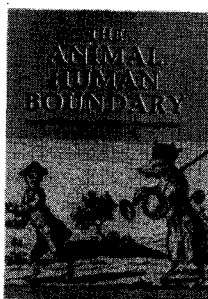
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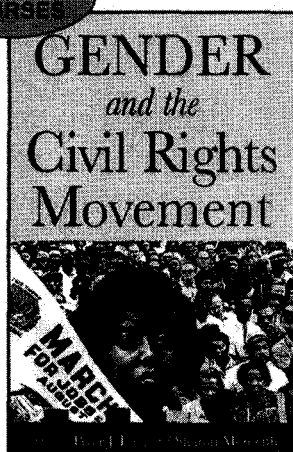
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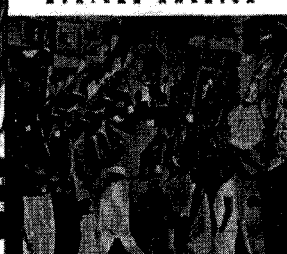


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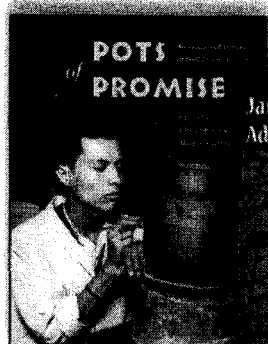
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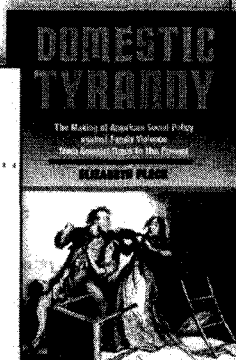
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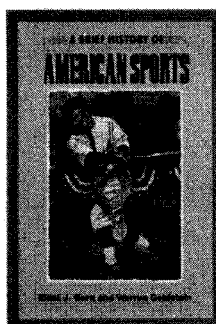
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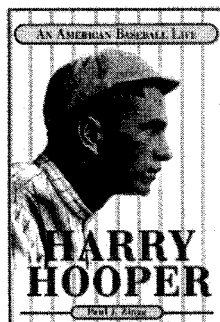


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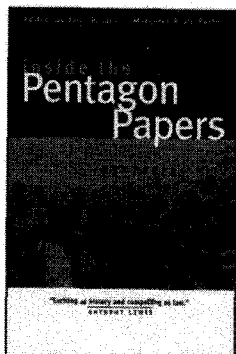
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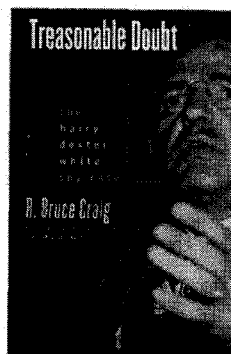
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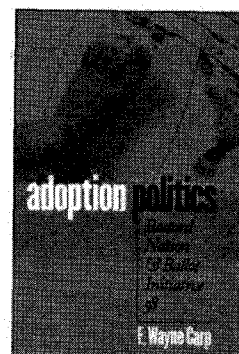


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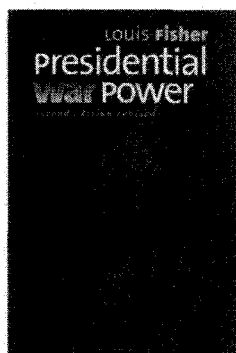
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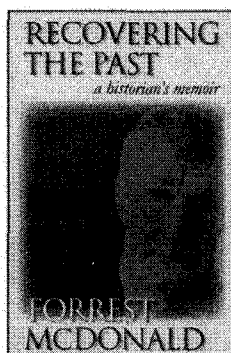
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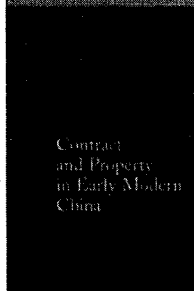
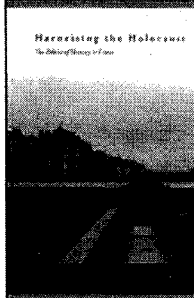
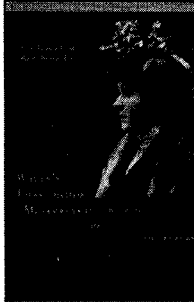
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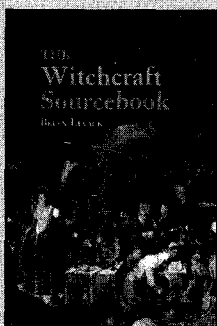
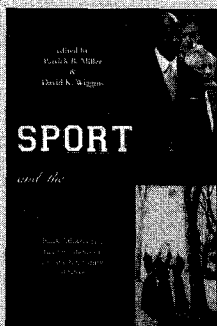
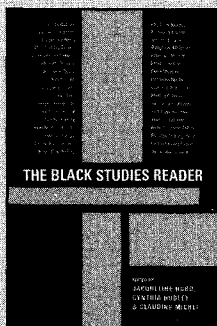
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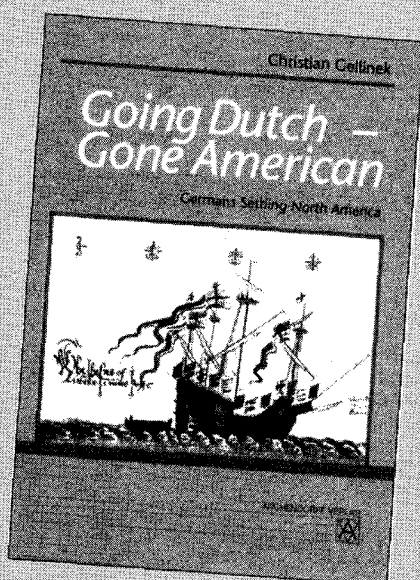
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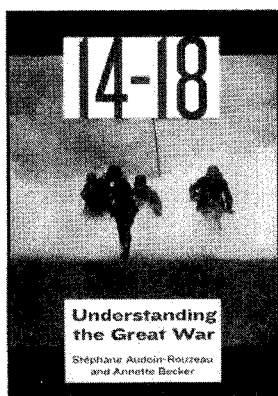
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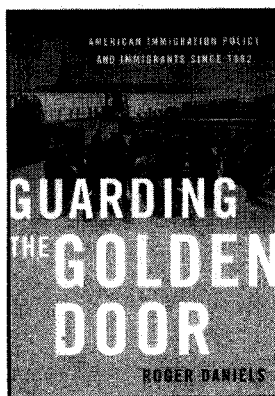
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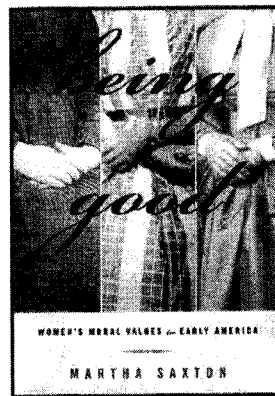
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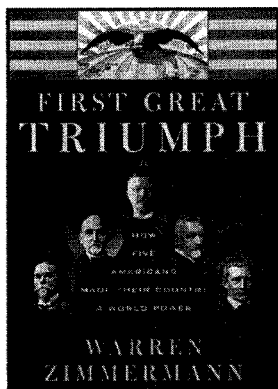
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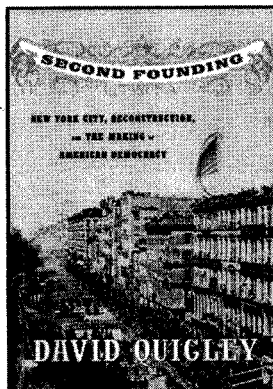
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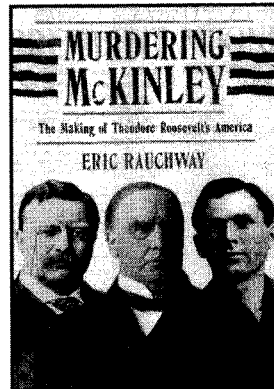
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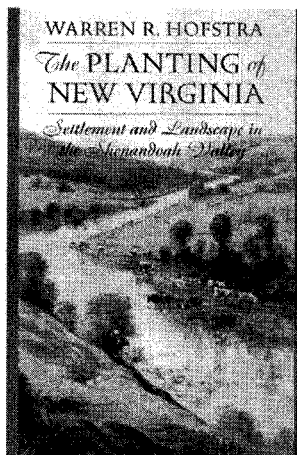
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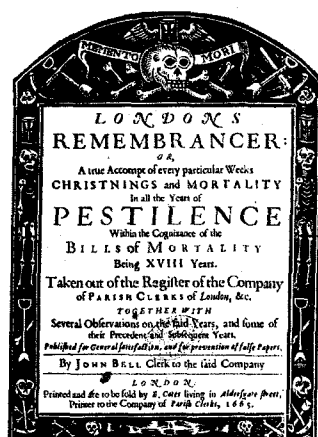
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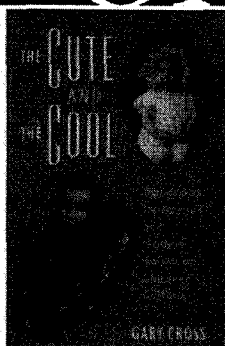
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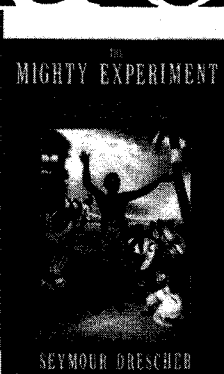
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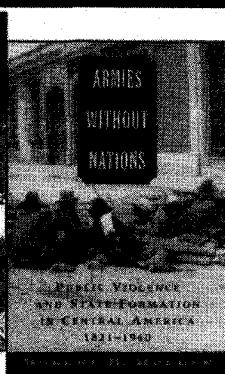


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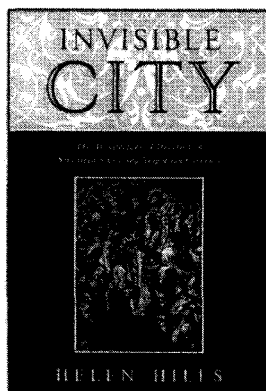
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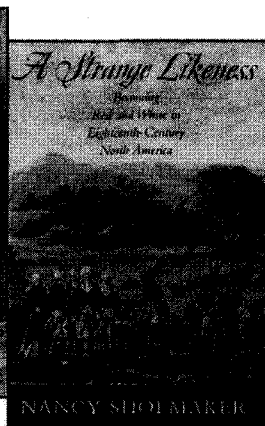
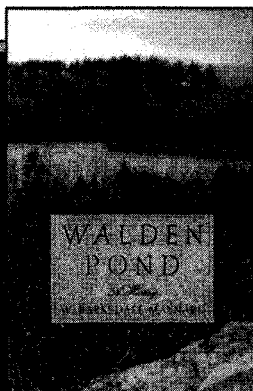
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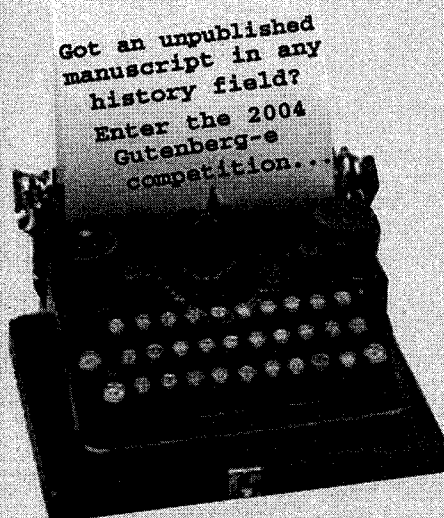
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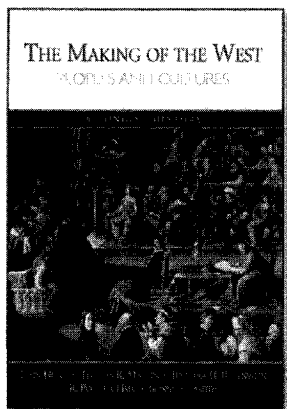
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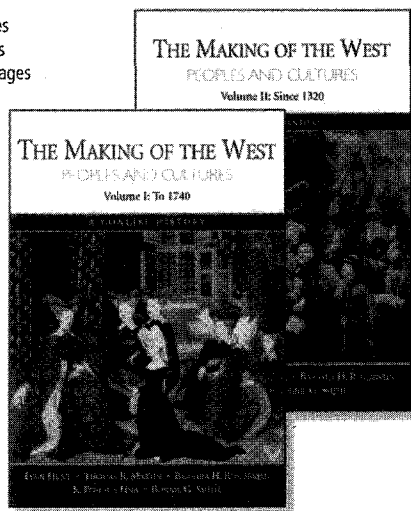


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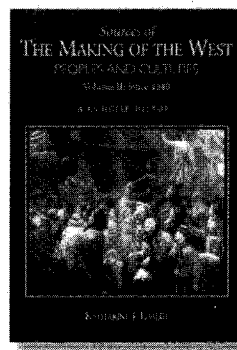
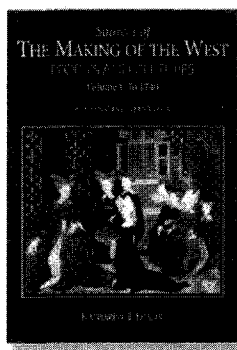
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